Community and National Life

BOOK ONE

CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC AFFAIRS

CURRICULUM

Harold Rugg

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MAN AND HIS CHANGING SOCIETY

Volume Five of the Second Course

★

COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL LIFE · BOOK ONE

Citizenship and Civic Affairs

MAN AND HIS CHANGING SOCIETY

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I · An Introduction to American Civilization
II · Changing Civilizations in the Modern World
III · A History of American Civilization
IV · A History of American Government and Culture
V · An Introduction to Problems of American Culture
VI · Changing Governments and Changing Cultures

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I · Our Country and Our People
II · Changing Countries and Changing Peoples
III · The Conquest of America
IV · America's March Toward Democracy

COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL LIFE

V · Citizenship and Civic Affairs
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FOR TEACHERS

American Life and the School Curriculum

COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL LIFE · BOOK ONE

★

Citizenship and Civic Affairs

By HAROLD RUGG, *Professor of Education*
Teachers College, Columbia University

GINN AND COMPANY
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AN INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN CULTURE
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PREFACE

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THE IMPORTANCE OF INTRODUCING YOUTH TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION

The author firmly believes that young Americans can be given an appreciation of the significant contemporary problems of living together. Current conditions in America throw into sharp relief the critical need of teaching our youth to understand American life and its relation to the modern world. Our schools are confronted with the difficult task of educating pupils to become informed, thinking citizens. During the past 150 years the rapid development of industrial civilization has produced problems of living together that baffle even the keenest adult minds.

It is of the utmost importance that schools bend every effort to introduce our young people to the chief conditions and problems which will confront them as citizens of the world. That is the essential purpose of this new unified course in the social studies. *Citizenship and Civic Affairs* provides a course of reading and study that will help boys and girls to understand the relationships which make their community what it is and which link their community to other units of government and social organization. It deals with the responsibilities and privileges of citizens in America today. When this book is used with the companion volume, *America Rebuilds*, a well-rounded introduction to community and national life is provided. In fact, these volumes are considered Book One and Book Two in this introductory course in the problems and possibilities of life in American communities. Either of these volumes is appropriate for use in any year of the secondary school.

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A GENERAL COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Teachers using this present volume should acquaint themselves with the general scope of Man and His Changing Society, the series of which it is a part. A description and an interpretation of the material are presented in the following publications. These can be secured without charge from Ginn and Company.

1. Rugg. *Building a Science of Society for the Schools.*
2. Rugg. *Curriculum Design in the Social Studies: What I Believe* (an article reprinted from *The Future of the Social Studies*, James A. Michener, Editor, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939. The National Council for the Social Studies).
3. Buckingham, B. R. *The Rugg Course in the Classroom.*

An extended statement of the philosophy and psychology upon which the course is based is given in Rugg's *American Life and the School Curriculum.*

The fourteen volumes of Man and His Changing Society are arranged in two series: the First Course consists of eight volumes for the elementary schools, and the Second Course includes six volumes for the junior-senior high schools. Additional volumes are in preparation for the senior high schools. Each unit of the curriculum contemplates a *Reading Book*, a *Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study*, and a *Teacher's Guide.*

The First Course offers a new program for boys and girls whose reading ages vary from about eight to eleven years. These eight volumes have been designed as a thorough introduction to the theme of people living together in tribes and races, in communities, in regions, and in nations. Hence the books portray the integrated story of man's advancing civilization: his economic, political, and social life, his mechanical arts, his social arts, and his aesthetic arts.

The Second Course carries on the integrated study of civilization in a carefully graduated and steadily maturing plan. The first volume, *Our Country and Our People: Introduction to American Civilization*, deals chiefly with economic and social life in the United States today. The second volume, *Changing Countries and Changing Peoples: An Introduction to World Geography with His-*

torical Backgrounds, introduces the pupil to economic and social life in other lands. It considers especially the great industrial nations, the changing agricultural countries, and the interrelation of the two. The third volume, *The Conquest of America: A History of American Civilization, Economic and Social*, discusses the land, industrial and commercial history, and their effect upon American society. The fourth volume, *America's March Toward Democracy: A History of American Life—Political and Social*, deals with the experiments in government. Together these last two volumes form a comprehensive history of the civilization and culture of the United States in its geographic setting.

This present volume, *Citizenship and Civic Affairs*, presents a description of American society, treating especially the life of the individual in the communities of our changing civilization. It also serves the special purpose of introducing the economic, political, and social problems of American culture—problems the more adequate study of which may well engage the attention of students from this point on through their careers. The sixth volume, *America Rebuilds*, takes up the gradual reconstruction of American civilization. Conservation and utilization of human and physical resources play a prominent part in this study of construction and reconstruction.

Thus Volumes I through VI of the Second Course, taken together, provide a comprehensive introduction to modes of living and insistent problems of community and national life.

THE MATERIALS ARE BASED UPON THE FINDINGS OF SPECIALISTS

The foundation of this new course is a series of research studies of the basic modes of living and the problems of modern life, the great movements through which institutions and problems have evolved, and the chief concepts and principles which, as history has proved, lie at the roots of living together.

Who knows best what these great institutions, problems, and trends are? Specialists on the frontier of thought who see society from a height, who detect its trends and the long-time movement of its affairs. From the mature thought of established students of modern life and its historical development, therefore, instead of from the single judgments of the textbook-maker, the skeleton of this course has been designed. It is based upon many years of investigational work.

A UNIFIED COURSE IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Why one general course rather than the separate subjects of history, geography, community civics, and economic citizenship? Because the chief aim is to understand modern life and how it came to be. To understand any institution or condition of life today the mind must utilize facts, meanings, generalizations, and historical movements that in the past have been set up in separate school subjects. For example, to understand the westward movement of the American people one must see in close relationship the tide of immigration across the continent; the blazing of trails; the evolution of new routes by land and water; the rapid development of new types of transportation; constantly changing forms of social life; the rise of cities behind the advancing frontier; the influence of mountains, deserts, climate, rivers, and soil upon travel, transportation, and communication; and where and how people live. All these factors must be tied closely together in their natural relationships. Hence the necessity of combining them into one general course instead of teaching them as separate subjects.

In constructing this course one question has constantly been in the foreground: What historical movements, what geographic, economic, and social facts, meanings, and principles do young people need to study together to understand the modern world?

In *Citizenship and Civic Affairs*, as in the other volumes of this series, historical, geographic, civic, economic, and other pertinent materials are studied *in close relationship.* Whenever history is needed to understand the present, history is presented. If geographic relationships are needed to throw light upon contemporary problems, those geographic relationships are incorporated. The same rule has been followed with economic and social facts and principles.

This has *not* caused a reduction in the amount of history or of geography included in the course. Rather, it has produced a sharp increase in the amount of these subjects in the curriculum and, in addition, has added to the curriculum a wealth of new material. Comparisons of the amount of history, geography, and civics in these six *Reading Books* with that of conventional textbooks in these subjects *should be based on a study of the total series and not on any one book.*

LEARNING BY DOING: THE "PUPIL'S WORKBOOK OF DIRECTED STUDY"

The very center of this course in the social studies is the problem-solving activities of the *Workbook*. The chief goal of the social studies is active and intelligent participation in American civilization and tolerant understanding of other civilizations. To guarantee the attainment of this goal the school must organize its work around a core of dynamic pupil activities. *Young people grow in understanding only by participating actively in the study of the society around them.* Even to the present day the work in the social studies has consisted too much of memoriter recitation in history, geography, and civics.

The essence of this new course in social studies is a succession of pupil activities, dynamic and thought-provoking. Many optional suggestions for these activities are incorporated in the *Workbook* and presented as a series of problems. Each problem of this course is an organized scheme of things for the pupil to do. Each unit compels him to find the answer to one or more important questions. The course, as presented in the *Workbook*, therefore, constantly confronts the pupil with stimulating problems, insight into each of which is important for an adequate understanding of the problems of the modern world. Hence the *Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study* is the very core of the course, and the *Reading Book* has been constructed, unit by unit, in close conjunction with it.

PLANNED REPETITION

One of the characteristics of this course is the carefully planned recurrence of important concepts, generalizations, and social themes in varied settings. One of the weaknesses of current school courses in history, geography, and civics is lack of planned repetition. In the present course this defect has been remedied by designing a carefully planned scheme of repetition. In preparing each topic the outstanding concepts, generalizations, and themes that an educated mind should understand have been charted in advance. Episodes, narratives, statistical and graphic exhibits, pictures, and maps have been selected with the need for the illustration of these items clearly in mind. Hence the student will encounter the important meanings, principles, and movements over and over again, but constantly presented in new and varied settings.

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This enterprise could not have been developed without the co-operative support and friendly and critical advice of many persons. First, there are several thousand progressive administrators and teachers who have contributed criticisms and suggestions. These educational leaders gave unsparingly of their energy to the experimental trial of the tentative editions, they lent vital support to the first editions, and have contributed in various ways in late years to the revision of the books in the Second Course. By their courage and vision in utilizing novel materials in the social sciences, they have put the children of American schools as well as myself in their debt.

Second, there is the administration of Teachers College, Columbia University, and of the Lincoln School. The American children who will use these materials owe a debt of gratitude to the deans of Teachers College and the directors of the Lincoln School for permitting and encouraging the development of this course by experimental methods.

I have acknowledged with pleasure in the body of the text many instances of co-operation from publishers who permitted quotations from their publications and the reproduction of illustrative materials. Almost without exception requests for co-operation of this character have been cordially granted.

This statement of my indebtedness should not be permitted to close without referring to the unsparing efforts of the staff of Ginn and Company to produce a practicable, attractive, and teachable body of materials. But especially I wish to express my appreciation for the encouragement and support given by Messrs. Charles H. Thurber, Henry H. Hilton, and Burdette R. Buckingham.

Citizenship and Civic Affairs is much more than a "revision" of *An Introduction to Problems of American Culture*, which was published in 1931. It is essentially a new book, made necessary by the added service that it will render in the senior high school. Its preparation for the press has been a task of great difficulty. That it has been brought to successful completion at this time is due in large measure to my research associate Marvin Krueger and to my secretary and editorial assistant Ruth LaVoy. I wish to express to them my deep appreciation for their wise and untiring collaboration.

HAROLD RUGG

New York

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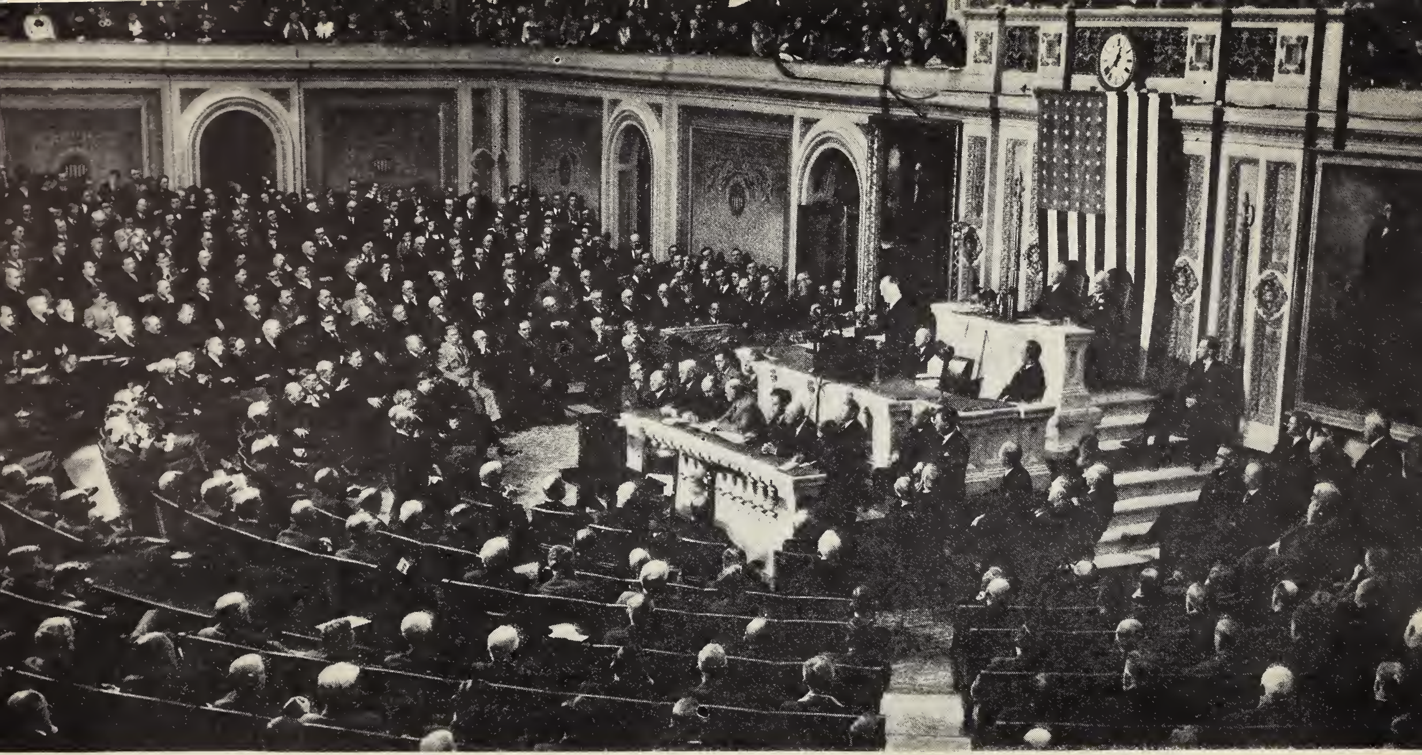
Citizenship
and Civic Affairs

☆ I ☆

Introducing Our Study of Citizenship and Civic Affairs



Keystone

President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivering his message to the joint session of the Senate and House, January 4, 1935, in which he asked for authority to provide jobs for all employables then on relief rolls

CHAPTER I · Studying the Problems of Anytown

★

Henry Tildsley paused and then began to sum up the proposals of the program committee at the opening meeting of the Social Science Club.[1]

"The program committee thinks," he said, "that the club should study how the Industrial Revolution is affecting us here in our town, and the people in other villages, towns, and cities of the United States. We have studied a great deal about the changes in industry, farming, and business, and the changes in national government. But we don't know much about how they all really affect *us*."

"Why, Henry! Everything we've been studying about affects us," exclaimed Elizabeth Staunton.

"What do you mean, anyway—'affects us'?" added John Rogers.

"Well," said Henry, glad of a chance to make his point very clear, "I mean our minds; what we think about, how we spend our time, the kinds of things we read and talk about, the shows we see. Take the problem of how we get our opinions about politics. I heard you say the other day that if you were old enough to vote at the coming election for mayor, you'd vote for Graham, the Republican. Betty said Fitzpatrick, the Democrat, was a better man for the job. Jack Donlan said he would vote for the Socialist candidate, Watson. Now how did we happen to hold different opinions? How did you get yours, Jack?"

"Why—er—I don't know. From what I read in the papers, I guess," stammered Jack.

"No, you didn't," exclaimed Elizabeth Staunton. "You got your views from your father. Your father's a Socialist, and so are most of your neighbors. Well, I admit I got my opinions from my family, too. My people are Democrats. But"—Elizabeth continued slowly, as she was struck by a thought—"I wonder where they got them."

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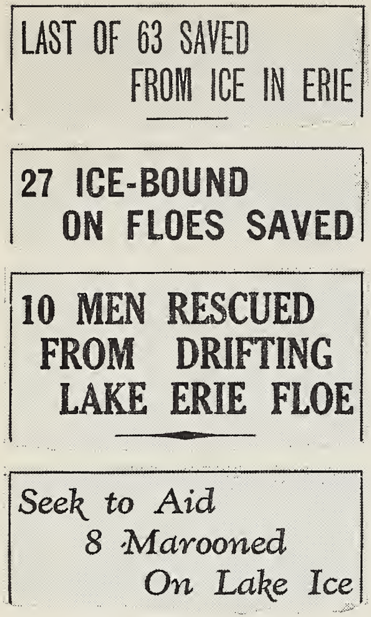
[1] Of the George Washington School of Anystate, U.S.A.



LAST OF 63 SAVED
FROM ICE IN ERIE

You would gather from this headline that every one of sixty-three people had been saved from a disaster

27 ICE-BOUND
ON FLOES SAVED

You would understand from this headline that twenty-seven people had been saved

10 MEN RESCUED
FROM DRIFTING
LAKE ERIE FLOE

You would learn from this headline that ten men had been rescued

Seek to Aid
8 Marooned
On Lake Ice

If you read this headline you would believe that eight people were still marooned on the ice

Fig. 1. These headlines appeared in four different newspapers in the same city on the same day

"That's easy," Henry Tildsley drawled. "They got them from *their* fathers and mothers. Perhaps also from the newspapers, magazines, and books they read."

"But you can't believe what you read in the papers," exclaimed Tom Lawson, whose father was a professor of sociology (the study of society). "The newspapers don't agree in their reports of the same events. I've got a good example of that here." Tom held up four newspaper clippings with headlines for the club to read. (You can read them, too, for they are shown in figure 1.)

"Here's another case," Tom continued. "Let me read you the way six newspapers fixed up the same story." He read the following to the class:

When Alexander Tippett was assaulted in a New York theater, the affair was described as follows in various New York newspapers:

Paper A. Tippett reeled back.

Paper B. He stood unmoved.

Paper C. He stepped back, maintaining a calm pose.

Paper D. He stood still, but used his arms to wave back his friends.

Paper E. He stood still, with his arms thrown back.

Paper F. He reeled from the blow. A general fight developed. Fists flew, noses ran red; shirts and collars were torn.[1]

While this discussion was going on, Ben Pillsbury, the president of the club, was writing these words on the blackboard: "A List of Suggested Problems." He then turned to the members of the club and said: "Under this heading let us list a few of the things we want to study this year. I suggest 'Changing Family Life' as one topic. Our families certainly influence our opinions and the ways we live. So do our neighborhoods. Suppose one topic were called 'America's Neighborhoods.'"

"The things we read influence us too," broke in John Rogers, "and the towns we live in do, too."

"And the 'movies.' They influence us in many ways."

A chorus of approval was heard over the room, and while Ben hastily began to fill in the outline for study, other suggestions began to come.

"The radio ought to be studied," suggested Sally Walter. "My father broadcasts, and he says that they have to be very careful about what people say over the air. They cut one man off the other night, right in the middle of a sentence."

"They would," said Jack Donlan. "That shows us another problem for our study, Mr. President—freedom of speech and freedom of the press. I'd like to read up on the Constitution and the writings of our leaders and discuss how we can protect liberty in America."

Ben added it to his growing list of problems.

"What about the social organizations of the community?" asked Mr. Harris, the teacher, who had listened to the discussion until now. "Do you think grownups get many of their ideas from other people in lodge meetings, luncheon club meetings, and the like?"

"Yes, and don't forget the labor unions and the Women's Club and the Ladies' Aid Society and the card clubs and such organizations," said Tom. "Mr. President, I think we should include a

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[1] Adapted from *Contact* No. 17, published by Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Counsel, New York City.

Keystone

Fig. 2. The radio is an important influence today. This farm family can hear the same programs as any city family

☆

Fig. 3. Groups like this have great influence on each member. These people are protesting against cuts made in funds for education

Ewing Galloway

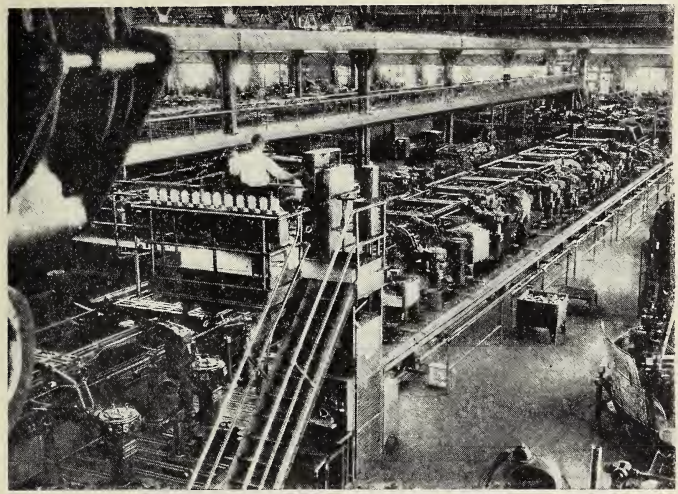


Fig. 4. A scene in the factory where 200 men are taking the place of 2000

By Rittase, from *Fortune*

study of all these social organizations. And let's go out and get some firsthand information."

There was quiet for a moment, and then Henry continued the report of the committee.

"So much for those problems. But there are other very important ones. There's one suggested by this cartoon."

Exclamations of interest were heard as the members of the club gathered around: "Oh, the Mechanical Man!" . . . "Televox again." . . . "Give us more like that." . . . "But what are the problems, Henry?"

Henry held up a copy of a magazine he had brought from home. "Well, I suggest that we all read the article in this issue of *Fortune*. It tells of a more exciting change in our ways of living than any we have yet studied. Part of a plant which manufactures automobile frames is actually run almost without men. Fifteen years ago there were 2000 men in the factory. Today it is running with less than 200. Why? Because cleverly planned power-machines and scientific managing do most of the work. Imagine what that may mean for the future."

"Well," spoke up John Rogers, "I don't see any serious problems in the idea of having factories that would run themselves. I think that would be a fine thing."

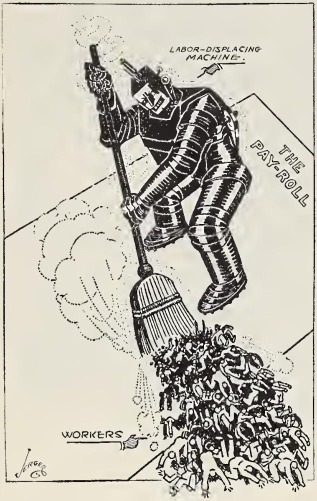


Fig. 5. The mechanical man sweeps out the workers. What problem does this illustrate?

Courtesy of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*

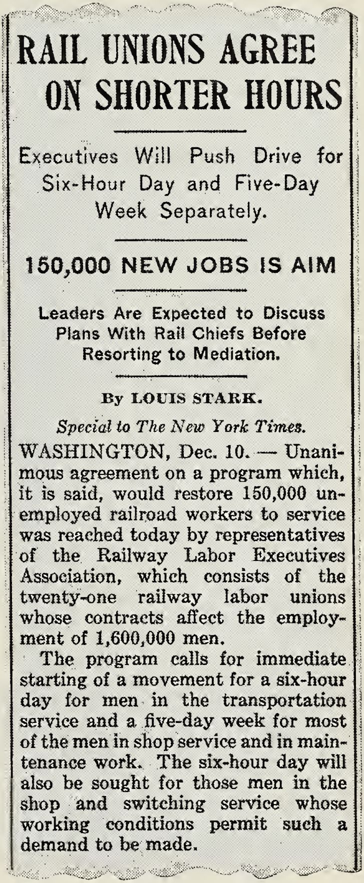
"You do? Imagine what it would mean if the automobile factory in our town should install such machines. It would mean, John, that your father, and Mary's too, would be out of jobs. It would throw more than 1200 men out of work, and that would affect nearly 5000 people. Then suppose the same thing happened in the canning factory, in the chair shop, and the other factories in this town. And suppose it happened in thousands of other communities in the United States? Just think of how millions of people would be thrown out of jobs."

"Well," spoke up John Rogers, "I still don't see how the plan of having factories that run themselves is a bad one. Everybody would work less time. Wouldn't that be a fine thing? Almost nobody would have to do heavy labor."

Henry rose, took up several newspapers and magazines and spread them out on the table in the center of the room.

"Let us consider John's objections carefully," he said. "Take as an important example the problem of people being out of work—the unemployment problem. In our town of 35,000 more than 1500 men are out of work. In the United States during recent years it has happened more than once that over 15,000,000 persons have been out of work at the same time! Nevertheless more machines are being invented every day which are throwing men out of work. Some men throughout the country have been out of work for several years, and they're desperate. I think we should learn what is being done about this. How are these men going to find work? They and their families must not be allowed to starve. Is the government helping them? Instead of companies discharging men, are they decreasing the number of workdays per week? Or, are they reducing the number of hours each man works per day—so that all the men can keep their jobs? Moreover, are the workers' wages kept up also?"

"That's already happened in many of our largest industries," said Ben Pillsbury. "Recently several railroad unions signed an agreement with the railroads of the country. This stated that their working day should be only six hours and their wages should be the same as they received for the longer working day." (See figure 6.)



RAIL UNIONS AGREE ON SHORTER HOURS

Executives Will Push Drive for Six-Hour Day and Five-Day Week Separately.

150,000 NEW JOBS IS AIM

Leaders Are Expected to Discuss Plans With Rail Chiefs Before Resorting to Mediation.

By LOUIS STARK.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10. — Unanimous agreement on a program which, it is said, would restore 150,000 unemployed railroad workers to service was reached today by representatives of the Railway Labor Executives Association, which consists of the twenty-one railway labor unions whose contracts affect the employment of 1,600,000 men.

The program calls for immediate starting of a movement for a six-hour day for men in the transportation service and a five-day week for most of the men in shop service and in maintenance work. The six-hour day will also be sought for those men in the shop and switching service whose working conditions permit such a demand to be made.

Fig. 6[1]

"If machines increase too rapidly, hasn't the government itself got to have something to do with the problem?" asked Henry. "That's the first thing we are suggesting."

Mr. Harris now offered another suggestion: "Such articles as you have referred to merely remind us of the important problems of American life that we must still study. The startling increase in the number of machines and in unemployment shows us that we should study some of the changes that our new civilization is making in the lives of our people. Up to this time we have

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[1] From the *New York Times* for December 11, 1930.

Galloway

Galloway

Keystone

Keystone

FIG. 7. As the increase in the use of machines allows more time for leisure, many types of recreation will become popular—an important problem for our people

studied chiefly about economic and political problems. There are other equally important and difficult matters which we should think about together."

Elizabeth Staunton interrupted again: "I see some other very important problems that relate to machines and unemployment. For example, what shall people do with their extra free time? Hours of work are decreasing. Are people simply going to sit around and talk, perhaps quarrel, play pool or play cards all day, or read detective stories?"

Henry nodded, "Elizabeth, you have hit upon one very important group of problems; namely, how people use their leisure time."

"One thing has been bothering me," said Jack. "I don't think that all the good things of life come because of the job one holds or the money one gets. Now, my dad's a mechanic and gets small pay, but we've got a mighty good home. I mean—er—er—it's happy, even if we don't have much money. Doesn't that suggest a problem to study?"

Mr. Harris said: "I'm glad you mentioned that, John. It's one of the points I had hoped someone would bring up. As we study the American people we shall find many examples of those who have little money and yet lead fine, happy lives."

The discussion of other problems became more and more exciting, and soon the president, Ben Pillsbury, called the club to order.

"I suggest that now we go over our list of problems," he said, pointing to the blackboard. "Let's put them in good order, and decide on the one with which to begin our study."

The club eagerly entered into this work and before the end of the morning had their plan well organized. It included most of the problems they had already discussed and a few more which they thought of later.

We too must study some of the more recent changes in American life

Now we must study some of the changes in ways of living and other aspects of American life. We must try to see what the life of the individual American really is, as he lives from day to day in this new industrial civilization.

To do so we must see men and women, boys and girls, living in groups. We must see them in their communities, in their neighborhoods, in their families, and in their clubs and organizations. Each of these groups helps to make them what they are. Each molds their opinions and beliefs, how they feel and think, their likes and dislikes, their hopes and wants.

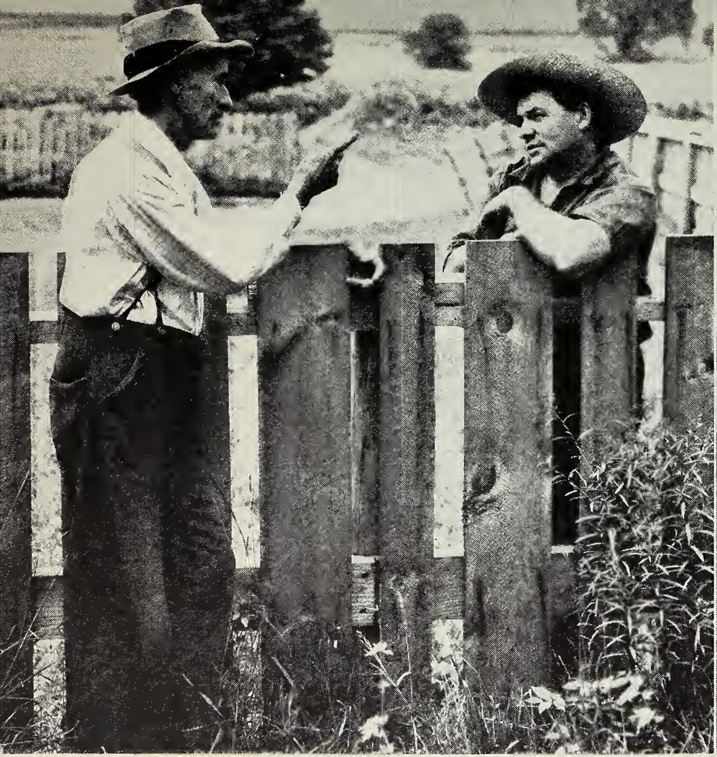
But, in addition, other things also influence them seriously—their automobiles, the newspapers, magazines, and books they read, the "movies" they see, what they hear over the radio, the mass of advertising that meets their eyes on every side, the schools and colleges they attend. We must study many important factors which make the American what he is today.

As you have learned in previous studies, government, manufacturing, trade, farming, did not develop separately; they all advanced together as a part of American life. But with them also developed other aspects of American civilization—home, family, and neighborhood life, thousands of communities, a nation-wide system of newspapers and magazines. Now all these grew up together in American history. Taken together they are the American ways of living today.

A new Industrial Revolution has been changing American ways of living since 1890

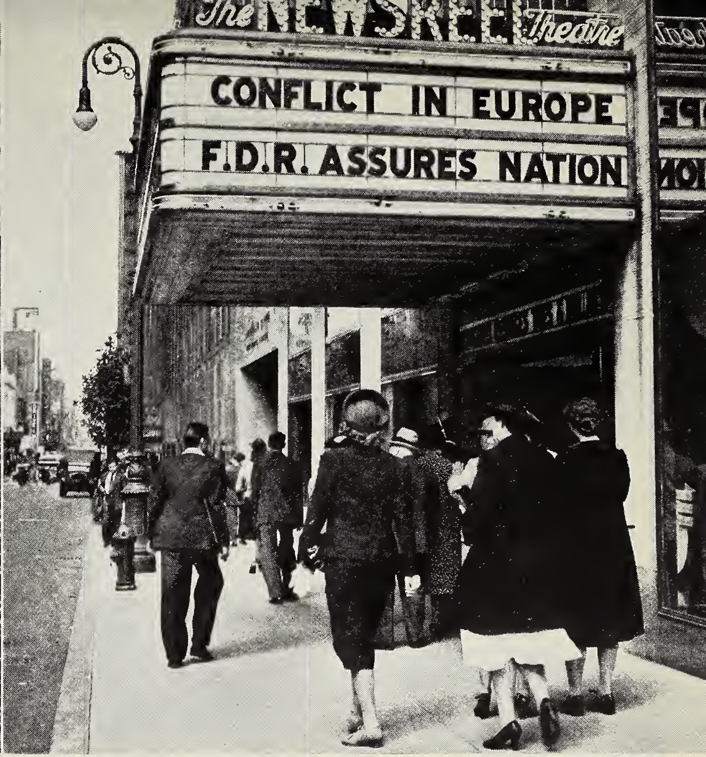
In our study we shall try to use history to understand the present. To understand our changing American life we must see and feel it changing. We must find out especially how the important aspects of it have been brought about by the Industrial Revolution. In this volume we shall not have space to study thoroughly the three-hundred-year-long sweep of the whole Industrial Revolution. We shall choose (with a few exceptions) the startling developments of the past 50 years. This period may be called the New Industrial Revolution to distinguish it from the earlier industrial beginnings in the 1700's and 1800's. We shall refer to 1890, therefore, not as a sharp beginning point of something entirely new, but as a convenient date for contrasting the old with the new ways of living which are found today in America.

Since 1890 more rapid changes have come in ways of living in industrial countries than in hundreds of years before that time. In



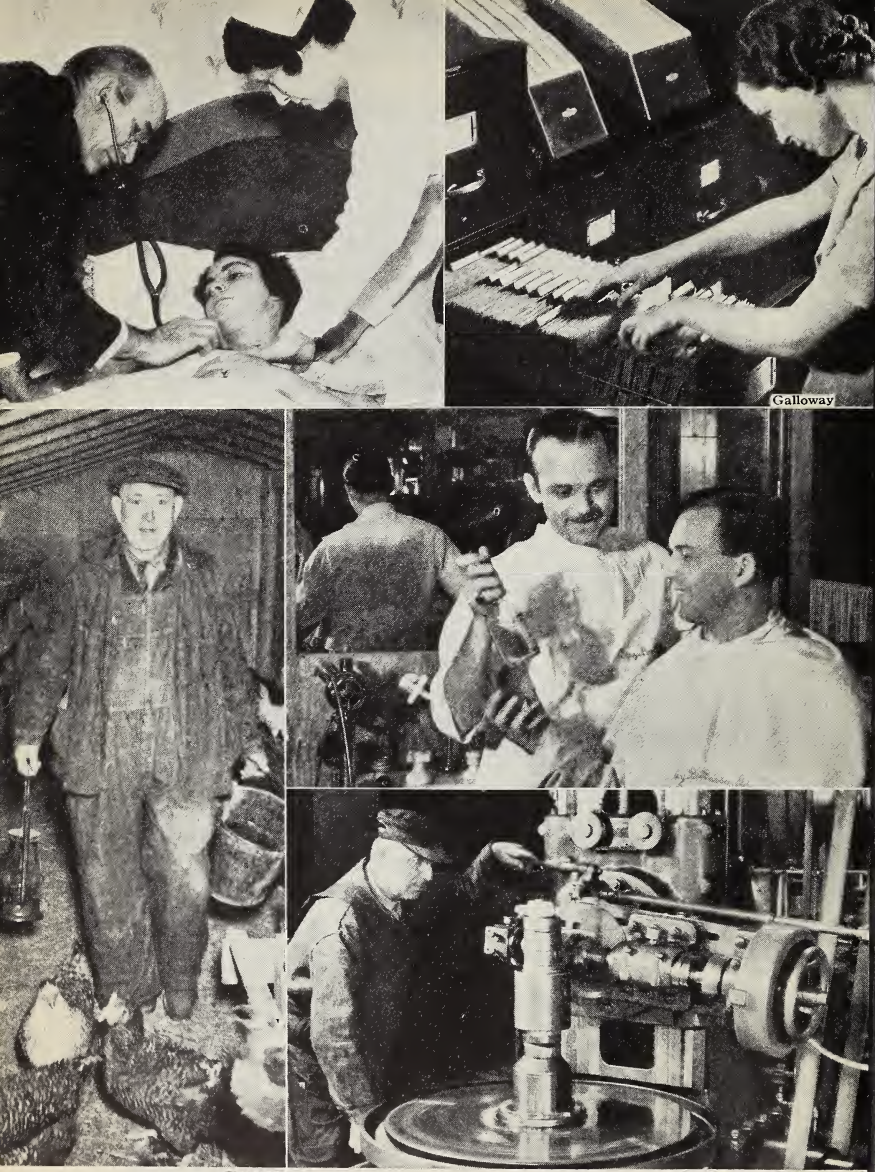
Keystone

Fig. 8. A face-to-face discussion of questions of public importance


The NEWSREEL Theatre
CONFLICT IN EUROPE
F.D.R. ASSURES NATION

Ewing Galloway

Fig. 9. Molding public opinion through the newsreel of the "movies"



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Galloway

FIG. 10. In every community there are many kinds of workers. Here we see a doctor and nurse in a hospital, a filing clerk in an office, a farmer in his chicken house, a barber in his shop, and a skilled mechanic in a factory

1890, for example, there were no successful automobiles or "movies" or radios. Telephones had not been widely introduced. Corporations were in their infancy. Since that time every aspect of American life has changed with startling rapidity. Invention has been taken over largely by Big Business because Big Business has been able to establish laboratories and shops, and pay students and clever workmen to spend their time in efforts to improve both machines and ways of work. Machines are therefore displacing men from their jobs with terrifying speed. Cities are growing out of all proportion to earlier rates of development and are becoming impersonal places in which to live. Hours of labor are decreasing but people are becoming more restless. Their wants are multiplying. Life is speeding up as all the agencies of transportation, communication, and production move faster and faster. Some of these recent changes are so easily seen that we shall study them carefully.

American ways of living can be studied best by studying community life

There will be another important difference between your work this semester and that of previous years. Up to this point you have devoted your study largely to *national conditions and problems.* In this volume you will center much more attention upon ways of living in the *local community.*

The very foundation of American national life is found in communities. It is within the community that most of us live the larger part of our lives. It is within the community that we earn our living; that we sleep and eat, talk with our friends, go to the theater, dance, listen to music, and take part in games.

To understand American ways of living, therefore, you must understand the communities of our country. You must see men and women, boys and girls, working and playing together in their communities. You must see opinions and beliefs being formed. You must observe how prejudices and enthusiasms determine how people get along together in neighborhood and family, on the job, in the club. You must see men governing and being governed. You must try to picture to yourself the great range and variety of ways of living in the communities of America.

Ewing Galloway

Fig. 11. The library helps children to learn about their community

MAKE A SURVEY OF YOUR OWN COMMUNITY

To do so your study must be twofold: first, a study of your own community; second, a study of other kinds of communities in America.

For an understanding of your own community, organize a survey of life around you. Study the history of your town, gathering together copies of old records. Try to understand the people who founded and developed it. Try to understand the neighborhoods, the family life, the social organizations, the government. Study the needs of your community, and try to learn how it can be improved.

CITIZENSHIP AND GOVERNMENT

The central problem of our study

But by far the most important problem to study is government. In introducing our work let us try to understand what government really is, what it does. We shall turn to this in the next chapter. But we also need to grasp clearly one other idea—"citizenship." We shall turn to the study of that idea in Chapter III.

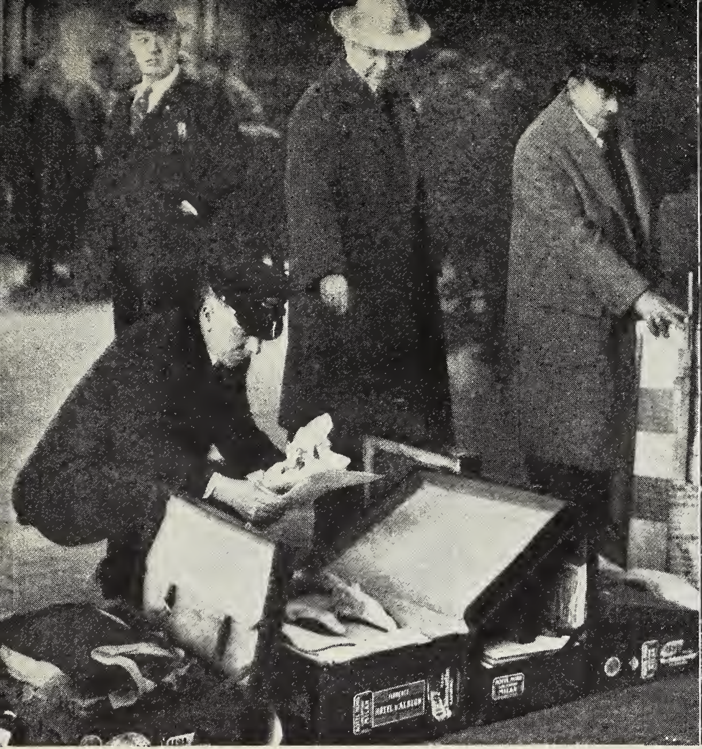

Fig. 12. Protecting the country: a customs official making certain that no unlawful goods are brought in

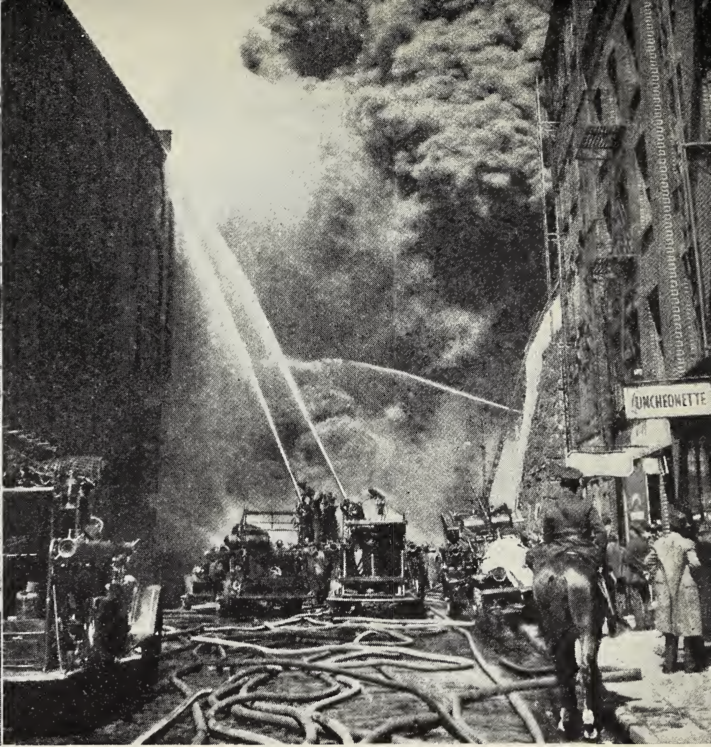

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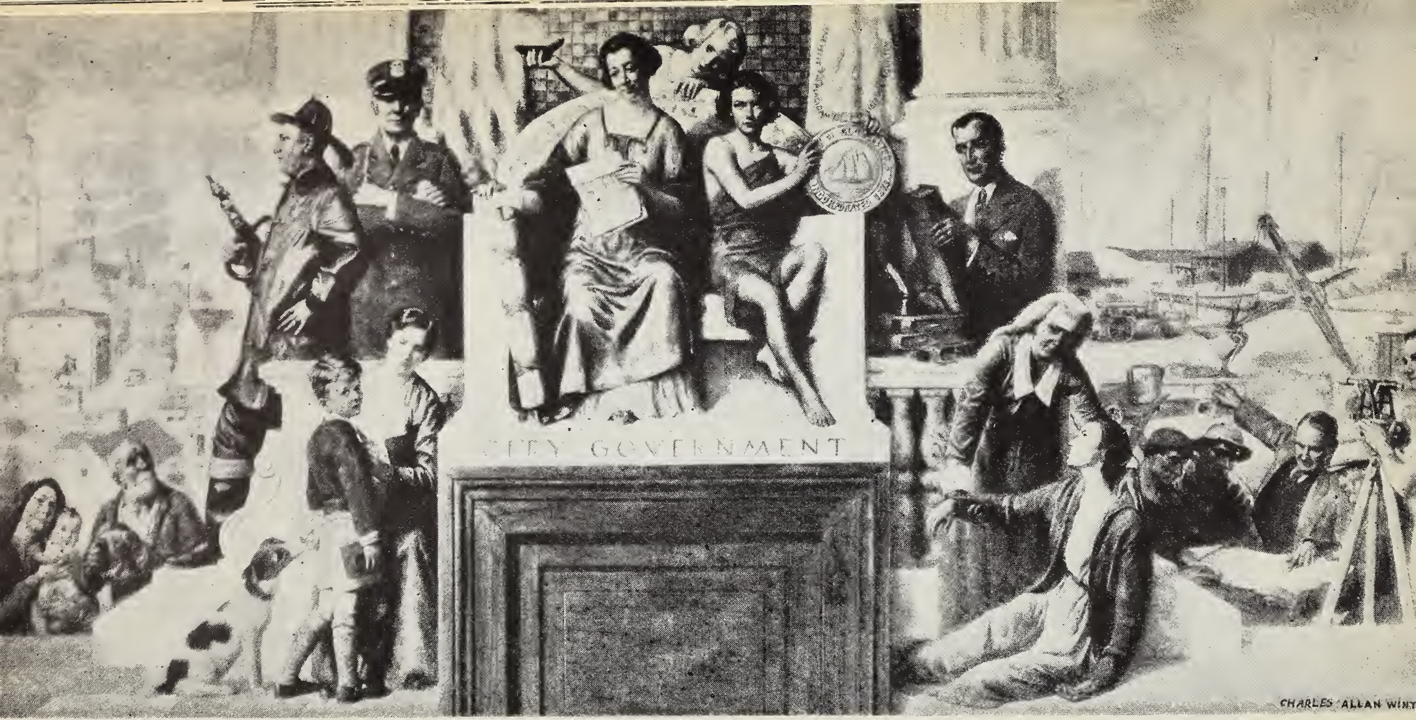
Fig. 13. Protecting the community: a city fire department at work to save property


CITY GOVERNMENT
CHARLES ALLAN WINT

Keystone

Fig. 14. The Responsibility of City Government, a mural in the city hall in Gloucester, Massachusetts. What "responsibilities" are portrayed? What does it reveal about the main occupation of the city?

Chapter II · Some Important Ideas about Government: What It Is and What It Does

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"Well, Jack," said Mr. Watson to his son as the family settled down to a leisurely Sunday dinner, "how is your club getting on with the study of Laneville's government?"

"Well, Dad, we didn't get very far the last two days. We spent our time organizing the club and making plans. Had to draw up a constitution and a set of bylaws."

"Bylaws?" asked Mary, his sister. "What are bylaws?"

"They are rules to follow in carrying on our discussions, survey trips, and other work. We found things got badly jammed without rules, so we appointed committees and drew up a set of bylaws stating exactly how things should be run. Now if any question comes up our officers can make decisions by following our new bylaws."

"Such rules are very necessary," said the father. "Any people who make plans and do things as a group must have them. The Board of Directors of our company has bylaws. Our city council carries on its business according to a set of bylaws. Every state and every country have them. In every civilized land that I've heard of, the people have discovered they must have laws. And these are carefully written down so that they and their officials know exactly what rules of living have been agreed to."

"But what is a constitution? Is that a law too?" asked Mary.

"Yes," answered her father, "it is the most basic law of all. Haven't you heard people say: 'But, that is against the constitution'? Every time a new law is suggested the lawmakers study it carefully to make sure that there is nothing in it that is forbidden by the constitution."

"Yes, but isn't there some difference between a constitution and a law?" insisted Mary.

"They are both laws," continued the father, "but the one—the constitution—is regarded as more important and more permanent than an ordinary law. The constitution is made by a convention of leaders chosen especially for that purpose. The American Constitution states in written form how the public affairs of our people are to be run, who is to have power to run them, and the like. Its parts are stated as carefully as possible to avoid misunderstanding or violations. Yes, the Constitution is the basic law of the land. And you will learn that it is difficult to change. An ordinary law passed by Congress or by a state legislature can be repealed or canceled at any time by passing a new law. Your club, Jack, will find that a careful study of how laws are made, and especially of the way our Federal Constitution has been formed, will be very helpful."

"Yes, we already have plans to study such things, Dad," said Jack. "And we are going to learn about the governments of several other countries too—not only about our own national and state governments."

"Fine! If I were in your club, I'd suggest making a careful comparison of our government with at least the democratic governments of Great Britain and France and one or two of the dictatorships, such as Russia or Italy or Germany."

"We plan to include those very ones, Dad. We're going to compare and contrast democratic governments with monarchies, with oligarchies, with dictatorships. Since our own American government is a democracy, we want to see exactly what its advantages and disadvantages are. We are going to organize our discussion around such questions as these: What is government? What does it do? Why must we have government? What are the chief kinds of government and what are the advantages of each?"

"Those are good questions, Jack. In studying what governments do, what government really is, make sure you get at the really important *principles of democratic government.*"

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

1. The people control one another through government

"Principles?" asked Jack. "What do you mean by that?"

"Well, they are the important ideas behind what the government does. For example, the ideas that lie back of government control or regulation of what the people do are government principles. These ideas are at work right in my own business. My partner, Mr. Johnson, and I found that we had to have more money to expand our business. So last week we decided to form a corporation and sell stock in our company. But to do that we have to get permission from the state government. That is, the government controls, has charge of, the forming of corporations. It requires that we report our earnings each year. We have to pay income taxes and agree to many other regulations. You see, government controls my business life to a certain extent—and much more than it did my father's when he started out. In 1870 the government let him do just about what he wanted to do. But things have changed a great deal since then and we businessmen conduct our affairs under some government regulation and control. 'Control,' then, is one idea I mean when I say 'principles' of government."

"But, Dad," said Mary, "you are not the only one in this family who has to do what the government says. I'd like to leave school and go to work. But the principal tells me that the school law says I must attend until I am eighteen."

The children's Aunt Elizabeth, a buyer for the local department store, broke into the conversation.

"Some things are controlled by the state government, and some by the Federal, or United States, government. Before I could go to Europe last summer I had to get a passport from Washington giving me permission to leave the United States. The government even tells us whether we can go abroad or not! Talk about things changing! I remember when my aunt used to go to London and Paris to buy clothes every year and she never had to have a passport. You are right about the government controlling us. It also controls the goods you can bring into the country with you! You have to list every single little thing you buy abroad, and if all you bring in is worth more than a hundred dollars you must pay a 'duty.' "

"The city laws affect us too," added Mrs. Watson. "The grocer tells me that he cannot sell me milk unless it comes up to certain standards. The pure-food laws of the city control the quality of many of the things I buy at the stores. And everything has to be labeled too."

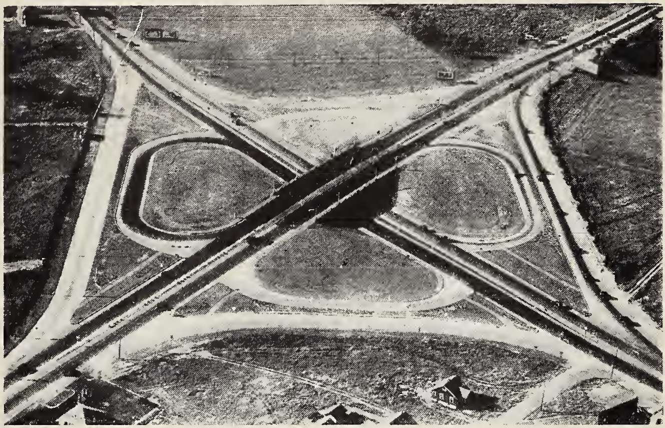

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Fig. 15. A "clover-leaf" intersection, one of the safety devices planned, through the co-operation of Federal and state governments, for the control of constantly moving streams of traffic on our roads

"Yes," added Jack, "I could name a lot of other ways in which our lives are controlled by government. Everything about driving automobiles is controlled; people's lives and their property are protected by law. And many other things."

"Do you know too," added Mr. Watson, "that what you can say about other people is regulated? There are 'libel' and 'slander' laws. And one cannot make a public nuisance of himself in towns and cities. There are laws against making loud noises, keeping garbage in yards or streets, making dangerous fires, blocking the roads, and so on."

"Well," said Jack finally, "I shall certainly make the point clear in our club discussion that government does many things which help to determine how we live. It controls our lives in many ways. We've just got to study how the states, the Federal government, and local communities regulate and control our lives."

2. The people co-operate through government

"But the work of government includes more than the control of people's lives, Jack," added Mr. Watson. "Government has also helped people to co-operate; that is, to do things together."

"What sorts of things?" asked Jack.

"Well, take the water supply of this city. You can turn on a faucet and get pure water and plenty of it any moment of the day or night. It's always there. No pumping as my grandfather did on his farm! No deep wells run by electricity which cost a thousand dollars to dig and equip. And a tremendous power behind the water too!"

"That's right," said Mrs. Watson. "When Thompson's ten-story block caught on fire the other night, five separate hose lines sent water to the top floor."

"Did the city government provide that?" asked Mary.

"Yes, mostly," answered Mr. Watson; "although the state government helps by building reservoirs upstate. That is, the people together work through the 'government' which they have set up. But the total cost to me is only a few dollars a year. It's part of my taxes. Every householder in town pays a water tax. In that way we sort of pool our money and hire engineers to build and run reservoirs, purification plants, pipe systems, pumping stations, and the like. They work for us, the people."

"That's sure co-operation!" murmured Jack. "Only there's 'control' in it too, isn't there? You *have* to pay your taxes whether you want to or not."

"Yes, it's a good example of both co-operation and control."

"Schools are another," added Mary, who couldn't get her mind off that subject. "They are public, run by public money."

"True," added Mr. Watson. "They are paid for by 'school taxes,' and every citizen in the community must contribute something, whether he has children in school or not."

"That's different from what happened when my great-grandmother lived," spoke up Mrs. Watson. "I heard her tell of the time when there were no public schools and each family that had children helped pay the teacher. Each one paid so much for each child that was taught. Those without children did not pay."

"Many changes have been made in government during recent years," added Aunt Elizabeth. "Government control of public affairs is increasing all the time."

"Well, this school tax doesn't seem fair to me," said Mary. "Why should some people have to pay for educating other people's children?"

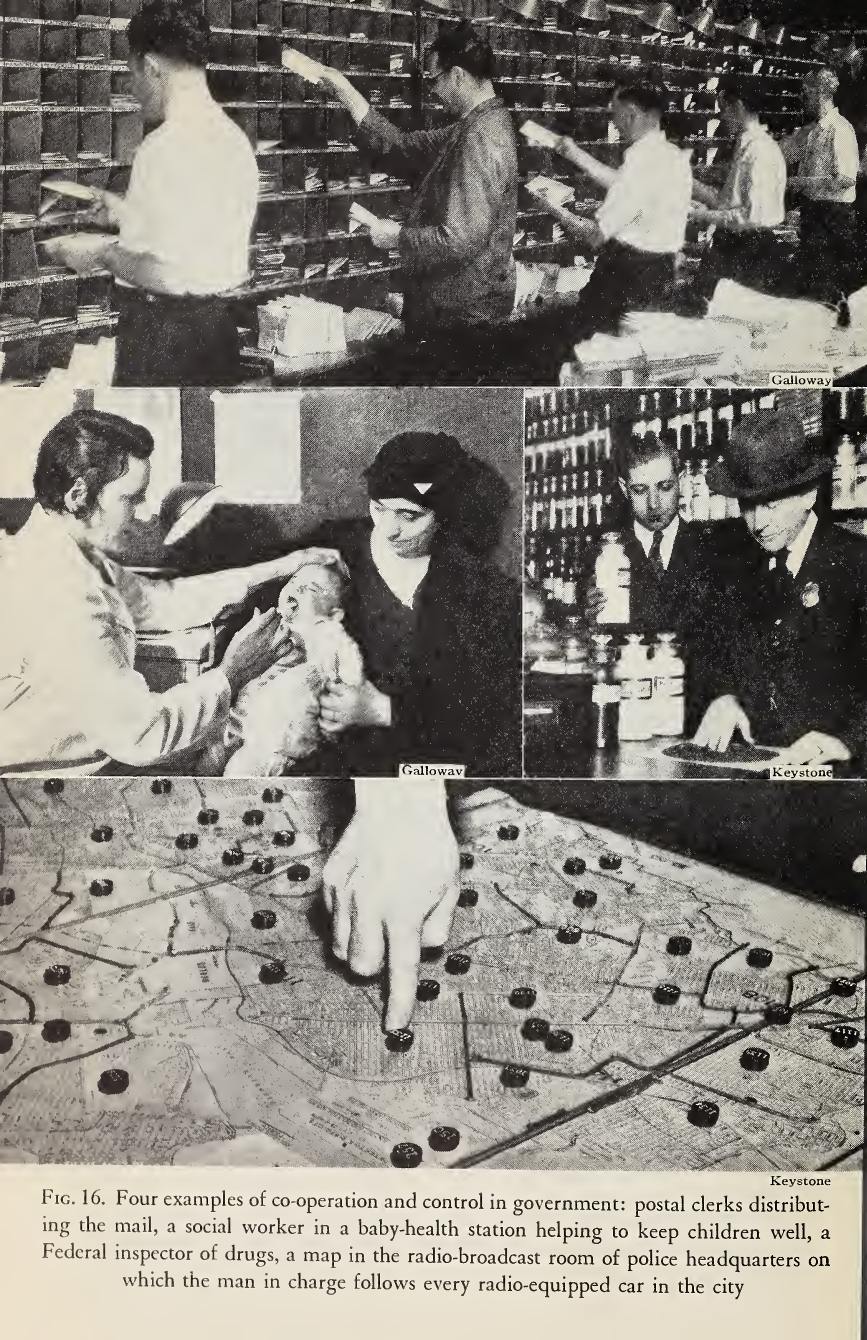

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FIG. 16. Four examples of co-operation and control in government: postal clerks distributing the mail, a social worker in a baby-health station helping to keep children well, a Federal inspector of drugs, a map in the radio-broadcast room of police headquarters on which the man in charge follows every radio-equipped car in the city

"That's the old argument," said Mr. Watson. "Many people have advanced it through the past hundred years. It's only recently that modern countries have taxed all their citizens to give all the children of all the people an education. That's one of the finest examples of co-operative government that there is."

"I suppose the fire department with all its firemen and apparatus is one of the best ones too," said Jack.

"Yes, and the police force, the courts, and the judges are others. They control us—no . . ." Mr. Watson interrupted himself and seemed to be thinking out more slowly and carefully what he wanted to say. "*We, the people really control ourselves! We co-operate in providing many services for our own protection.* We raise money, and hire policemen and firemen, water-supply engineers, the school superintendent, principals, and teachers. They are our public servants. They are the government; but we, the people, appoint them and pay them."

"Say, that's fine!" exclaimed Jack. "I am beginning to see that government in our kind of town and country is always co-operation and control. We, the people of a community 'co-operate'; by working together we get things done that no one family could do alone. But we also *willingly* agree to submit to '*control*' by the representatives we choose to govern us."

"You're getting the idea, Jack," said his father, smiling. "In our kind of country the people impose control, put control, upon themselves. *That is democracy—co-operation and self-discipline.* In Germany, Italy, Russia, and other places today dictators tell the people exactly what they can and cannot do. The people generally have very little to say about running their own affairs. But in our country the people have learned that it is 'for the greatest good of the greatest number' to join hands and do things together. Every phase of our daily lives shows it—water supply, police and fire protection, health protection, keeping things beautiful, everything."

Mary was now also becoming very interested, even a little excited about the ideas being discussed. "I have read about how that happened. Water supplies used to be privately owned and everybody could do as he wanted. But so many towns and cities —even New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, and some others—burned down, that big public water systems had to be

FIG. 17. A meeting of the Board of Review of the NRA to determine whether monopolies are existing unlawfully in certain industries

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FIG. 18. The WPA has furnished work on useful public projects for thousands of unemployed laborers. This and figure 17 are also examples of government control and co-operation

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WORK
PROGRAM
WPA
FLORIST

built. Laws had to be passed to regulate the use of water. Only in the last hundred years or so, too."

"Yes," added Jack, "and health laws came in the same way. Terrible epidemics of disease caused by impure water killed thousands of people in many different cities. So in one city after another the people voted to build purification plants. Garbage had to be burned or otherwise put safely away. Again co-operative control, Dad!"

"Right again, Jack. And what about these huge taxes we're paying now for the relief of the people out of work? Mr. Klein, our neighbor, like many other men in the city, has been out of work for years, although he has tried his best to get a job. What happened? The Kleins and the others have been on 'relief.' All the people in our community co-operated, by paying taxes, to help the unemployed. And government said it was only right to do so; government—that is, we the people—controlled at that point too."

"And I'm thankful that our 130,000,000 people co-operate to have a system of national defense," added Mr. Watson. "In these unsettled times throughout the world you have to have an army and a navy to protect the country. And only by co-operation can that be done."

"Of course," agreed Aunt Elizabeth. "Individual families couldn't defend themselves very well against a foreign navy or army, could they?"

So the conversation at the Watsons' Sunday dinner table went on until finally Jack said: "Dad, I've certainly got a much better idea of what's involved in government. Tomorrow I'll start the club off on a study of what government really is."

"Well, there's nothing more important today than the study of government. But keep the club at it until you've dug to the bottom of our way of living. Look around you for lots of examples, but also be sure that you get down to the real principles of government. Remember that there are many more than we've talked about today."

What do you think? What is government? Is it "We, The People"? Is it, as Mr. Watson said, the means through which the

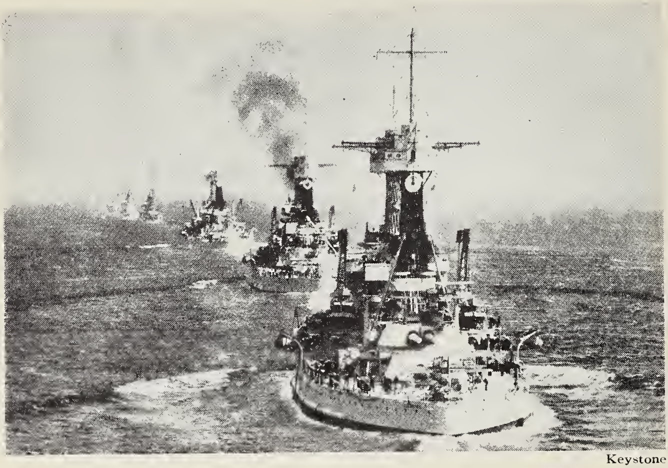

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Fig. 19. Co-operation for national defense

people of a community, a state, or a country, co-operate in doing things together that they cannot do separately? Is it the means through which they control their lives so that all can be secure and protected from danger? Is government merely co-operation and control? Or is more involved—much more?

3. Government a way of making community life orderly and secure

Not long ago the author of this book was driving on a crowded New York City boulevard. Traffic was very heavy. More than a thousand cars had been moving up and down each block of the thoroughfare every hour, but always in perfect order and safety. The red and green "Stop" and "Go" lights changed every so many seconds, all day and all night, regulating, controlling the huge traffic. No police officers were necessary; the citizens had learned to watch and obey the red and green lights.

Suddenly the lights stopped working! What happened? Every driver became a "law unto himself." Nobody stopped, except when in danger of an accident. East and west traffic tried to weave its way across the swiftly moving cars on the boulevard. Traffic slowed down. One by one, cars stopped to avoid hitting those crossing. Within a few minutes a line of cars covering several blocks was stalled. There was a traffic jam at every street intersection. Drivers honked and tooted, shouted and stormed, at one another. Nobody would give way and so nobody could move. It was "everybody for himself," and in a crowded city that meant a "jam." It was, in fact, the complete breakdown of a bit of the city's government.

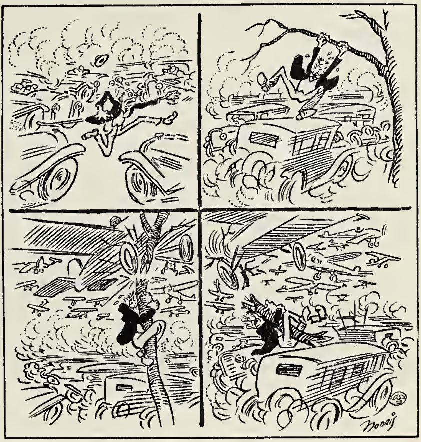

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Fig. 20. This strip aims, in a humorous way, to show what might happen to the pedestrian were there no laws to regulate traffic

Suddenly, came "the law" . . . "the government." Policemen appeared and took their places at the intersections. They blew their whistles. Drivers became quiet, took orders, and did as they were told. "Back over there! Go forward! Turn off on that street! Now you, over there, move ahead!"

Quickly the experts on street traffic straightened out the snarls. Cars began to move. "Stop" and "Go" again became the order of the day. In five minutes traffic was moving once more in orderly and secure fashion. Government had established "law and order."

Traffic control is only one of scores of examples that you and your classmates can give of the ways in which government provides order and security to the social life in our communities.

4. Government gives greater freedom

On hearing the story about traffic that we have just told, Phil Stone, in a high-school civics class, exclaimed: "That suggests another thing government really does—it makes people freer! It gives them more liberty!"

This remark started a lively discussion from the group—"To control people gives them liberty? Nonsense! It reduces people's freedom; it doesn't increase it!"

"Didn't the red and green lights really free the drivers on that boulevard?" continued Phil. "They gave security as well as order. Each driver knew exactly when to stop and when to go. Not only greater *order*, but more *freedom* goes with government, with law and order."

"That's right," said the teacher. "But there is another way of living together that's exactly the opposite. It's called 'anarchy,' from two Greek words meaning 'against authority.' It really means living without organized government. No law . . . no agreed-upon order. And, as Phil said, when those lights went off and every man looked out for himself, the drivers became less free than they were when told exactly the moment to 'Stop' or 'Go.' Control over people's living, that is, control that is wisely managed and agreed to by the people, really increases their freedom."

"Well, that really means, doesn't it, that you get more of one kind of liberty by giving up certain other kinds of liberty?" exclaimed Phil. "You give up the right to drive or speed any way you want to, recklessly, carelessly, drunkenly, leaving your car in the middle of the road, or with the brakes off, and so forth. But on giving these up and accepting the 'rules of the road' you gain liberty."

"Yes," smiled the teacher, "if the people themselves think through the problem of control and agree upon what is wise and just. Of course, every case must be thought through on its own merits."

"One thing seems to me to be clear," remarked John, who had taken little part in the discussion. "In a crowded and interdependent civilization like ours we need a great deal of government —a lot of what is called 'social control.' "

"That's right," agreed the teacher, "the more numerous the people and the more complicated the civilization, the more government you have to have—to keep order, to protect lives and property; in short, 'to give freedom.' "

Ewing Galloway

Fig. 21. Community Government: a school board meets to decide questions of government relating to the schools

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Fig. 22. Federal Government: labor leaders meet with the Secretary of Labor to discuss ways of averting labor strikes

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5. Government settles disputes

The United States is a country of 130,000,000 people. Each of these is an individual. Each one has his own special interests, likes and dislikes. Each one wants certain things and fears certain things. Each one is to a large extent self-centered—"egocentric" we say—constantly striving to gain his own ends. Each one desires to protect himself from others, to make himself secure. Thus, we say of ourselves that we are "individualists."

These individualists live most of their lives in groups—in families, neighborhoods, work groups, church groups, social recreational groups, political groups, racial groups, and so on. Nevertheless, as individualists, their separate interests are often opposed to the separate interests of others in these groups. Hence conflicts arise.

Let us consider a single instance to show how a conflict which must be settled arises. Take the question Shall unlimited numbers of immigrant laborers be permitted to enter our country from countries where wages are definitely lower than those in America? Employers of "low-paid labor" are inclined to welcome unlimited immigration from southeastern Europe, Mexico, and Asia. Such cheap labor reduces their pay rolls. On the other hand, native-born employees in industries using such cheap labor are generally against the immigration of cheap labor, because it tends to lower their own wages. Their labor unions pass resolutions against it and their officers do all they can to persuade legislators not to pass laws permitting it.

Here, then, is a conflict which some authority must settle or there will be violence and bloodshed. Where is the authority to come from? No one individual, no one group, no one community—only the national government itself can manage this conflict. What can it do? It can pass a national law regulating immigration into the United States, stating exactly who can and cannot enter the country to visit, to live, to work, or to become citizens.

Each week, in a country like ours, there are thousands of conflicts. Some are personal differences between individuals. Others are deep-seated differences between large groups. Sometimes only government can settle them. As we go on with our study we shall see how government solves such conflicts peacefully, quietly, always maintaining order and giving as much security as is possible under the circumstances.

Summing up quickly then—government is the group's way of:

1. Co-operating, doing things together.
2. Regulating and controlling what individuals do.
3. Making social life orderly and secure.
4. Giving the people of a complicated civilization greater freedom.
5. Settling disputes.

HOW GOVERNMENT DOES THESE THINGS: A QUICK GLANCE

Perhaps the briefest way to sum it up is to say that government does three things:

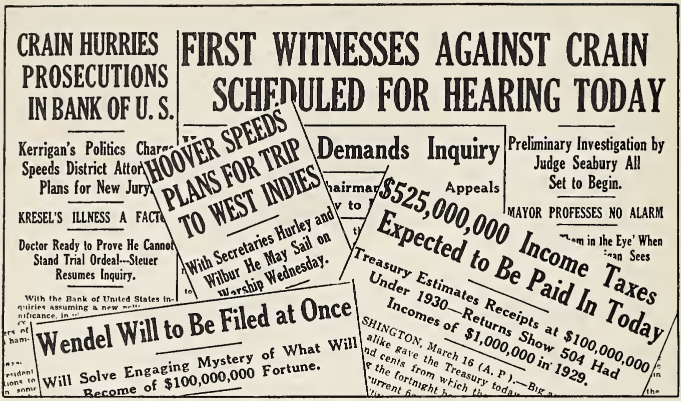
1. It *makes laws*—the work of the legislative part of the government.
2. It *carries out the laws*—the work of the executive part of the government.
3. It *interprets the laws, settles disputes, clears up conflicts*—the work of the courts, the judicial part of the government.

Note how the idea, the law, comes into each of these three divisions. Government makes the law . . . carries out the law . . . interprets the law. Thus we get three branches of government—the *lawmaking* (legislative) branch . . . the *law-executing* (executive) branch . . . the *law-interpreting* (judicial) branch. Since law seems to be the very basis of government, let us look more carefully at that for a moment.

LAW: THE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT

Have you ever noticed how many headlines of our daily newspapers introduce stories which involve the law in some way? See figure 23, for example. One three-column headline tells that an investigation is being made of the office of the district attorney. Another reports the prosecution of a bank. A two-column headline announces an item of somebody's will. Two other headlines deal with income taxes. There is only one that has nothing to do with the law.

You have only to turn through the pages of any town or city newspaper to see how great a part law plays in community life.



CRAIN HURRIES PROSECUTIONS IN BANK OF U. S.

Kerrigan's Politics Char Speeds District Attor Plans for New Jury

KRESEL'S ILLNESS A FACT

Doctor Ready to Prove He Canno Stand Trial Ordeal---Steuer Resumes Inquiry.

With the Bank of United States in-quiries assuming a new

FIRST WITNESSES AGAINST CRAIN SCHEDULED FOR HEARING TODAY

Preliminary Investigation by Judge Seabury All Set to Begin.

MAYOR PROFESSES NO ALARM

Demands Inquiry

Appeals

HOOVER SPEEDS PLANS FOR TRIP TO WEST INDIES

With Secretaries Hurley and Wilbur He May Sail on Warship Wednesday.

$525,000,000 Income Taxes Expected to Be Paid In Today

Treasury Estimates Receipts at $100,000,000 Under 1930—Returns Show 504 Had Incomes of $1,000,000 in 1929.

SHINGTON, March 16 (A. P.).—Big

Wendel Will to Be Filed at Once

Will Solve Engaging Mystery of What Will Become of $100,000,000 Fortune.

Fig. 23[1]

There are notices of births, marriages, divorces, deaths. There are announcements of the forming of new corporations. A great number of court cases are described—from a suit for the nonpayment of a debt to the murder of a respected citizen.

Many conversations in the street, in neighborhood gossip, in the family, constantly refer to the law. For example:

"I see that Sam Wilson was arrested last night for forgery."

"John Martin has sued Tom Lawson for an accounting on his father's estate."

"The men working on that new McCarthy building are violating the law by leaving their tools and lumber out in front on the sidewalk."

"Jack Hanna has run away again. I understand that they are going to send him to the reformatory this time."

"I wonder why they don't put a traffic cop at Myrtle Avenue and Seventh Street—one of the worst crossings in the city! Hardly a day passes but traffic gets all tangled up there."

So the talk runs, wherever people come together.

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[1] From the New York *Sun*, March 16, 1931.

THE NECESSITY FOR LAW IN OUR MODERN CIVILIZATION

On every side we are surrounded by the law. It regulates where we walk, ride, and drive vehicles on the street. It requires that the food we buy be pure. It guarantees the quality of the household furnishings in our homes. It controls the buying and selling of goods. It demands cleanliness in our streets and parks.

As you of course know, conditions in America did not always require so much law. A hundred years ago, on the frontier, each family was a law unto itself. Our pioneers had no organized communities to depend upon for protection; they did everything for themselves, having little or no need of laws to protect them. Furthermore, there were no written laws to keep people from doing as they pleased. They could use their land as they liked. They could cut down timber and build any kind of dwelling that suited their fancy. Whenever they wished to, they could carry and use firearms. The only laws the pioneers had were the unwritten rules which they made for their own welfare and protection.

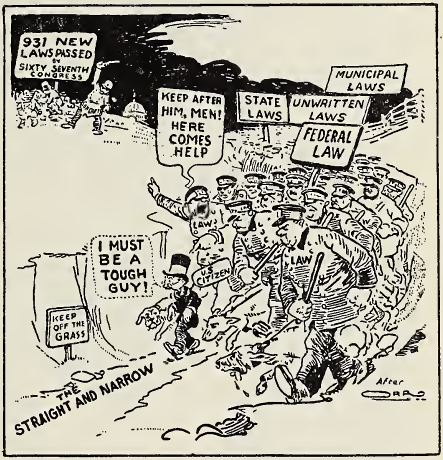

931 NEW LAWS PASSED BY SIXTY SEVENTH CONGRESS
MUNICIPAL LAWS
KEEP AFTER HIM, MEN! HERE COMES HELP
STATE LAWS
UNWRITTEN LAWS
FEDERAL LAW
LAW
I MUST BE A TOUGH GUY!
U.S. CITIZEN
LAW
KEEP OFF THE GRASS
THE STRAIGHT AND NARROW
After Orr

Fig. 24. Find the American citizen in this cartoon. On every side of him are laws to regulate his conduct and to protect him

Orr in the *Chicago Tribune*

If each of us lived by himself, there would be no need for laws, or for police, district attorneys, courts, and judges to enforce the laws. But in the complicated world of today we live in groups. We live in communities, in rural hamlets, in small villages, towns, and cities. Hence it is necessary to have rules—laws— and an elaborate system of justice to regulate how we live together.

Consider, for example, the dangers to life and property in the cities, dangers which compel these communities to make and enforce laws to protect their citizens.

First, there is the danger of a disease epidemic. A contagious disease may travel from family to family with amazing rapidity under the crowded conditions of city life.

Second, there is the danger of fire. In the cities, where dwellings stand so close together that one wall often serves two buildings, fire may spread from dwelling to dwelling, causing great loss of life and property.

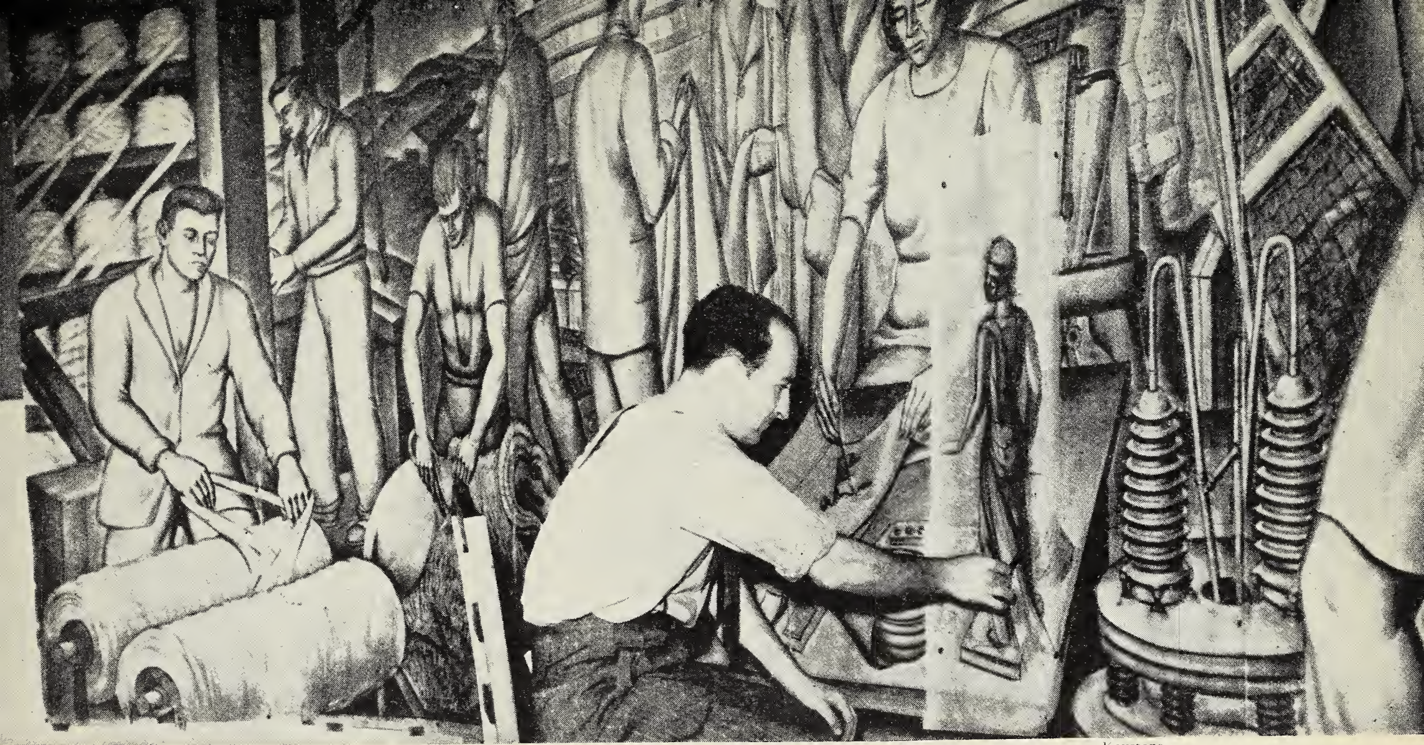
Third, there is the danger of accidents. Thousands of automobiles and hundreds of trolley cars glide swiftly through the crowded city streets, endangering the people on foot. Beneath the streets lie dangerous gas mains, electric wires, and sometimes electrically charged rails of subways.

Fourth, there is the menace of vice and crime. As cities have grown, gambling, drunkenness, murder, burglary, and robbery have increased. Much of this is due to the fact that the people no longer can know everyone in the community and call him neighbor. Life in the city has become impersonal. Also, crowded, unhealthful neighborhoods, poverty, undesirable companionships —these and other conditions account for the spreading of vice and crime in the city.

In the village and town many of the same dangers exist. Disease may travel from one house to another. Fire may spread rapidly along the business streets. Automobile accidents may occur at the principal crossings. Crimes may be committed.

There are also dangers to the people who live on farms. There may be the danger of an impure water supply. There may be the danger of property or crop damage by trespassers. You probably can mention some others.

To guard people against these and other dangers many laws have been passed. Laws state that persons having contagious diseases must be kept separate from others, and hospitals have been established to take care of them. Buildings must be erected in accordance with fire laws, and well-organized fire departments hasten to answer the first call for help. Citizens and corporations are required to take precautions to prevent many kinds of avoidable accidents. Because of laws, people are forbidden to interfere with



Keystone

Fig. 25. The government has not only aided the manual worker but it has also helped the writer, the actor, the musician, the artist. Here an artist is at work on a mural to portray the making of textiles

or harm others living in the same community. Police departments and courts have been set up to see that these laws are obeyed, and to punish those who break them.

Though there are many laws, some dangers remain. Disease is still communicated from one person to another, although the number of deaths from this cause is decreasing each year. In our country fire still destroys one home every two minutes, and about 28 people die because of it every day. Fires take about 10,000 human lives in the United States each year. Accidents too are frequent. A survey[1] made in 1935 and 1936 disclosed that 7 per cent of all deaths in the nation are caused by accidents. In 1937 as many as 40,300 people died from automobile accidents alone. Crime is also responsible for a large number of deaths. Evidently it is very difficult to make life secure and peaceful. In spite of thousands of laws and a vast system of police, courts, and prisons, many people suffer each year because of the dangers in our modern civilization.

SUMMING UP

This must end our introduction to the study of what government is and what it does. Look back over the chapter and gather together what you have learned. Especially try to answer these questions:

First. How does government make it possible for people to cooperate in community and national life? Illustrate this idea.

Second. How does government permit people to control one another? Why is control necessary? Is it more necessary today than it was in earlier times? Give some reasons.

Third. Just how does democratic government give our people greater freedom, greater security, greater peace?

So much for a brief glimpse of government. This is the most important topic in the study of community and national life in this volume and the next one. Most of our questions will relate in some way to problems of government. Everything that concerns the life of the citizen of a state is, to some extent, a matter of government.

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[1] In 1938 The National Institute of Health of the United States Public Health Service published a preliminary report of this survey.

And that brings us to the next important idea that we shall explore; namely:

Citizens and citizenship in America

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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KEOHANE, R. E., KEOHANE, M. P., and MCGOLDRICK, J. D. Government in Action. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. See especially Chapters II and XXIX, on what government means.

MAGRUDER, FRANK A. American Government. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

MUNRO, WILLIAM B. Social Civics. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapters IV and VI.

OGG, FREDERIC A., and RAY, P. ORMAN. Introduction to American Government. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York.

YOUNG, JEREMIAH, and BARTON, EDWIN M. Growing in Citizenship. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. See Chapter XI, "Nature and Kinds of Government," and Chapter XII, "The Government of the United States."

Society for Curriculum Study, New York. Building America, Vol. II, No. 1 (October, 1936), "Our Constitution" (Columbia University Press, New York); also Vol. III, No. 5 (February, 1938), "Our Federal Government" (E. M. Hale and Company, Milwaukee).

See also readings at the close of Chapters IX–XVI.

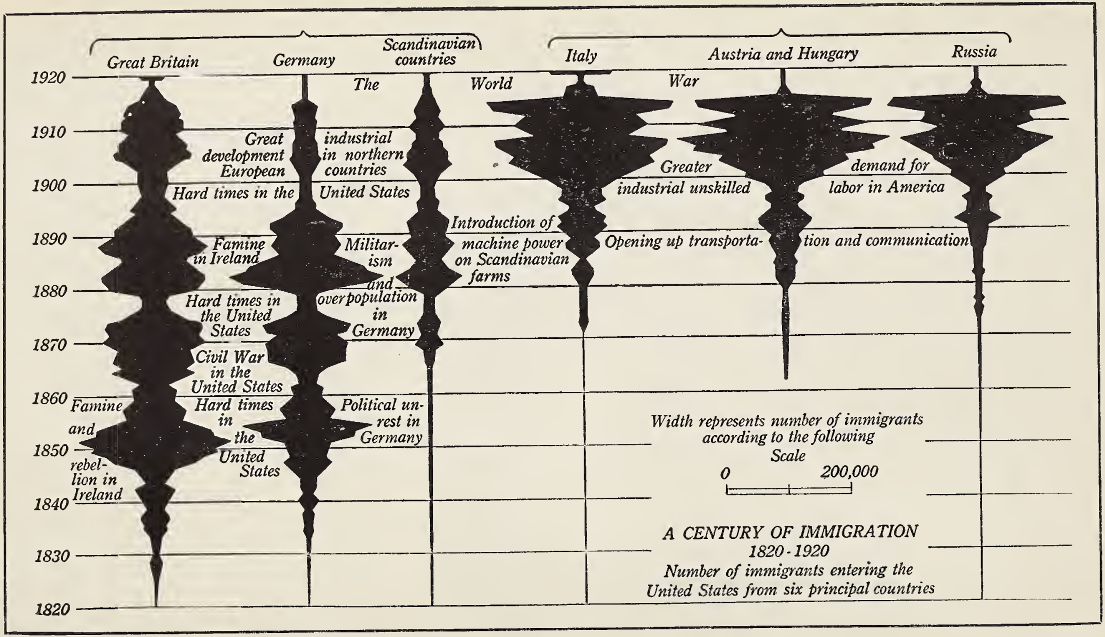

Fig. 26. This graph shows the important national groups which migrated to the United States between 1820 and 1920 and some of the reasons for their coming

Chapter III · Citizens and Citizenship in America

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WHO IS A CITIZEN OF OUR COUNTRY?

The American Constitution says:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

1. Citizenship by birth

To find out whether a certain person is an American citizen by birth one has only to ask two questions: (1) Was he born in the United States? (2) Is he subject to the jurisdiction (authority) of the United States? The second question must be added because not all persons born in the United States are citizens. For example, take the children of a representative of a foreign government who are born in the United States. They are not American citizens; they are subjects of the foreign government which their father represents. On the other hand, children born to American citizens while they are living or traveling abroad are American citizens.

Moreover, because the United States has acquired certain possessions outside the continent of North America, Congress has passed laws making the inhabitants of the following lands citizens of our country: Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Congress has also taken away the citizenship of certain classes of Americans—for example, those convicted of certain crimes, anarchists, the feeble-minded and insane, those who cannot read and write. But the grand total of all persons in these classes is not large—certainly only a small per cent of the total population.

First, then, remember that most persons born in the United States and in its possessions are American citizens. That means two things: (1) that they can enjoy certain privileges; (2) that they owe the United States government certain obligations, that is, they have certain duties.

2. Citizenship by naturalization

Second, remember that there are several million persons now residing in America who, though not born here, are American citizens. They enjoy the same privileges as the native-born citizens and owe our government the same obligations. These are the persons who have been naturalized. What does naturalized mean?

To become a naturalized citizen a foreign-born immigrant to America must do the following things:

First. He must take out his "first papers" of citizenship. This consists of a signed declaration, on oath, that he intends to become a citizen. No foreign-born person under eighteen years of age can do this.

Second. After spending two more years in residence in the United States, he must file his "second papers." This includes a declaration, made under oath, that he intends to support the Constitution of the United States and to renounce (give up entirely) his allegiance to the government of every foreign country, including the one in which he was born.

Third. He must live in the United States for a total of five years (one year of which must be spent in the state where he made his first application for citizenship), and he must be able to prove this residence. Then he is ready to file his final petition for citizenship, which must be done before a Federal court. Two American citizens must swear in this court that they know him to be of "good moral character" and a resident of their community. He must prove that he can read and speak English. A representative of the Labor Department of the United States government is present at the court and asks him questions concerning our form of government and the Federal Constitution, and he must be able to answer them. If the representative and the judge are satisfied that all the requirements for citizenship have been met, the immigrant again takes an oath of allegiance to the United States and renounces all allegiance to his native country. Finally

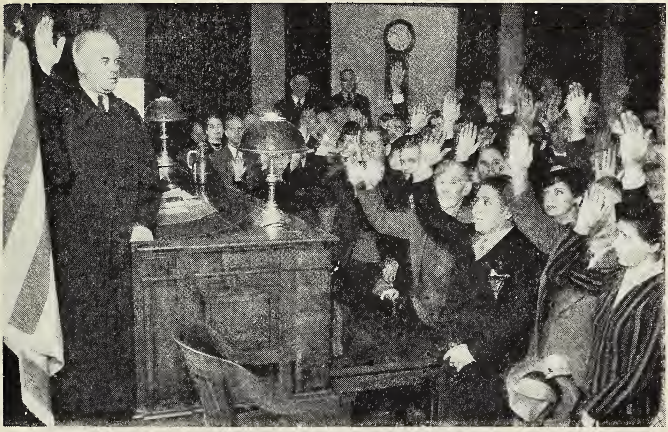

Fig. 27. Taking the oath of allegiance to the United States as the last step in their naturalization

the judge directs the clerk to give the immigrant a "certificate of citizenship." This certificate is his proof that he is an American citizen.

This is the process that is known as naturalization.

Note another important point about citizenship—that concerning the wives and children of foreign-born persons. Wives must take out citizenship themselves, independently of their husbands or other relatives. (Before 1922 the wife of a naturalized citizen automatically became a citizen.) Children of a naturalized alien who are under twenty-one years of age do automatically become citizens. All children over twenty-one years of age must take out their own papers.

It is not an easy task to become a "naturalized" citizen. It requires study and hard work, especially for those who speak only a foreign language upon arrival. Such people, however, are often helped by Boards of Education, Y.M.C.A.'s, and other organizations which have established "Americanization" schools.

Why have millions of immigrants wanted American citizenship?

In a little over a century 35,000,000 foreign-born persons, most of whom were Europeans, have come to live in America. And most of them have become naturalized citizens. As you can see, the process requires hard work and persistence. Each person must live in America five years. Each must study. Each must learn to speak and read English and must become informed about American history and government.

Why have so many people been willing to do this? Part of the answer to that question you know from your earlier studies. They did it because they wished to enjoy greater freedom and better living conditions. Since the first boatload of Europeans arrived in America in 1607 great numbers of immigrants have been entering our harbors. Indeed almost every American citizen today can properly be said to be a descendant of an "immigrant."

Steadily they came—tens of thousands of them in the 1600's and 1700's . . . hundreds of thousands in the 1800's . . . millions in the early 1900's. For 300 years, until the World War in 1914 shut down the gates, a great tide of humanity flooded our ports. And most of these immigrants were allowed to come in without much restriction. They were needed here—to clear the land, to do the work of a growing industrial nation, to build the new cities.

However, these newcomers did not always receive a hearty welcome in America. As the years of the 1800's passed, more and more native-born Americans objected to the great numbers of immigrants who were being allowed to enter. At last, after 1882, Congress began to pass laws restricting immigration. As a result of over a half century of legislation two classes of people are not now allowed to enter our country except to visit, to study for a limited period, or to work temporarily as representatives of foreign governments. These are, first, citizens of certain Asiatic countries, such as Japan, China, and Malaya; and, second, a miscellaneous list of "undesirable persons," such as anarchists, criminals, feeble-minded or insane persons, people with certain diseases, paupers or persons likely to become paupers, and "contract" laborers (those brought in under a written agreement to do certain kinds of work for low wages). Also, today immigration from European countries

One of the world's greatest electrical geniuses, Charles Proteus Steinmetz, was born in Breslau, Germany, in 1865. After taking various preparatory courses, he decided to make mathematics, higher chemistry, and electricity his life work. While still a young man, his political activities got him into trouble, and he was forced to leave Germany. He went first to Switzerland, emigrating to the United States a year later, in 1889. Here he finally became consulting engineer for the General Electric Company . . . accepted a professorship in electrical engineering at Union College, Schenectady . . . worked with the Phoenix research laboratories. He died in 1923. His greatest contributions to science were the "step-up" and the "step-down" transformer of alternating-current electricity, which made possible the transmission of electric power over long distances; the discovery of important laws of electricity; and the invention of various motors used in cheap car-lighting, quick elevator service, and perfected street-lighting. Steinmetz made also many other important inventions, and had about 200 patents to his credit

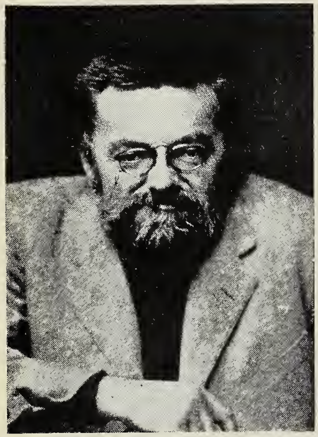

FIG. 28

CHARLES PROTEUS STEINMETZ

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One day in 1874 a sixteen-year-old Serbian schoolboy, Michael Pupin (born in Idvor, Hungary) sold his watch, his books, and most of his clothes. With the proceeds and the money from his small monthly allowances he came to America, arriving with only five cents in his pocket. He worked at odd jobs . . . learned English . . . decided to get an education and become a scientist . . . saved his money . . . went to night school . . . entered Columbia University . . . worked his way through and graduated in 1883. Pupin later studied physics and mathematics at Cambridge University, England, at Johns Hopkins University, and at the University of Berlin. Then, within fifteen years of his arrival in the United States, he became an instructor at Columbia University. Four years later he held the rank of professor. He made many important inventions. For example, whenever you hear clearly over the long-distance telephone it is owing in part to Pupin's researches, which made possible the elimination of interfering noises. He also invented improvements in X-ray equipment and made other important contributions to science. He died in 1935

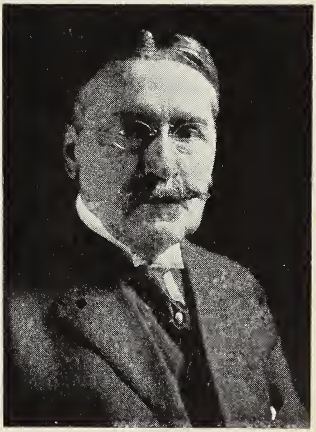
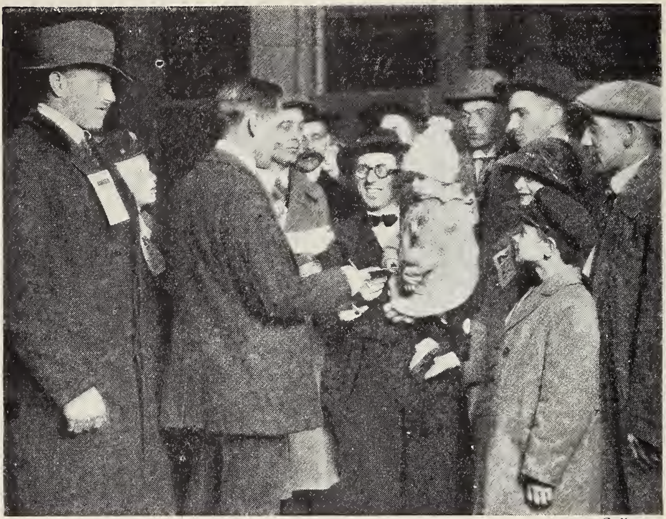


FIG. 29

MICHAEL IDVORSKY PUPIN



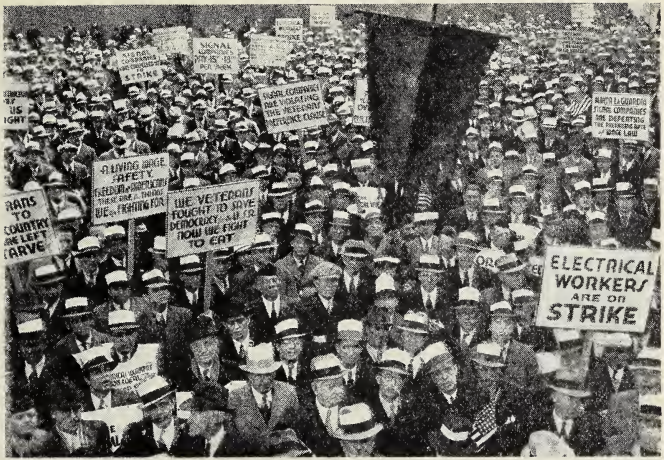
Ewing Galloway

FIG. 30. Immigrants are no longer held in crowds at Ellis Island. This group has passed the examination and is being advised by a welfare worker as to the best means of reaching their new homes

and Africa is strictly limited. Each nation has a "quota" established by law. This means that no more than a certain number of immigrants of each nationality are allowed to enter America each year. There are no quota restrictions upon immigration from the North and South American countries, however.

Even after 1900, when many of the new restrictions were already in force, millions of Europeans continued to come to America to settle. And especially in the past few years, since Hitler and Mussolini and other dictators of Europe have treated the people of their countries so harshly, many of the most distinguished men and women in the world have come here to live. Great scientists, like Albert Einstein, have made new homes in America. World-famous artists—like Thomas Mann the writer, Walter Gropius and other architects and designers, and distinguished musicians like Bruno Walter—have given up their "fatherlands" to become American citizens.

Why did these people want American citizenship?



Keystone

FIG. 31. "The right of the people peaceably to assemble" is granted only in a democracy

When you have finished this book, *Citizenship and Civic Affairs*, you will be able to give a better answer to this question than we can give you at this time in a few pages. Nevertheless a brief answer should be given now. As you continue to study keep this question in mind.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

1. The rights and privileges of an American citizen

Perhaps the outstanding reason why foreign-born persons decided to come to America and be naturalized is that they believed the American way of government to be better than the one they left. The stories they heard of the freedom granted to American citizens contrasted very sharply with the actual oppression in dictatorship countries like Germany and Italy. They heard of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution, which guarantees American citizens freedom of speech, of religion, of assembly, of press, and the like.[1] They learned that naturalized citizens in America can vote, can share in the election of government officials, can help decide the very policies of the government which rules them. They learned that if citizens do not approve the acts of government officials they can criticize these officials publicly, and join with others in helping to oust them from office. They discovered that the lives and property of Americans are protected by law. For example, homes cannot be illegally entered and searched. Property cannot be taken. Citizens have the ancient right to trial by jury; they cannot be arrested and jailed without "due process of law."

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[1] See particularly Chapters X and XI of this book.

Thus it has been the rights and privileges enjoyed by citizens in America that have drawn many immigrants to our shores.

2. The responsibilities and duties of an American citizen

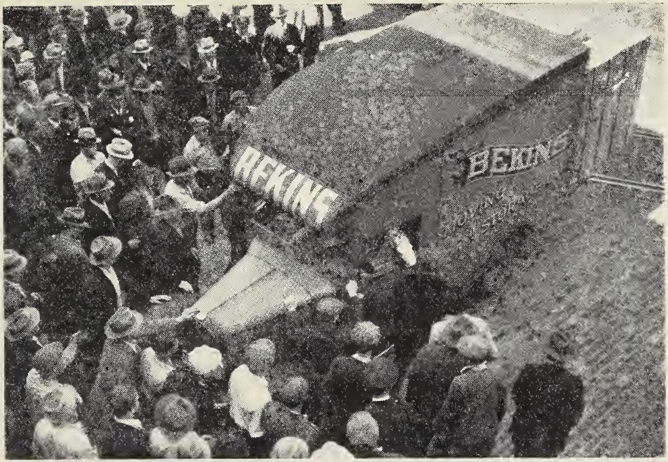
Immigrants getting ready for final American citizenship papers discover also that they must earn these rights and privileges. There are certain responsibilities and duties which our government demands of all citizens. Although we shall discuss these obligations more fully in later chapters, a few can be stated briefly here.

First. Citizens must obey the laws passed by Congress and by state legislatures. They must obey the ordinances (laws) of towns and cities. For example, health and safety can be guaranteed only if *all citizens* obey health, sanitation, traffic, and other regulations. As you have seen in Chapter II, one man's liberty stops where the next man's liberty begins. Individuals' freedom must be limited to give greater freedom, security, and happiness to large groups of citizens. Thus the citizen must earn his liberty by obeying the laws and by co-operating with others in many ways.

Second. Citizens must support the government by paying "taxes" (see Chapter XVIII). In a democracy like ours all the people must contribute to the support of government. Either directly or indirectly every citizen in America pays taxes.

Third. Citizens are required by law to serve on juries, to help a sheriff or police officer whenever called upon to do so. If "good and just government" is to be carried on, fair-minded and cooperative citizens must do it.

Fourth. The good citizen is expected to be willing to hold public office—to serve on a School Board, to become an alderman or councilman, a mayor, a legislator, a governor, or any other public



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 32. Law and order must be preserved even in a strike. Liberty is earned through obedience to law

executive. He is expected to use his abilities to work for good government in his community and state and country. If he can speak or write well he can give voluntary service of that type; if he has other special talents he can contribute those. But contribute he should, if he is a good citizen carrying out his obligations in a democracy and earning his privileges.

Fifth. As has been said, citizens are given the right to vote for governing officials. But more than that—they should regard voting as a duty and an obligation. Chapter XII gives facts concerning the number of citizens who do vote, and the dangers to our government because so many of them do not.

Sixth. In times of war citizens may be required to serve in the armed forces of our country. This is an obligation which is difficult, almost impossible, to escape.

So much, then, for an introduction to the study of citizenship in America. Turn back through Chapters I, II, and III and gather together the chief ideas you have learned. Then turn quickly through the remainder of the book.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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Fairweather, George Owen. Wanted: Intelligent Local Self-government. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Fields, Harold. The Refugee in the United States. Oxford University Press, New York.

Husband, Joseph. Americans by Adoption. The Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston.

Jenks, Jeremiah W., and Smith, Rufus D. We and Our Government. Boni & Liveright, New York. See Chapter V.

King, Clyde L., and Barnard, J. Lynn. Our Community Life. The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia. See Chapter XXV.

Lewis, Ella Cannon. Better Citizenship. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York.

Magruder, Frank A. American Government. Allyn and Bacon, Boston. See Chapters XXX–XXXI.

Munro, William B. Social Civics. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter V.

Ravage, M. E. An American in the Making. Harper & Brothers, New York.

Riis, Jacob A. The Making of an American. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Roosevelt, Theodore. American Ideals. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

See also reading lists for Chapter XXVII.

☆ II ☆

The Changing Group Life of America

The Changing Group Life of America

If we are to understand American civic affairs we must study the communities and groups to which the 130,000,000 Americans belong.

There are actually several millions of these groups.

The largest ones, of course, are the communities themselves—the hamlets and villages, the towns and cities.

These are the "home towns" of our people.

In Chapter IV we shall begin our study of community life in America.

Within the communities are neighborhoods.

A million neighborhoods make up our country.

Just as the United States is a large world of communities, so the single American community is a little world of neighborhoods.

To understand our American nation, then, we must study the face-to-face life that goes on in the neighborhoods.

That we shall do in Chapter V.

Since in this book we are studying the outstanding influences which mold the American, we shall turn also to the study of the family.

In fact, the family is the most important group in which he lives.

It is in the family group that he forms most of his habits and ideas, his attitudes and opinions.

The story of the American family is so important that we shall give two chapters to it—VI and VII.

Americans also live in many other kinds of groups.

There are social groups—for example, lodges and service clubs.

There are political and religious organizations.

There are civic-betterment groups, work groups, play groups.

Examples of these are given in Chapter VIII.

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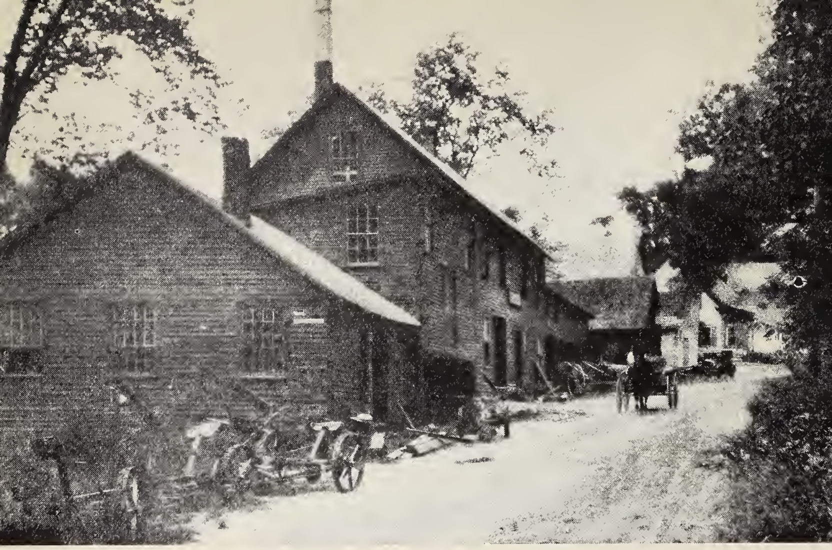

Fig. 33. A village street in an old New England town

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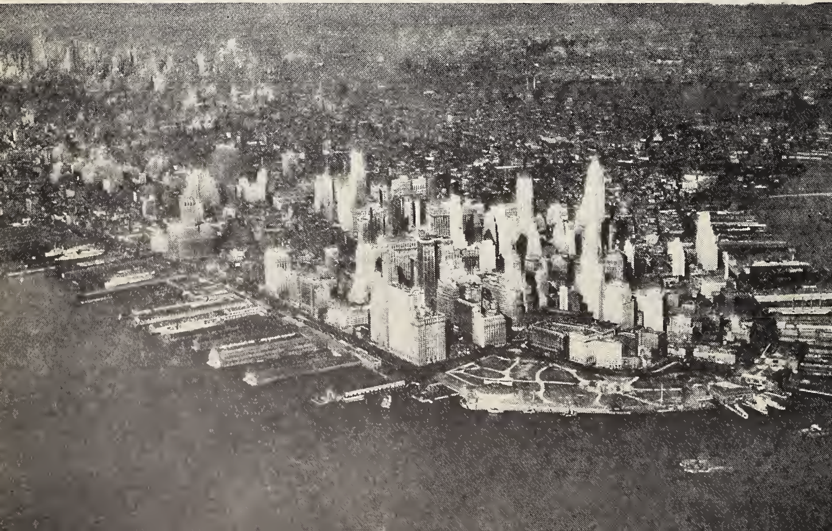
Fig. 34. The skyscrapers of downtown New York

Ewing Galloway



CHAPTER IV · America: A Nation of Communities

Mr. Harris opened the second meeting of the Social Science Club with a question: "How many communities do you think there are in the United States?" For a moment there was silence. Then Will Thompson, a new member, spoke up, "I think—at least 1000."

"Oh, many more than that," said Sarah Hall, amid a dozen exclamations from all parts of the room. "There must be 1000 in our state alone. Mr. Harris, I say 50,000."

Other answers were given, one as large as 100,000. Ben Pillsbury, the president of the club, listed the numbers on the blackboard. Then the results were arranged in the form shown in Table I.

Which answer do you think is most nearly correct? How many communities are there in the United States? Before you turn to page 58, make your estimate; then check it with Table II.

COMMUNITIES OF EVERY SIZE AND KIND

Table II partly answers our question concerning the total number of American communities today. But it does not by any means tell the whole story. You will note that the "little villages" are incorporated villages—that is, they are communities with regular governments organized according to state laws. Now, many thousands of villages and hamlets are not incorporated. Yet they are true communities in the sense that they are groups of people living together with certain common interests. No information is available concerning the exact number of such unincorporated places in the entire country, but it is certain that there are many thousands of them. And if these communities were added to the incorporated ones given in Table II, there is reason to believe that the total number would be at least 30,000. Are you not astonished to learn that there are 30,000 different cities, towns, villages, and hamlets in the United States?

Note, too, the wide *range* of community life that is shown by the table. At one extreme are a few great metropolitan cities crowded with millions of human beings; at the other extreme are many thousands of hamlets and villages, each having a few dozen or a few hundred people.

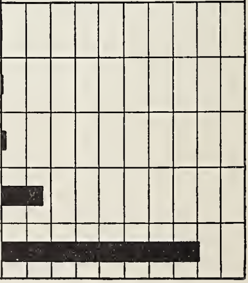
TABLE I

Number of Communities in the United States	*Number of Pupils Who Gave the Answer*
1,000	1
5,000	2
8,000	2
10,000	5
15,000	5
20,000	8
30,000	3
40,000	1
50,000	1
100,000	1

These communities differ widely in another way. Because the city is made up of people from various countries and even different parts of the world, it is called a "cosmopolitan" community, a world community. Every race and nation of the six continents may have sent people to it. Within it are found people who live in luxury and comfort; some just manage to "make ends meet"; while still others cannot afford the bare necessities of life. The hamlets, on the other hand, very frequently are made up of groups of men, women, and children of the same nationality and race, having more or less the same wealth, the same ways of

TABLE II

Type of Community	Population	No. of Communities	Per Cent of Total Number 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90
The Cosmopolitan Metropolis	More than 1,000,000	5	
The Large Manufacturing and Trading City	100,000 to 1,000,000	88	
"Middletown"	25,000 to 100,000	283	
The Small Town	2,500 to 25,000	2,789	
The Little Village (Incorporated)	Less than 2,500	13,433	



The incorporated communities of the United States in 1930. The total number probably does not represent many more than half of all the communities of our country looking at life, the same occupations. Thus in the large city there is a great variety of life; in the little hamlet the way of life of one family is much like that of another.

Between the two extremes of the great cities and the smallest hamlets is every kind of community possible. These communities differ in numbers of people, in wealth, in industries, in occupations, in interests. Some resemble the cosmopolitan cities more than they do the little villages; others are much more like the hamlets.

But, be they large or small, wealthy or poor, old or new, these thousands of communities make up the nation. The ways that Americans live within them really determine what America is.

To understand American civilization we must understand life in American communities

Our knowledge of American ways of living, then, must come from the study of American communities. It is in them that we see our people working, carrying on their government, enjoying recreation—in short, living their lives.

But, you are probably asking, since there are such vast differences in ways of living among communities and people, how can we really know what community life is? Is there any one kind or type of community which can be called "the American community"? Let us see. We shall give a few word pictures of communities in America. As you read them, try to keep in mind the following questions:

1. In what ways are these communities like my own?
2. To what extent did geography make each what it is? Why do people live there?
3. What part does work play in the life of these communities? What kinds of work do the people do?
4. In which kinds of communities are people probably healthier? In which does life seem to be more varied? In which does life seem to be unchanging? In which is life leisurely? In which is it hurried?

These questions can be only partially answered from this chapter. Keep them in mind as you study the other problems of the book.

SOME WORD PICTURES OF AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

1. Hamlets and villages

Are You Familiar with This Kind of Community in America? Picture a little hamlet of 100 persons hidden in a lovely wooded valley of the Catskill Mountains. Everywhere are neat farms, woods, and rolling fields. Some of the fields are sown to hay or corn, others to potatoes or oats. Beyond them on the slopes of the mountains are thick woods, which in the hunting season shelter deer, muskrats, bears, gray and red foxes, minks, opossums, and squirrels. This sounds quite like the long-disappeared frontier, doesn't it?

About midway down the valley a tiny canal flows past a power station which supplies the electric current for the hamlet. Two men run the power plant. Opposite the power station Asa Peckham carries on his business. He is both the hamlet's postmaster and the proprietor of the general store. The nearest physician is three miles distant, and the nearest lawyer is twelve miles away.

The whole hamlet is really one compact neighborhood in itself. Excepting only Peckham and the two men at the power station, everyone farms. Some of the farmers take in boarders during the summer, but most of them just farm. After harvest is over and during the winter, most of the younger men work at "pick and shovel" on the roads or in the railroad shops of the near-by town.

It's a neighborly little place; everybody knows everybody else in the valley. Elisha Jones, on an errand to the general store, sees Jim McGonigle mending his fence. He stops to pass the time of day with him.

"Your corn's the finest in the valley, Jim. Another week of heat like this and it'll be the best ever raised in this neighborhood."

"Your own ain't so bad, 'Lisha. Passed it when I was going to Centerville the other day."

A tight little neighborhood, indeed. People, work, houses, fields, and interests all much the same. And many such communities can be found in America.

Do You Know a Community like This Western Sheep-and-Cattle Hamlet? Rock Creek's 300 people all live on one street. The street is really the bottom of a crooked gulch, with houses perched

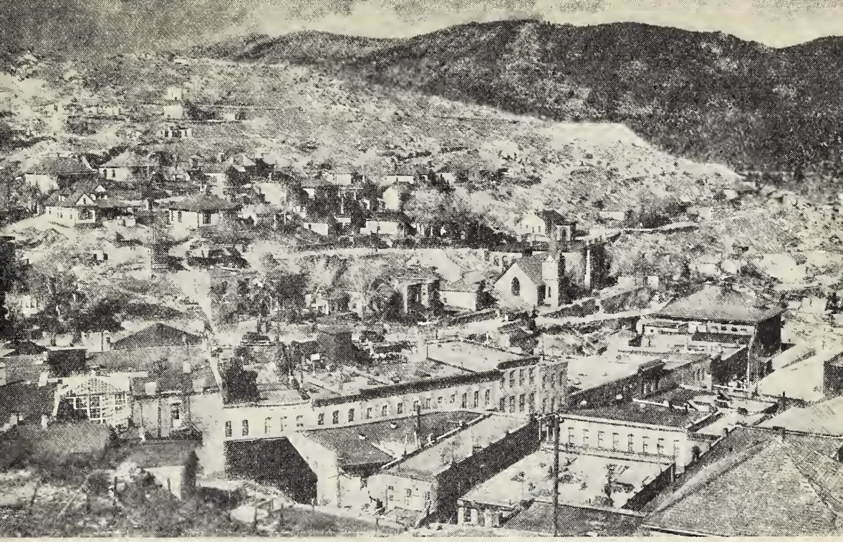


Fig. 35. Some communities are like this gold-mining town. In them all the people are employed in the mines. When the gold is exhausted, the population dwindles

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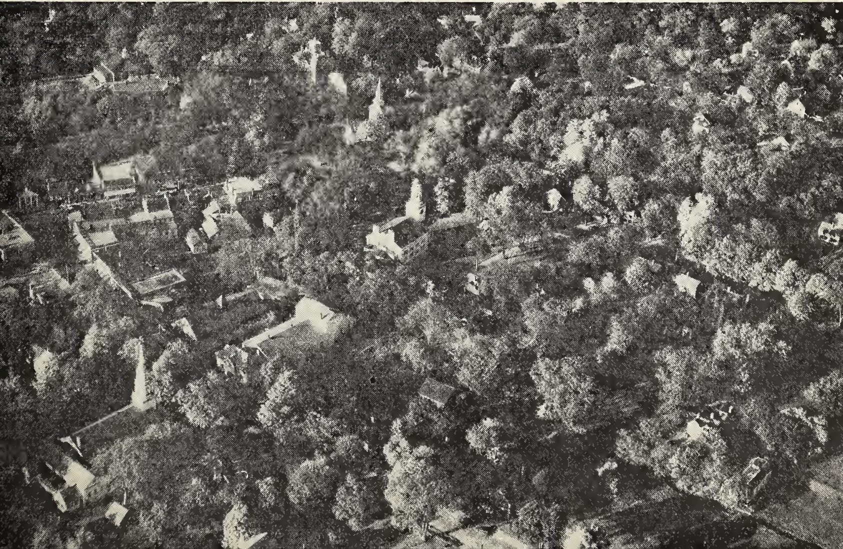
Fig. 36. Some communities are like this lovely town of comfortable homes hidden among the trees

Ewing Galloway



at the foot of the hills, just as though they had slid down and stopped there. Mere shacks—for eating, sleeping, and keeping warm and dry—were slapped together in careless fashion. There are few lawns or flowers. A few scraggly rosebushes and sunflowers grow wild along the dusty road. The garage is the only concrete building, square and ugly. The hotel is of dingy wood, with a shaky porch extending across the front. Here visiting ranchers loaf, sitting upon the sagging chairs, their feet on the rail, spitting tobacco juice and discussing local events.

Around the bend, in front of the "Tourist" garage, comes a four-horse team and wagon, the driver cracking a long whip. The chickens that have been scratching at the scattered straw in front of the livery barn scamper out of the way. The wagon stops in front of the general store. It is loaded high with chunks of reddish rock salt for cattle and sheep, boxes of canned provisions, sacks of dried fruit, crates of harness and packsaddles—everything the ranchers for 100 or more miles around may need. Even pitchfork handles stick out from above the top of the load. Rock Creek is the "shopping center" for the ranchers.

The driver jumps down from the high spring seat and begins to "unhook." Although he is young, his back is bent, in spite of the foot-wide leather belt around his waist, intended to keep him up straight during his long trips over the bumpy, rocky road. He is a freighter, and hauls supplies for sheep and cattle men from the nearest railroad station, which is 30 miles away.

Presently the freighter crosses the street to the hotel, washes his hands and face in a basin on the front-porch washstand, and goes in to eat in "American," or family, style. Eight or ten other men—most of them ranchers and only in the village for the day—sit around the table.

"Pass the potatoes, please," says the freighter.

As he covers them with brown gravy, he volunteers to his neighbor, "I see John Platt's sheep out Deer Creek way today."

"I hear he's got 20,000 pounds of wool and getting 50 cents the pound," the neighbor answers.

"Them sheepmen's doin' a lot better than us fellers with cattle," remarks a tall man, getting up and walking to the sideboard to get a pitcher of water. "I lost fifteen head of them last winter, all when the freeze come. Ruined my profits."

"Speakin' of profits," says the freighter, "I brought in a radio for Jack Parks marked 90 dollars."

"Well," remarks a youth with riveted leather cuffs on his wrists, "we gotta have radios and picture shows now that the women is coming into this kiote country."

"You'd better get one, Jo," gibes the freighter. "It's goin' to be lonesome in that shack of yours, and those sour-dough bannocks [flat cakes] you make will kill you yet."

Then he adds: "Well, I got to be goin'. So long, boys." The freighter rises and clumps toward the door. "See you later."

There are many little hamlets similar to this in the West.

Would You Like To Live in This Small Suburban Community? Let us hear what Mr. Taylor from Radburn,[1] about twelve miles from New York City, says about his town.

"Radburn is a new town, and we're certainly proud of it. We're not wealthy people, mostly business or professional men who work in the city, but the taxes we pay are large enough to keep our town clean, attractive, and happy.

"We have space to move and play—to guarantee the health of ourselves and our children. Our homes, although simple, are not just places to eat and sleep. We have tried to make them beautiful—with gardens, lawns, trees, fresh paint, modern conveniences, and the like. Our huge park is a joy to the children of our 300-odd families—to the grownups too!

"Everything about our town has been carefully planned and designed by architects and other experts—the houses themselves, stores, playgrounds, highways, footpaths, what not. The street system has been carefully worked out. There is practically no danger of automobile accidents because cars have their own highways, and people on foot have their special footpaths.

"The people of Radburn are great co-operators. We have meetings regularly to discuss and consider questions of community interest. And we think we run the community efficiently too. We have many special committees to carry on the community's work and play. Committees on Adult Education, Public Schools, Publicity, Dramatics, Civic Affairs, Police and Fire, Library,

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[1] This description has been written from the facts presented in *Radburn* by Robert B. Hudson, American Association for Adult Education, New York City.

Health and Sanitation, Parks and Gardens, Music, Transportation, Sports and Games — on all the community interests.

"The year round we have a program of sports. And the whole community takes part in most of them too. We have baseball, tennis, football, bowling, basketball, handball, volley ball, and other teams. There is swimming, hiking, target shooting, hunting and fishing, and dancing. And what exciting times we have in the bridge tournaments!

"We're serious about this community of ours, because, I suppose, we love it, and we're always trying to find ways we can improve it."

What do you think about Radburn? Would you like to live there?

Thousands of villages are not so attractive and well planned as Radburn. In them a very different kind of life is lived. Let us take a glance at another kind of community.

Have You Seen a Cotton-Mill Village like This One? At six o'clock in the morning a harsh steam whistle cuts the silence with a mighty blast. Long before this hour the village has been awake. Smoke rises from the chimneys of the wooden houses that line the streets. Through the lighted windows women are seen cooking breakfast. The men are stooping to pull on their shoes or standing before looking-glasses, combing vigorously at sleep-tousled hair. Other members of the family hurry about preparing for work.

Six-thirty. Another blast of the whistle is heard. The mill-worker sits down to breakfast, intent upon eating quickly so as to be at the mill on time. Another blast sends the workers up the streets toward the brick building that is in the center of the village. On a huge circular steel tank is lettered the name of the cotton mill. At six fifty-five a final whistle blows and the machinery is set in motion. The day's grind has begun.

Beyond the mill lies the crude little business district. This consists of a post office, a poolroom, a cold-drink stand, and a general store. Farther down the street stand two rows of small houses of three or four rooms each, all alike. Few trees shelter the houses or streets from the pitiless sun, which grows hotter as the morning advances. In the back yards are small garden patches, rags, and broken toys. Porches are cluttered with old chairs; wooden steps seem about to collapse.

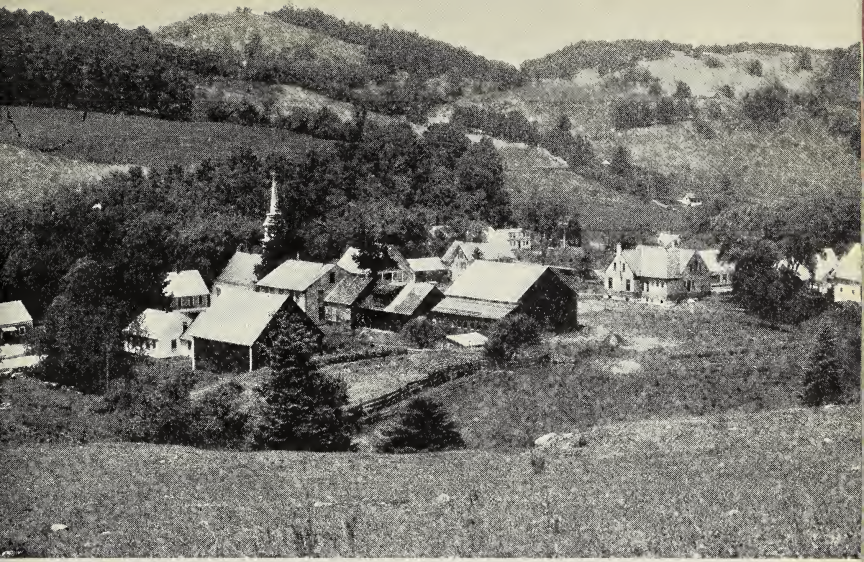

Fig. 37. Some communities are farming villages hidden away in the foothills

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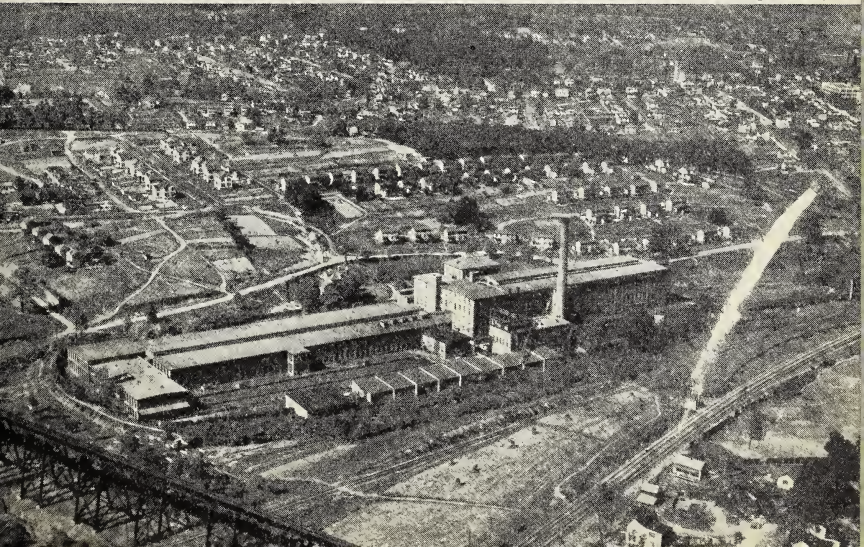
Fig. 38. Other communities are manufacturing centers like this textile city where thousands of people work in the mills

Ewing Galloway



The twelve-o'clock whistle blows, and the hungry workers hurry home to dinner. Whistles blow at twelve-thirty, twelve-forty-five, twelve-fifty-five. Whistles, whistles, whistles,—lives regulated by whistles. Again the machinery hums until five, when another whistle dismisses the workers. The day's work is done.[1]

After the evening meal is over, the housewives wash the dishes, while others in the mill families sit on the porches. Some of the men stroll down the street toward the poolroom. A few play, while others stand in front gossiping and chatting. At a little after eight, the millworkers begin to yawn. Soon they stroll back to their homes, and one by one lights begin to disappear. The town is preparing for bed. Soon the mill village is asleep.

This is a small American industrial community. There are many villages and towns much like it in the United States.

2. Thousands of middle-sized communities

Or Do You Live in a Retired-Farmer Town like This One? Throughout the Middle West one can find many retired-farmer towns. Franklin is one. It is a busy place, for the farmers roundabout have made it a kind of center to which they bring their farm products. At one end of Washington Street can be seen the newly built flour mill and the grain elevator. At the other end stands the old academy, going to ruin now since interest in public schools has taken hold of Franklin. The Federal and state governments have helped the people to build a new junior-senior high school, which is today the pride of all the town.

The state highway runs through the town, and at every hour of the day cars and trucks can be seen parked within their white-lined spaces in front of the business buildings. Their owners are shopping in the grocery stores and markets, the five-and-ten-cent store, the hardware shop, the department stores, and the like. Some have gone to the "movies." Others are carrying on business in the three banks.

Perhaps Your Community Is a Manufacturing City like Floral Heights. "The bungalows and shrubs and winding irregular drive-

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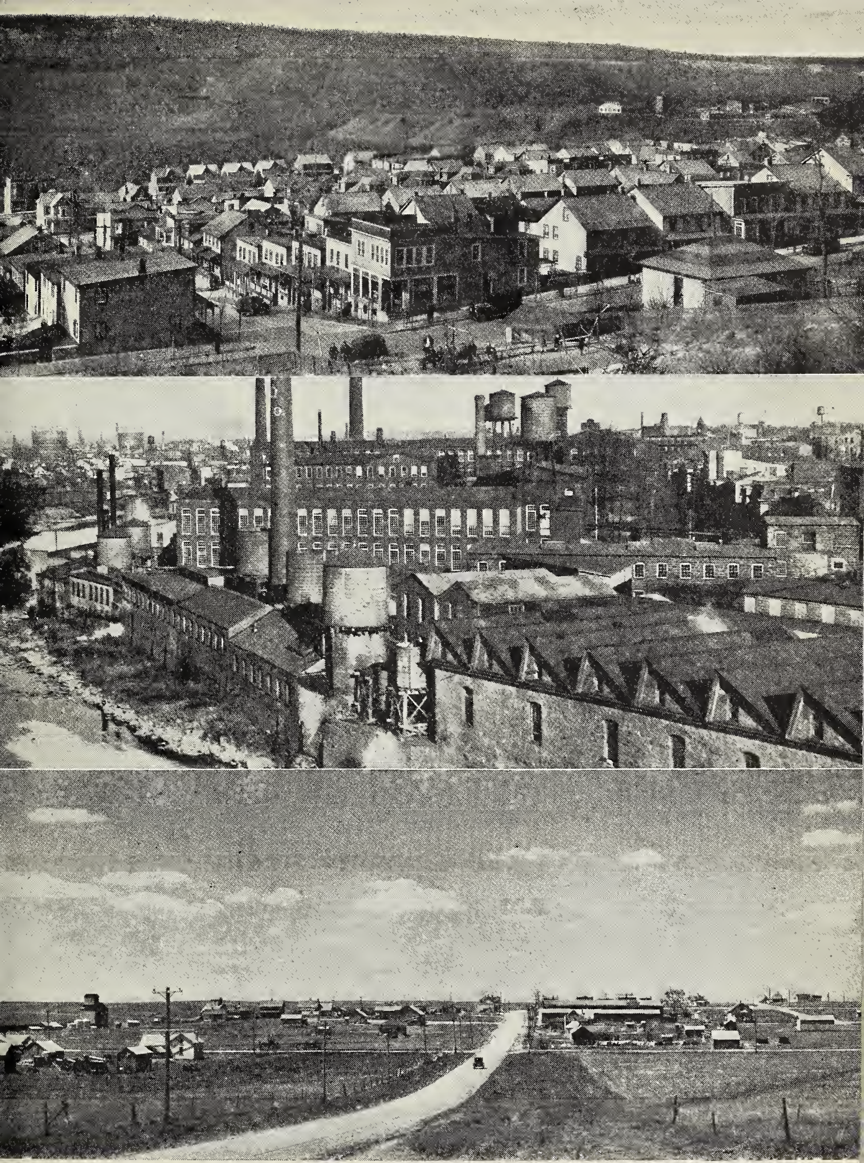
[1] Of course not in all cotton-mill towns are the hours of work so long or the surroundings quite so dreary.



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 39. Are not these three communities, devoted to mining, silk manufacturing, and farming, respectively, a good illustration of the differences in kinds of work, housing, and interests of our 130,000,000 people?

ways of Floral Heights. The one-story shops on Smith Street, a glare of plate glass and new yellow brick; groceries and laundries and drug-stores to supply the more immediate needs of East Side housewives. The market gardens in Dutch Hollow, their shanties patched with corrugated iron and stolen doors. Billboards with crimson goddesses nine feet tall advertising moving-picture films, pipe tobacco, and talcum powder. The old 'mansions' along Ninth Street, S.E., like aged dandies in filthy linen; wooden castles turned into boardinghouses, with muddy walks and rusty hedges, crowded by fast-intruding garages, cheap apartment houses, and fruit stands. Across the belt of railroad tracks, factories with high-perched water tanks and tall stacks—factories producing condensed milk, paper boxes, lighting fixtures, motorcars. Then the business center, the thickening darting traffic, the crammed trolleys unloading, and high doorways of marble and polished granite."[1]

Do You Know Coal Towns like These? Two wooded mountain ranges, 1000 feet high, rise above a gleaming river. On the lower slopes little communities have grown up so close together that they seem to overlap. All of them lie clustered about a fairly large city. Even those on the opposite bank of the river seem to be building as close to the city as the river will permit.

The villages and the city have one chief interest, and that is coal. The people live by it—they mine it, they buy and sell it, they ship it to distant places. Their houses are built above it. Their communities are dingy with the dust of it. Coal-breakers interrupt the skyline. Mines and miners are everywhere. The welfare and happiness of the people center about coal.

From the colorless rows of houses which flank the streets of the smaller communities one enters the city itself. Here a miner wearing his strangely shaped cap with lamp attached, his face and clothing covered with coal dust, is so rare a sight that you are startled if you meet one. To be sure, many miners will be mingling with the vast crowd that is poured into the public square on Saturday night by the streetcars running to and from the surrounding country, but you will never be able to pick them out, for their faces are washed, and they are wearing their best store clothes.

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[1] Adapted from Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1922), p. 31.

Main Street and Market Street, which cut diagonally across the square, are the main business arteries of the city. There is a flourishing retail trade, and a stranger is struck by the number of banks and the handsome buildings occupied by them. . . . Beauty as well as business thrives here! The public square and the river common—the former covering four acres and the latter thirty-five—were laid out in 1770 and are still carefully kept up and much used.

The town was settled many years before the Revolution by a hardy band of New Englanders. The descendants of the original settlers live today in the large and handsome homes of the city and across the river in small aristocratic communities. Later comers of Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, and Teutonic stock have been partially Americanized. Still later comers, Slavs and Italians—first imported, it is said, by the coal operators during the labor troubles in the mines about 1880—are still foreigners so far as the social life in the communities is concerned.

You have had a glimpse of three of America's middle-sized communities. Each is different from the others, just as they are different from the hamlets and villages. And these are, after all, only three of many thousands. Is there not great variety in the communities of America?

3. Still other kinds of communities: our large cities

Do You Live in a Port City like This? Shipping and trading—these give life to a great city spread along the finest harbor on the Pacific coast. Ranges of hills lie close to the bay. At their feet, docks, dozens of them, yearly welcome thousands of ships and bid Godspeed to thousands more. There are ships which visit the ports of the Orient or glide through the Panama Canal on their way to the ports of the Atlantic. Still others bring to the city a host of foreign-born—East Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos— who mingle on the streets with the descendants of the Western pioneers.

Behind the docks lie the warehouses, in which great cargoes are stored. Through the most level portion of the city, the bustling business section has grown up. Here cargoes are bought and sold, shipping is arranged, and much of the "shopping" of the great city goes on amid the din of city noise—the clanging of trolley-car bells, the tooting of automobile horns, and the cry of street peddlers. Long, straight streets stretch upward and back into the hills, where they disappear over the tops.

Here is a city of 42 square miles housing nearly 1,000,000 people. A wealth of romance in American history and in world shipping and trade lies in the story of its growth.

Perhaps You Live in the Great City. New York, the metropolis! A community praised by Walt Whitman as the

> City of hurried and sparkling waters! city
> of spires and masts!
> City nested in bays! my city![1]

Let us look at the metropolis from the hills of New Jersey.

Across the water rise tall buildings against the sky, the guardians of the great city itself. The city and the vast area around it are linked together by ribbons of rails and asphalt highways, by huge bridges and tunnels, and by ferryboats plying back and forth on New York Bay and the Hudson River. Thousands of residents of the New Jersey suburbs use these avenues every day to go back and forth to and from their work in the city.

On closer view we see that New York is not one community. It is a patchwork of neighborhoods and communities, each with its small stores, its restaurants, its "movie" houses, and its residential sections. There is a financial district, a theater district, a market area, a garment-trade center. Within a few blocks of one another are centers for furs, lace, silk, hats, gloves, and clothing for men, women, and children. One can find an antique-store neighborhood, a secondhand-book district, a hardware-store district, a copper town, and a brass town. There are shopping districts, commercial districts, hotel districts, apartment-house districts, and tenement districts.

The average dweller in this metropolis goes the same beaten path every day. In the morning he leaves his home and rushes to the subway. Later he emerges from this noisy tunnel into the

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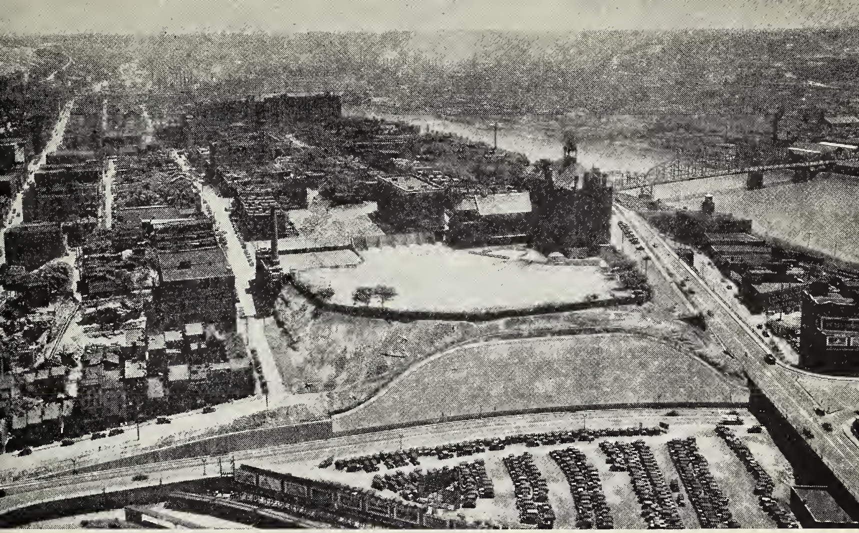
[1] Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, pp. 256–257. Doubleday, Doran & Company, New York, 1923.



Keystone

Fig. 40. This is only one of several big steel-manufacturing cities. Smoke and dirt are always in the air

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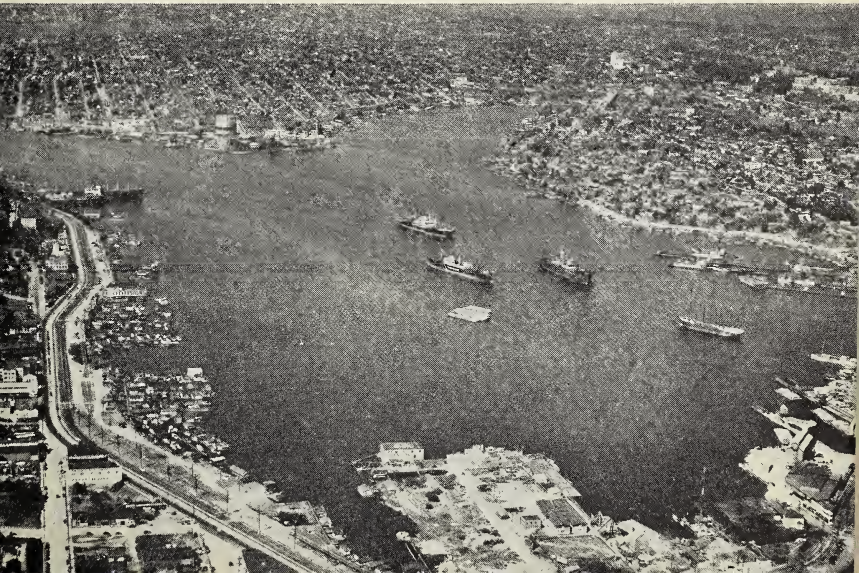
Fig. 41. These busy docks and the crowded business section show that this great port city of the West is a growing community

Ewing Galloway



canyons of Wall Street or wherever his business takes him. At the end of the day he goes home by the same route. If the evening is spent at the theater, this New Yorker will go to the district of the Great White Way. Occasionally he may ride on the bus up the Fifth Avenue of smart shops and busy throngs.

Other sections of the city he has only glimpsed or has never seen. Greenwich Village is to him a region of winding, crowded streets, where many struggling artists, musicians, writers, and the like live in old residential houses made over into apartments. The East Side calls to mind passing views of dark streets, noisy elevated trains, children playing hopscotch in side streets, and sidewalk peddlers selling everything from bananas to ten-cent socks. Brooklyn he sees from the windows of an office building in Wall Street, as he looks across the river toward the east. Harlem, he has heard, is a place where the Negroes live. The Italian quarter south of Washington Street, the Little Syria of Washington Street, the Athens of Pearl Street, and the Sparta of the Tenderloin—all may be mere names to him.

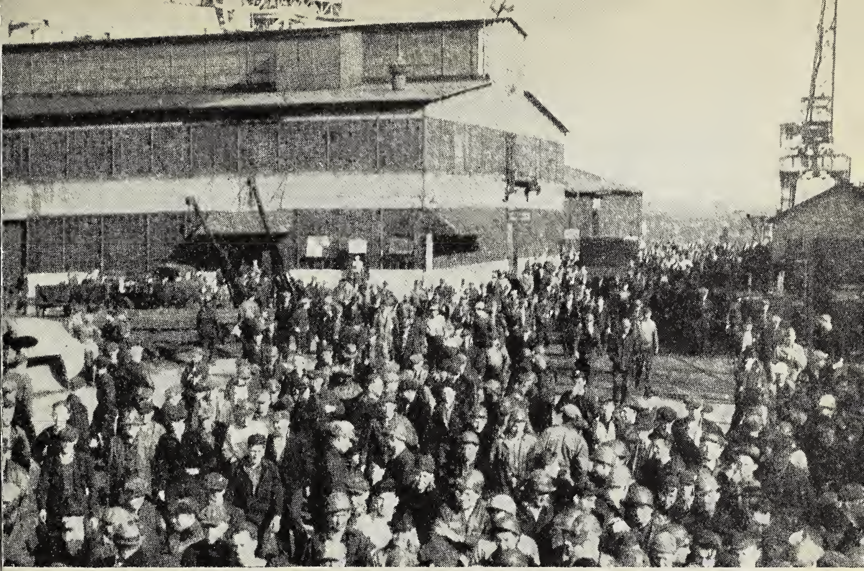
The New Yorker sees trees and grass only in Central Park or along Riverside Drive, and in the tiny squares overshadowed by buildings, where trees struggle to grow and dusty grass is encircled by concrete walks. Other parks are so far away that he stays at home rather than battle subway crowds to reach them.

A fascinating city is this New York. Millions tread its sidewalks. Thousands of homes lie under its roofs. How immense are its buildings, how varied its life!

Towns! Towns! Towns!

Word pictures of several American communities have been set before us. Only a few out of thousands! Can descriptions of these few do more than hint at the kinds of life that go on in American communities? Probably not. They tell of some kinds of community life but not all. There are scores of types of communities to which we have not referred.

The nation is, indeed, a great mass of towns—Coal towns . . . Oil towns . . . Automobile towns . . . Gold and silver "boom" towns . . . Steel towns . . . Rubber towns . . . Lumber towns . . . Fishing towns . . . River towns . . . Railroad-shop towns . . . Small



Keystone

Fig. 42. The community at work: thousands of men are employed in great shipbuilding plants like this one

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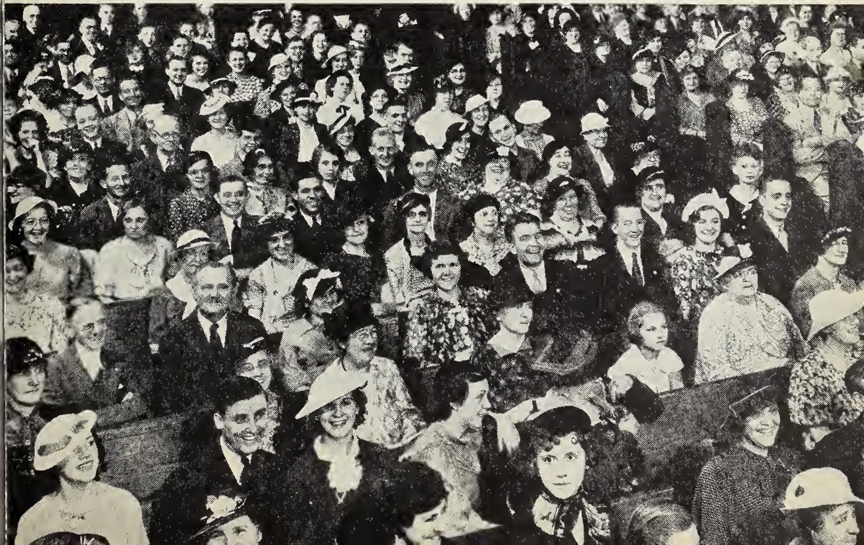
Fig. 43. The community at play: our people in small and large groups find relaxation and pleasure together

Ewing Galloway



manufacturing towns . . . Retired-farmer towns . . . Cotton-mill towns . . . Woolen-mill towns . . . Machine-shop towns . . . Port towns . . . College towns . . . Immigrant towns . . . Towns! Towns! Towns!

But our illustrations have made one fact clear: There are astonishing differences in the kinds of communities of the United States. They are different in geography, in industry, in population, in interest and ideas. And since such different kinds of life are lived in them, our country is by no means a simple thing to study.

Why communities grew

Most people must work in order to live, and people live where they can find work. Hence the kind of work that people can do determines in part the kind of community which grows at a particular place. It also helps to account for the ways in which people live, what they think about, how they use their leisure time.

For example, in the great trading and manufacturing centers, like New York, Chicago, Seattle, St. Louis, Denver, and Minneapolis, the factories, stores, and railroads provide work for great numbers of people. On the other hand, in the rural village one finds a general store with one or two clerks, perhaps a barber shop, a school, and a church. Here there are no industries with a wide range of jobs, no large stores with their demand for many clerks. In the smallest hamlets there may be work for no more than ten or twelve people. Nevertheless here too the opportunities which the community provides for work help to determine how fast it grows.

Also the kind of work which people do is largely determined by the geography of the region in which they live—the condition of the soil, the "lay of the land," the climate, the deposits in the earth of coal, oil, iron, or other minerals, the position of rivers and other waterways.

There are factors other than work which attract people to certain communities more than to others. Some communities are located in regions of stimulating and satisfying climate. Some are located in lovely wooded hills or broad, green, rolling valleys. Some are cities in which there are many organized activities and amusements which provide entertainment and employment.

Others are quiet, attractive, suburban communities where noisy, smoky factories and tall apartment houses are not permitted. Still others have colleges and fine schools which attract people with children. Thus it is clear that there are many reasons why the community life of America is so varied.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN COMMUNITIES PARALLELS THE HISTORY OF THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

The old and the new

Not only are there differences among communities in size, in occupations, and in ways of living. There are differences in age. Some of the old ones have grown very slowly; in fact, they have changed little from their seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century beginnings. Others sprang up almost overnight like mushrooms—around spouting oil wells, gold and silver mines, or copper and zinc deposits. Once the natural resources which brought men to them were exhausted, some of these "boom" communities disappeared as quickly as they grew, leaving only shells of habitations behind.

Study the graphs of figures 44–47 to see what happened in four communities of the United States. Do they help you to see that opportunities for making a living are responsible for the size of communities?

Indeed, as you yourself could see from your study of American history, the story of American communities parallels in general the story of the westward movement. Many villages and towns on the Atlantic coastal plain are from 200 to 300 years old. But most of those on the intermountain plateau and the prairies of our Western states are barely three quarters of a century old. A few in the Mississippi Valley look back upon a century or a century and a quarter of history.

THE DRIFT TO THE LARGER COMMUNITIES: THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE MOVEMENT IN CHANGING AMERICAN LIFE

No single movement in American history has affected the community life of the nation more strongly than the gathering of people into towns and cities. Tables III and IV review the chief

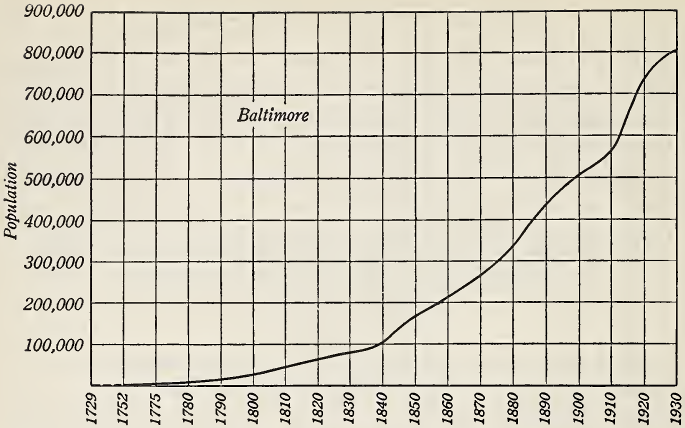


Fig. 44. Shipping and industrial expansion account for the steady growth of Baltimore

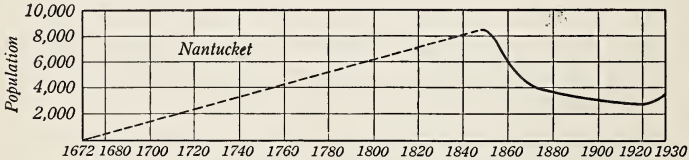


Fig. 45. As petroleum products replaced whale oil the population of Nantucket declined from about 8000 to less than 3000

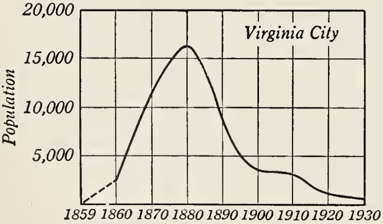


Fig. 46. After gold and silver were discovered near Virginia City it grew rapidly, but as the supply of these minerals became exhausted people moved on to other places. Today Virginia City contains merely a handful of people

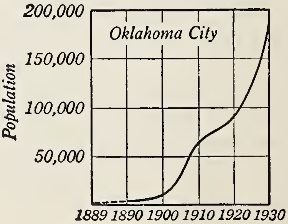


Fig. 47. The growth of Oklahoma City is even more spectacular than that of Virginia City. It too is a boom town, but the discovery of new deposits of oil is still sending its population line upward

facts. Table III shows the increase in the number of large and middle-sized cities, an increase quite out of proportion to the increase in the population itself.

Read the story which Table III tells you. Compare the number of communities of each size in 1890 with the number of the same size in 1930. Is the story clear? Does it show that steadily villages have become towns and towns have become cities? Cities have grown larger and larger, a few becoming huge metropolitan centers.

Table IV also presents another way to show the nation-wide drift to towns and cities. It shows that although only 35.4 per cent of the American people lived in communities larger than 2500 in 1890, in 1930 more than 56 per cent did. Less than half live in villages, in rural districts, or on farms. Steadily, decade by decade, the lure of the larger community has become stronger. There are many reasons why this is true: the desire for work, the settling of immigrants in and near the port cities, the desire to be with large numbers of people, to have a varied life of amusement and entertainment, to hear fine music, to see fine plays, and to get a better education.

TABLE III

Number of Communities of Various Sizes in the United States, 1890–1930

Population	Number of Communities	
	1890	1930
More than 1,000,000	3	5
100,000–1,000,000	25	88
25,000– 100,000	96	283
2,500– 25,000	1,293	2,789
Less than 2,500	6,490	13,433

TABLE IV

Per Cent of Americans Living in Communities Larger than 2500

Year	Per Cent
1890	35.4
1900	40.0
1910	45.8
1920	51.4
1930	56.2

As we continue our study of community life in America, keep in mind that already the city has become the most important single type of community. It is in the cities that most of the nation's wealth is to be found. It is there that the great banks and corporations, which play so important a part in our business life, are located. It is in the cities that the headquarters of the press are located—the great newspaper, magazine, and book publishers.

It is to the cities that many of our most creative architects, musicians, actors, authors, painters, and sculptors are attracted. Many students believe, therefore, that the cities are increasingly determining the character of American civilization.

This increasing influence of the city over the lives of our people is a matter of grave anxiety, however, to many careful students of our civilization. They ask such important questions as these:

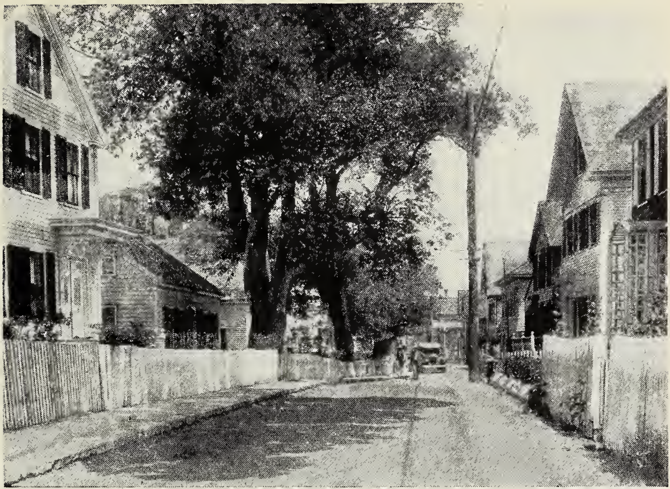
1. Is not the rapid growth of cities destroying the intimate neighborhood life of earlier times? Is it not substituting the crowded tenements and great impersonal apartment city blocks for the neighborly one-family and two-family houses of a generation ago?
2. Is there not much more crime in the city than in the villages and small towns? Is it not harder to control crime in the city?
3. Is it possible for citizens of large cities really to control their own local governments? Or, does an invisible government run its public affairs? Is not the average resident of the city disinterested in governmental matters? Is he not bewildered by them?
4. Is not the life of the people in our larger cities growing increasingly restless and nervous?
5. Are not wants, habits of extravagance, and tendencies toward thoughtless "living off the future" bound to be multiplied many fold in our growing cities?
6. Is there not a rapid increase in the lack of respect for law?

In succeeding chapters of this book we shall try to obtain for ourselves satisfactory answers to these and other important questions about the changing ways of living of the American people.

IN THE REMAINING CHAPTERS OF UNIT II WE SHALL STUDY THE GROUP LIFE OF OUR COMMUNITIES

The word pictures and illustrations we have presented show that there is no one typical community in America. They also show that the American way of life is revealed in the life of the community.

Through the succeeding units of this book, therefore, we shall strive to understand how Americans live—that is, what they want, why they work so hard, what they do with their leisure time, in what kinds of homes they live, what are their desires, their fears, and their ambitions.



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 48. A street in one of the older communities of our country which has changed little since it first grew up

Now to understand all this we must study two sets of factors that make the American what he is: first, the groups of people among whom he lives; second, the impersonal things that affect him, such as the newspapers, magazines, and books he reads, the "movies" he sees, and the radio programs he hears. In this book we shall study carefully both these sets of factors.

In the chapters of Unit II we are studying the chief groups in which most Americans live. In this present one we have studied the largest group of all—the community.

In Chapter V we shall study how neighborhood groups affect us, for it is in the neighborhood that we have our homes and spend much of our leisure time.

In Chapters VI and VII we shall see the American living in the most important group of all, namely, the family.

In Chapter VIII we shall see the American belonging to many social organizations, that is, lodges, service clubs, labor unions, patriotic societies, and neighborhood clubs.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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Southworth, Gertrude V. D., and Kramer, Stephen E. Great Cities of the United States. Iroquois Publishing Company, Inc., Syracuse, New York.

Thrasher, Frederic M. The Gang. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Chapters I and II describe the districts inhabited by the gangs of Chicago, in the slums and bordering the slums.

Zorbaugh, Harvey Warren. The Gold Coast and the Slum. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Vivid pictures of Chicago's wealthy neighborhoods, slum districts, rooming-house areas, and "Bohemia."

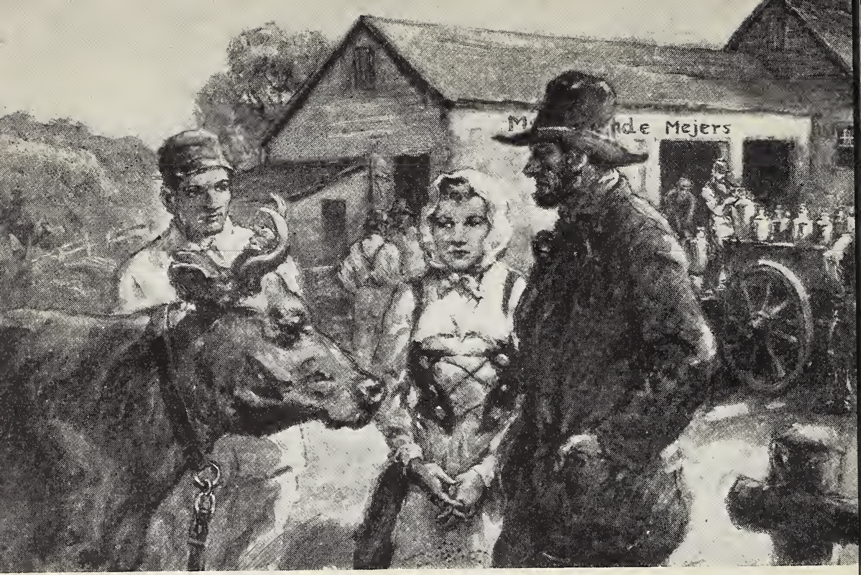

Fig. 49. A scene showing part of the co-operation dairy in a Danish rural community in the United States

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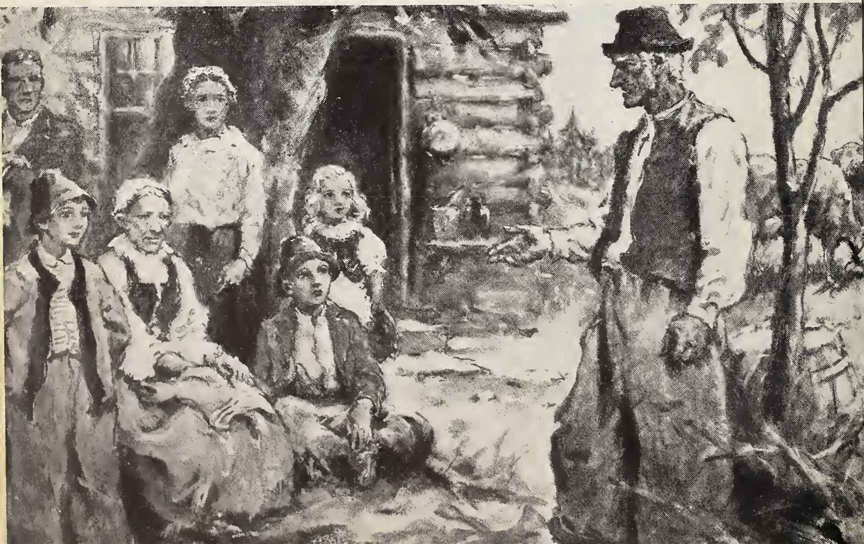
Fig. 50. A scene in a Bohemian rural community in the United States where the people still keep many of their native manners and customs



Chapter V · America's Million Neighborhoods

Two young women rushed up to each other with breathless exclamations. "Jane, dear, I haven't set eyes on you since we were children together!"

"Why, Nellie, how are you? Where do you live now?"

"Out near Summit Park. John got a promotion, and we bought a little house there. We have a yard and a bit of a lawn. It's a neighborly little place, and it's healthy and clean for the children. And you, Jane?"

"We haven't been able to move from the old neighborhood. It's changed so you'd scarcely know it. It's full of new families nowadays, and all our old friends have moved away. We scarcely know a soul in the neighborhood any more."

"Whatever happened to the Dutton family that lived up on the hill? Do you remember the party they gave when their daughter Gladys was sixteen? You and I were heartbroken because they didn't invite us. How we envied Gladys her clothes and her fine home—and how we tried to imitate her air!"

"Yes, she surely looked down on us; but then, *we* looked down on the Pulaskis. You remember them, don't you? They lived down near the river. We thought they were funny with their foreign accent and their foreign ways."

"Jane, do you know that it took me a long time to get over my prejudice against foreigners? The Pulaskis were the first foreigners in our old neighborhood, and everybody laughed at them."

A very commonplace episode, you may say—merely two women who were childhood friends meeting after a number of years and recalling earlier days. But in it lies a whole story of neighborhoods. Read it again to see how it reveals something of neighborhood life. Does it not show differences among neighborhoods—differences in people, in houses, yards, lawns? It illustrates how neighborhoods are changed by newcomers—"foreigners," for example—moving into them. More important still, it reminds us that many of our opinions and attitudes toward people are formed in the neighborhood.

The neighborhoods in which we live

What an impression they make upon our lives, especially the ones in which we grew up. The writer recalls vividly the little neighborhood in which he spent his childhood in a small Eastern town. It is difficult to say just how much was included in the neighborhood. Certainly it took in all Wood Street, the short, unpaved street running between Snow and Day Streets and perhaps a bit of Waverly Street, Pearl Street, Snow Street, and near-by Wood's Hill. "Around the block," as the children used to say when they measured their foot races, marked out fairly well the entire neighborhood.

There were probably a score of families, 80 or 90 people altogether, mostly of old New England ancestry. A few newcomers from Ireland and Scandinavia were beginning to move into houses on Snow Street, and not many years passed before foreigners occupied several houses in the neighborhood. But although they lived near by, the Anglo-Saxon mechanics and clerks who lived on Wood Street never regarded these foreigners as a part of their group.

Exactly at the end of Wood Street stood the writer's home. From the little porch, he and the elder members of his family surveyed the life that went on in the neighborhood. In the warm and clear afternoons and evenings and on Sundays relatives and neighbors gathered on their porches or steep, scrubby lawns to rest from their work and gossip about the happenings of the day or the week. Beside the writer's home was the great "yard," where children of all ages from three to fifteen gathered on pleasant afternoons to play.

Of neighborly feeling in those days there was plenty. Indeed, there was much borrowing back and forth of salt, eggs, a darning needle, or other necessary supplies. But the borrowing was seldom done without an exchange of news. "Jack White's run away to sea!" . . . "What do you think of that awful orange paint on the

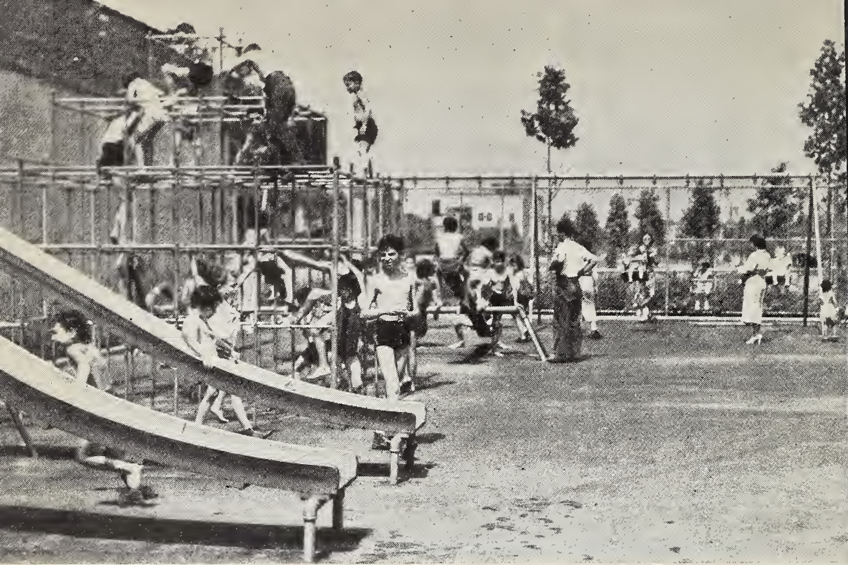
Snow house?" . . . "I saw the widow out again all dressed up fit to kill!" . . . News of Mrs. Johnson's new baby or what the Cummings's new maid said or how Leon Harris's broken leg was mending—these were but a few of the items of gossip which passed at the back doors or over driveways and fences.

People were interested in their neighborhood. Women helped sick neighbors and lightened their pains with the news of the day. In the afternoons, after the housework was done, the women called upon one another, and the latest news of the day was spread about from family to family. In the evening, neighbors "ran over" to chat. Many were the fine discussions of politics and the changing problems of the community and the nation. Young people listened to their elders and formed many lasting opinions.

Thus the neighborhood played an important part in the bringing up of children. Here prejudices, likes, and dislikes were created which, in some cases, lasted many years. Here attitudes were formed toward foreigners, toward poorer people or richer people, toward going to high school or to college, toward working or playing on Sundays, toward churches, labor unions, or the chamber of commerce—in fact, toward everything in life. Thus in that neighborhood and in many, many others throughout the United States life went on and the culture of the people developed.

The community, a little world of neighborhoods

Just as the United States is a nation of communities, so each community is a world of neighborhoods. To understand the nation, therefore, we must understand the life of the nation's neighborhoods, for these are the smaller groups of which the community is composed. There are perhaps 1,000,000 of these in the entire country, and they are vastly different from one another. In the rural communities, at one extreme there are neighborhoods of paper-covered shacks, each set in a small clearing where garden patches struggle for life. At the other extreme are neighborhoods of comfortable farmhouses protected from sun and wind by great trees and surrounded by fertile fields. In the towns and cities are the crowded, unhealthful neighborhoods of the poor and near by the spacious and luxurious dwellings of the rich. Between all these extremes a wide variety of neighborhoods presents itself.



Keystone

Fig. 51. In community playgrounds like this, children can play in safety away from the dangers of the crowded streets

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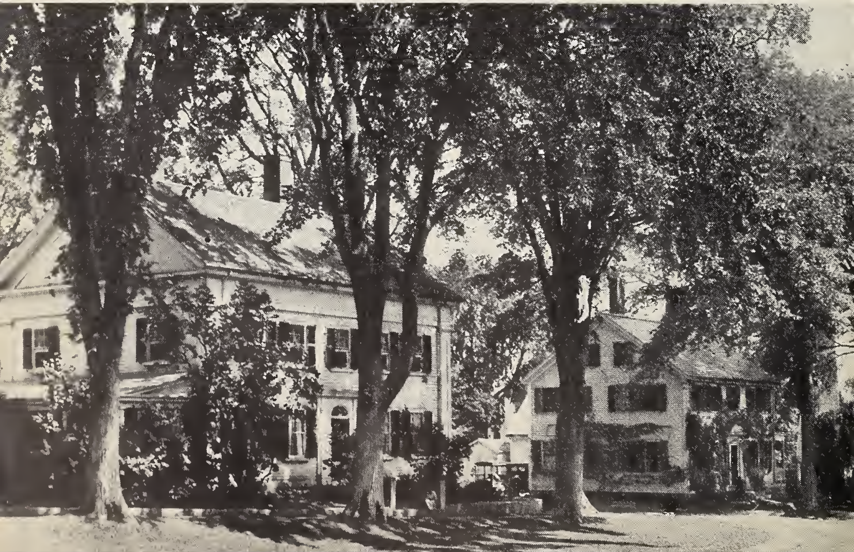
Fig. 52. A hundred or more years ago, when these colonial houses were built, there was no problem of sufficient land. Their owners today still enjoy space, air, and sunshine

Ewing Galloway



Let us study a few examples. Of course we cannot discuss many in the limited space of one chapter, but we can describe a few that are typical of the 1,000,000 or more neighborhoods that make up the country.

As you read about these neighborhoods, ask yourself if the descriptions answer the following questions:

1. Are all communities divided into neighborhoods?
2. Are the neighborhoods of one community like those of another?
3. What kinds of people live in these neighborhoods?
4. What is it that divides the community into neighborhoods?

SOME WORD PICTURES OF NEIGHBORHOODS WITHIN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

1. The neighborhoods of villages

A Copper-Smelting Village in the Southwest. This Southwestern village lies at the bottom of a bowl of mountains along the winding banks of a small river. From the neighboring town twenty-five miles away, cars piled high with copper ore roll over the railroad tracks into the smelting town. Here the ore is washed clean of dirt. Then the copper is smelted out and sent East for manufacture. Six hundred people live in this community, all of them getting their living from copper.

Is this a compact little community without neighborhoods? No, indeed. Three separate neighborhoods lie about the general store, the post office, the barber shop, the poolroom, and the moving-picture "palace" with its corrugated-iron roof and sides. These neighborhoods seem as separated from one another as are the north pole, the equator, and the south pole.

On the north side of the community five or six comfortable shingle houses cluster together. Here the managers of the company live in what is regarded as the best neighborhood. East of the general store and separated from the executives' (managers') neighborhood by the railroad tracks is "tent town," the second neighborhood. Two hundred or more khaki tents set close to one another spread up the slope of the mountain for a little distance. Here live the "white" laborers of the smelting plant. Beyond them the land slopes, and again the neighborhood changes. In the third

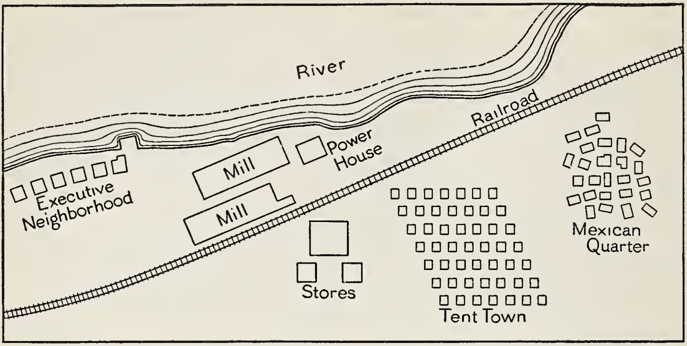


Fig. 53. The three neighborhoods shown in the map all belong to the same community, but the members of one neighborhood never visit those of the others

neighborhood there are no shingled houses, no khaki tents, only one-room, "dobe" (that is, adobe, or mud) houses. Here live the unskilled Mexican laborers. All day long they shovel the ore from the cars. All day long they lift, they carry, they do the hard and unpleasant work of the community. No visiting goes on among the people of these three neighborhoods. Each finds all its social life within itself.

So even in such small communities we find sharply divided neighborhoods.

The Neighborhoods of a Middle-West Manufacturing Village. How different still is Granton, located on the Lincoln Highway, in the center of rolling, fertile farm land. The little village was started by a group of retired farmers. It was intended by them to be a snug community in which they could live close to one another and have a rich social life. They chose a site 25 miles away from a small city, a day's journey by horse and buggy.

Today Granton is a town of 2000, a half hour's journey by railroad or automobile to the city, which is now very large. Each morning workers hurry to catch the "7 : 35" or the "8 : 34" into the city, where they work, and hurry back to their homes on the "5 : 16" or the "6 : 19." Two shoe-manufacturing plants were established before either the retired farmers or the commuting businessmen had time to protest. Now these residents are united in trying to keep more factories from locating in the town. About half the population is employed in the shoe factories. The village boasts a bank, a hardware store, two drugstores, a garage, two grocery stores, two meat markets, a moving-picture house, and two churches.

Granton too is divided into neighborhoods. First, there is the retired-farmer neighborhood situated on the Lincoln Highway. Broad, spreading trees line the walks of this neighborhood. Set well back from the thoroughfare are large comfortable houses where the retired farmers live. Most of these dwellings are of red brick or stucco, and ivy or wistaria clambers over their sides and up their roofs.

One block away from the northern side of the highway is another neighborhood. Here too the houses are comfortable, but they vary more in size and in structure. Many of those who take the "8 : 34" and "5 : 16" trains to and from the city live here. Here also the business and professional men of the town have their homes—the owner of the hardware store, the druggist, the garage-owner, the doctor, the banker, and the lawyer.

On the southern side of the Lincoln Highway live the people who take the "7 : 35" out in the morning and the "6 : 19" back at night. Policemen, firemen, clerks, and small shop-owners of the city live in this neighborhood. So do the town railroad station master and the plumbers, carpenters, and electricians. In this region live the skilled laborers and white-collar workers of the factories. Here are the small home-owners, taking pride in their little one-family houses, tending their gardens and lawns. In the past few years many of these homes have added little wooden or galvanized iron garages for automobiles bought with the savings of years.

Still farther south are the "back street" neighborhoods of the village, where the unskilled workers of the factories and railroad yards live. Here houses are cheaply built and badly cared for. Yards contain scraggly trees which struggle to live on.

The Neighborhoods of a Southern College-and-Manufacturing Town of 7500. Now turn southward and picture Bethune, a larger community. In some ways it is like the villages we have just

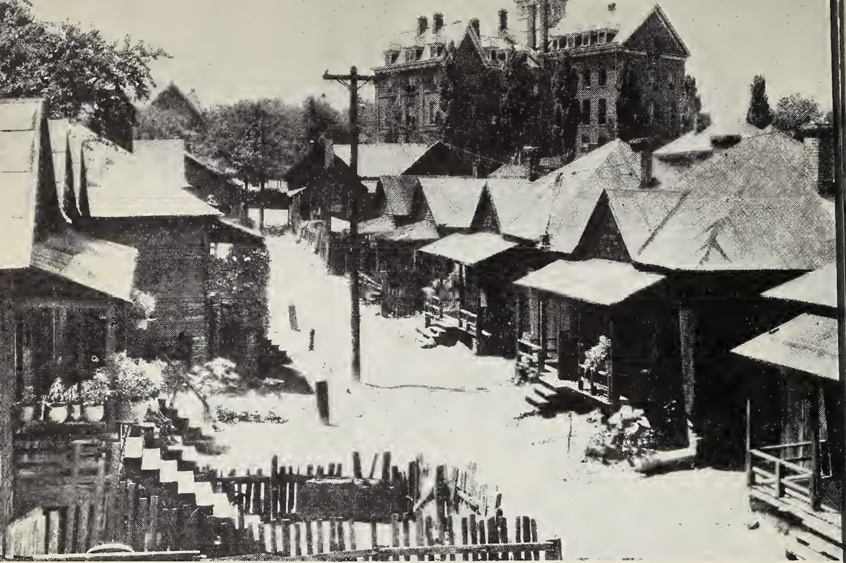


Fig. 54. An undesirable neighborhood. Unsanitary and out of repair, shacks like these are being torn down and replaced by low-rent apartments

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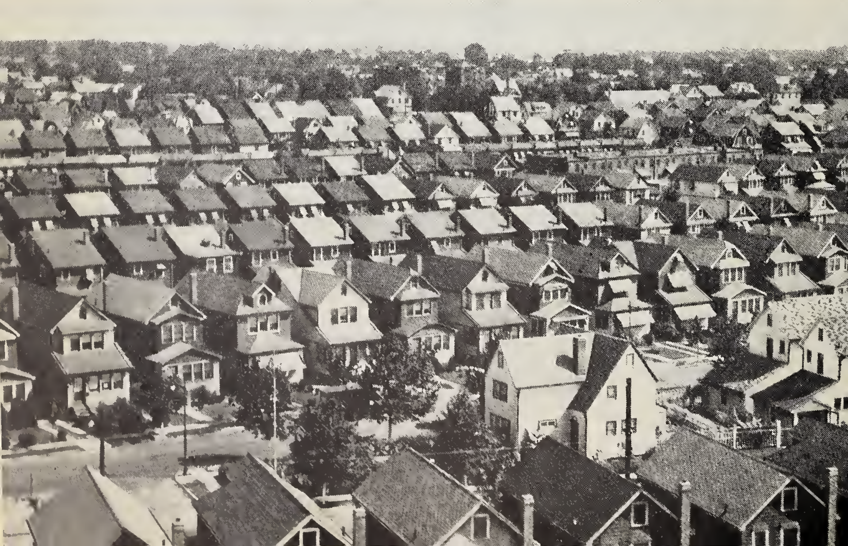
Fig. 55. Mass production in housing. Moderate-priced homes in which thousands of people live who work in the near-by city

Ewing Galloway



studied. But how different it is in other ways and, correspondingly, how different are the neighborhoods within it. The occupations of the town are many. Bethune has factories,—cigar and barrel factories,—distilleries, and flour mills. Not only is the town a center of manufacturing; it is also the center for a large farming region. Years ago a small college was established there and, as it grew, retired farmers moved into the town to educate their children.

As one would expect, there are more neighborhoods and greater differences among them than in the little villages we have already described. The people are divided into a large number of classes and live apart from one another. There are typical retired-farmer neighborhoods consisting of comfortable old houses set well back from the broad, tree-lined streets. There is a college neighborhood on the outskirts of the town, where faculty and students live in a little colony by themselves. The faculty homes are trim, one-family houses, surrounded by attractive lawns and hedges, comfortable but not magnificent. The students' quarters, boardinghouses for the most part, are old middle-class homes. The neighborhood has a quiet, dignified air, even if the lawns are not so well cared for as those in the retired-farmer neighborhood.

Around the factories are the workers' neighborhoods. Here live the people who get small incomes, skilled laborers and store clerks of the town. Their houses are one-family and two-family tenements set close together on narrow, badly kept streets.

Beyond the factory district are the railroad tracks. On the farther side is the neighborhood from which the town draws most of its domestic servants and unskilled laborers. In the tiny yards behind the shacks women wash the laundry for the well-to-do families, in tubs of soapy water. Within their one-room or two-room shacks the ironing is done. Waitresses and maids walk to the retired-farmer neighborhood every morning and return from these comfortable homes every evening to their own dreary quarters.

One fact is clear: as these communities become larger, the number of neighborhoods increases. Persons of similar occupations and similar income tend to live close together. The well-to-do stay by themselves in the better, more spacious, and more attractive neighborhoods. The poorest people crowd together near the railroads and factories.

2. The neighborhoods of larger towns and cities

A New England Manufacturing City of 20,000 People. Like ancient Rome, Woodstock is situated on seven hills. Winding through the hills in the valley is the White River, which supplies power for scores of paper, cotton, woolen, and silk mills, machine shops, carpet factories, railroad shops, and power plants. Woodstock was established by the English in the early days of our history. It now has many races and nationalities. Within 50 years it has been transformed from a small manufacturing town of old Anglo-Saxon ancestry to a medium-sized manufacturing city with more than half its people from Europe.

The river and the hills mark out the neighborhoods. On Overlook Hill are the broad estates of the rich owners of the yarn, cloth, and paper mills of the city. On the lower slopes of Overlook and on Mount Holly, Mount Vernon, Forest Hill, and Marble Summit are the homes of the fairly well-to-do persons whose incomes vary from $6000 to $10,000 a year. Here live the professional people of the town, the owners of small machine shops, superintendents in the mills, owners of the department store.

In the little valleys between the hills are many other neighborhoods, each one consisting of a little area bounded by two or three irregular streets. Here, then, are Snow Street, West Street, Pine Street, East Street, Summer Street, each forming a little neighborhood of about 100 persons, most of whom are mechanics, clerks —people with incomes of from $1000 to $2000 a year.

On the other side of the river and close to its banks is "the Patch." Here are clustered hundreds of houses where live immigrant laborers, ditchdiggers, and the semiskilled employees of the paper mills, the yarn mills, and the cloth mills. Their houses are mere boxlike, dingy shacks of three or four rooms, huddled close together. This is, indeed, a dreary, grassless, treeless section.

Three miles from the center of the main business district of Woodstock is another almost separate community—West Woodstock. This section of the city has its own churches, business district, mills, shops, and—neighborhoods. Two miles from the center of the city in the other direction is East Woodstock with its carshops, paper mills, and more neighborhoods among the hills and valleys.

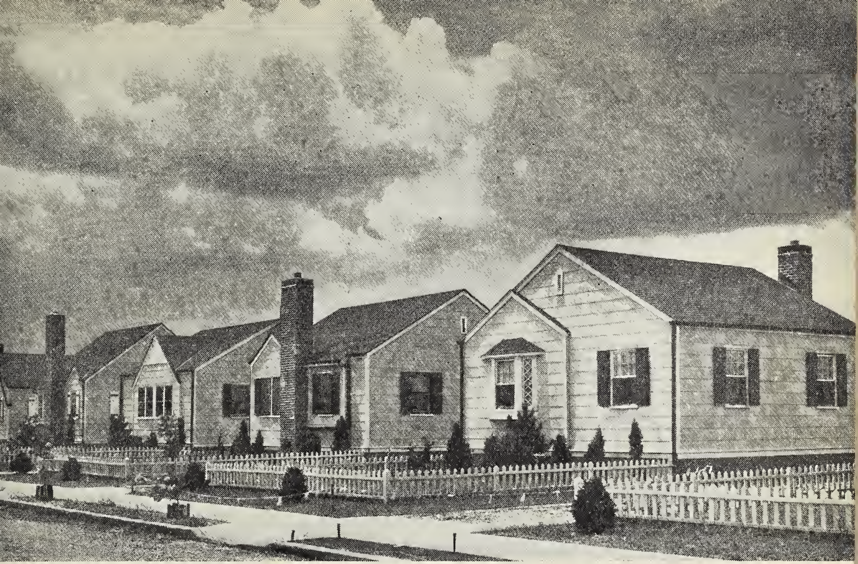


Fig. 56. In most of our smaller urban communities can be seen simple but comfortable homes like these for people of moderate incomes

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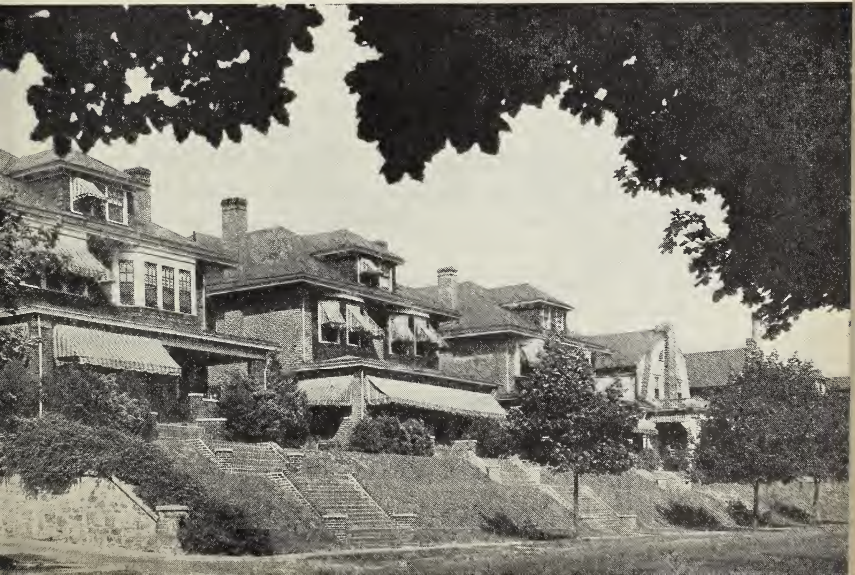
Fig. 57. Fine homes in one of our larger cities. Nearly every such city has neighborhoods like this with trees, lawns, and well-built houses

Ewing Galloway



This time you have seen a larger community with a very mixed population, more occupations and interests. Have you observed that as the community grows, the number of neighborhoods increases and the differences among them become greater?

An Eastern Manufacturing City of 60,000. From the moment that the great dam was thrown across the river to supply the community with electric power, it was certain that manufacturing would largely determine the neighborhood life of Hopeville. The city lies in the heart of a lovely broad valley of fertile farming land in one of the great tobacco regions of the country. But it was water power which attracted businessmen to build paper mills, silk mills, woolen mills, thread mills, machine shops—in fact, all the industries which have grown up there.

As the town grew into a city, the neighborhoods increased in size and number. At the present time Park Avenue is the main business street and divides the city into social classes as sharply as a pair of scissors divides a piece of paper. Those who live east of Park Avenue have little or no social standing. Those who live west of it are the "old families" and the wealthy—the "pillars" of the community. They are clustered together in one section. Here runs a broad, tree-lined boulevard with large houses set back 100 feet from the street and surrounded by wide lawns and attractive grounds.

Both east and west of Park Avenue, however, there is a vast number of neighborhoods. In one section tall apartment houses have been built. Behind the apartment-house neighborhoods are other neighborhoods—small houses with tiny porches, each surrounded by a narrow strip of turf which is dignified by the name of "lawn." In these two neighborhoods live the teachers and other professional people, small shop-owners, foremen and superintendents in factories, shops, and mills.

On the other side of Park Avenue, neighborhood after neighborhood stretches back from the avenue. Here live the white-collar workers—the clerks and stenographers, the skilled mechanics, and a host of others. Beyond to the river lie neighborhoods of French Canadians, Irish, Slavs, and Italians. They, like the more well-to-do, live by themselves according to their own customs. Here is street after street of rickety wooden tenements, renting for $10 to $15 a month, with small dark rooms, poorly cared for, resembling those in the worst of our large city slums. More than a third of the population of this growing manufacturing city lives in these crowded tenement neighborhoods. They regard as friends only those who live within a few blocks of them.

3. The neighborhoods of the great city

The Manufacturing-Trading-Port Metropolis. Today a great metropolis rears itself proudly alongside one of the Great Lakes. It borders the lake for 30 miles and stretches 25 miles westward over what was prairie land only a quarter-century ago. A hundred years ago a frontier village of 600 people marked the site where one of the mighty cities of the world was to grow. At that time the land was barely level with the lake, and in the black oozy mud near the settlement wagons often sank below the hubs of their wheels. Sometimes the traveler would find a signboard which read "No bottom here," a silent testimony of some previous disaster.

From this small beginning the great metropolis sprang. In 1832 it was a lonely frontier trading post, a single neighborhood alone in the wilderness. Today the huge cosmopolitan city is a vast collection of communities: industrial, manufacturing, and hotel communities; amusement communities; wholesale and retail, financial and banking communities; artist communities; immigrant communities; "old family" and "new rich" communities; college communities; rooming-house communities; slum, criminal, and underworld communities—an amazing group of communities.

Smaller communities within the great community—that is the chief characteristic of a metropolis. And within these communities there are hundreds, in fact, thousands of neighborhoods, which arrange themselves in "zones" around the business heart of the city.

The chart of figure 58 illustrates the zone arrangement of the great city. Within the business center are many neighborhoods—the neighborhoods of hotels, office skyscrapers, railroad terminals, and city-government buildings. Extending out from this center are manufacturing and wholesale and retail zones. More communities. More neighborhoods. Still farther from the center are little compact zones in which the working people live. Foreign

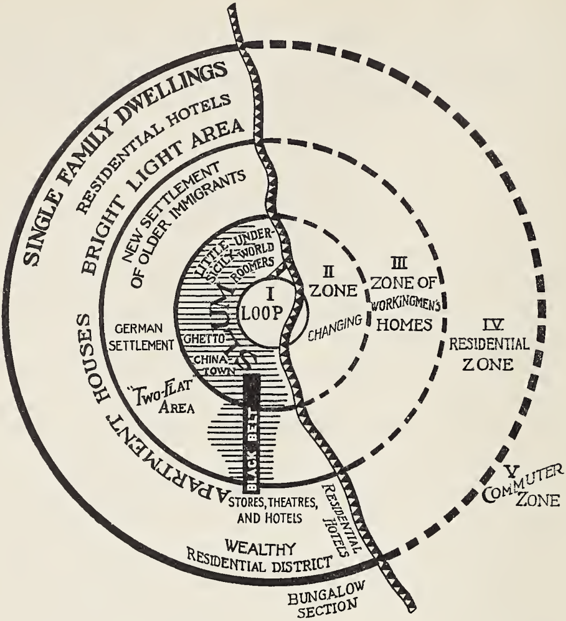

SINGLE FAMILY DWELLINGS
RESIDENTIAL HOTELS
BRIGHT LIGHT AREA
NEW SETTLEMENT OF OLDER IMMIGRANTS
LITTLE SICILY
UNDER-WORLD
ROOMERS
SLUM
I LOOP
II ZONE
CHANGING
III ZONE OF WORKINGMEN'S HOMES
IV RESIDENTIAL ZONE
V COMMUTER ZONE
GERMAN SETTLEMENT
GHETTO
CHINA-TOWN
"TWO-FLAT" AREA
APARTMENT HOUSES
BLACK BELT
STORES, THEATRES, AND HOTELS
RESIDENTIAL HOTELS
WEALTHY RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT
BUNGALOW SECTION

Fig. 58.[1] In Zone I (the Loop) lies the great industrial and commercial center of the metropolis. Note that the farther we go from the Loop the better the residential sections become

neighborhoods began to dot the growing town nearly 85 years ago. Time has produced many changes in the foreign neighborhoods, but one characteristic remains much the same. Each of the principal nationalities and races has its separate community within which most of its members live their lives.

Note, for example, the black splotch in the chart, which runs directly south of the Loop. This is the Black Belt. Tens of thousands of people live in this belt, almost all of whom are Negroes. West of the Loop is the vast slum district (the worst type of neighborhood), including Little Sicily, the Italian Ghetto, and Chinatown. In each of these foreign zones the people have certain ways of living that are peculiar to them.

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[1] Adapted from Frederick Thrasher's *The Gang* (1927). By permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Just as there are in many other large cities districts where wretched living conditions prevail, where steelworkers, textile-workers, and dock laborers live crowded together, so in Chicago we have the district known as the Union Stockyards.

Of course the chart of figure 58 is not a complete map of the great city. It only indicates the fact that, as the metropolis expanded, it seems to have formed a series of communities spreading out from the center. Some are largely places where people work, such as the market, the dock, or the steel-manufacturing area. Some are largely residential districts. As in the villages and towns of our country, few of the sections of the metropolis are either *entirely* industrial or *entirely* residential. Frequently they are mixtures. Each has its own "Main Street" and its own region of differing neighborhoods. These vary in neighborliness from the friendly, small-town kind of life to the indifference of life in huge apartment houses.

Neither the occupations nor the neighborhoods in which people live in the metropolis could even be sketched in a few pages. That would require the space of a whole book. The important thing to remember is that the great cities of our country are made up of a vast number of little communities. These communities, in turn, are made up of thousands of neighborhoods.

HOW THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IS CHANGING THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF THE NATION

Let us glance backward to see how the communities of the United States are changing. In 1890, to go back only fifty years, they were neighborly places. Neighbors were personal friends, seeing each other every day, talking back and forth while working about their yards, lawns, and hedges, visiting in one another's houses, calling on each other at various times. There were no automobiles, no radios, no "movies." Telephones had been invented fourteen years before, but only a few homes had them. There were few daily newspapers in the towns and none in the villages. In these smaller communities possibly a weekly newspaper or a farm or trade journal was occasionally read. Communication was almost all by word of mouth. So people talked with their neighbors and depended upon them and themselves for their recreation.

Then came the auto, the telephone, the "movies," and the radio

As the Industrial Revolution speeded up after 1890 it brought many changes in the life of the neighborhood. Today automobiles take American families far away from their homes and neighborhoods in the late afternoons, evenings, and on Sundays. Families march off to darkened "movie" houses to watch the latest thriller instead of talking together in small neighborhood groups. Millions of radios keep people indoors at various hours of the day in summer as well as in winter. Today people listen, they do not talk. For friendly neighborhood conversation the telephone has taken the place of the back fence, the porch, the lawn. Even visits to the sick have almost entirely disappeared. Patients in hospitals and sick people in neighborhoods complain that inquiries as to their health are made over "long distance."

The Industrial Revolution is responsible for other changes in neighborhood life. As cities have grown, men have found work farther from their own neighborhoods. Increasingly, the home has become a place where they eat two meals a day and sleep. They see less of their neighbors and are little interested in their neighbors' lives. Women too have become workers outside the home and have less time for calling and chatting. In 1890 many families spent their whole lives within the same region. Nowadays, as jobs are changed more and more frequently, families move from neighborhood to neighborhood.

The districts themselves have changed, too, during these years. Where rows and rows of neat houses once stood, factories and stores have crept in. Old neighborhood families have moved out, and new families have come in. Perhaps these new families are of different nationality, race, or religion from the older families of the neighborhood. Today neighborhoods are changing so quickly and peoples' fortunes are changing with such rapidity that it is customary for them to live in a neighborhood but a few years. This is particularly true of those who live in rented houses.

By all these means the neighborhood spirit is breaking down in communities all over the country. One hears such things as these:

> I've lived here three years and no one has come to call.
>
> People move into the neighborhood and out again so fast, it isn't worth trying to know them.

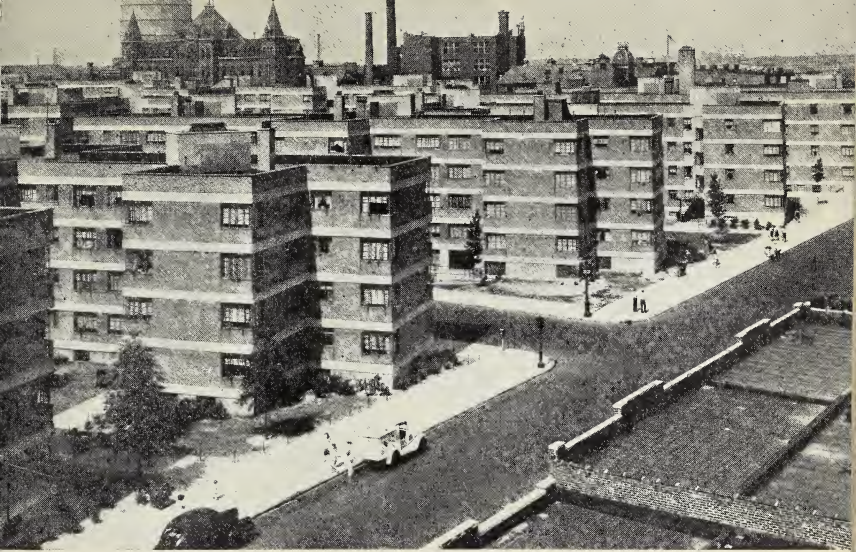

Fig. 59. The Williamsburg district in Brooklyn, where low-rental apartments, modern in every respect, have replaced old and unhealthful tenements. What a contrast to figure 60!

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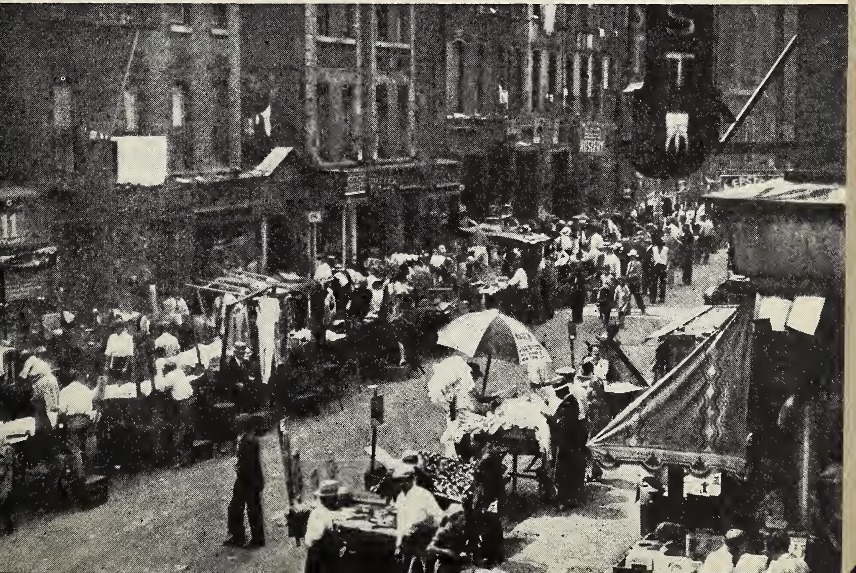
Fig. 60. The great East Side of New York, a slum district, crowded, dirty, and a generally undesirable neighborhood

Ewing Galloway



There's no place but the street for the children to play, so I take them downtown in the afternoon while I do my shopping. The children get the air, and I see my neighbors and chat with them while I buy a pound of butter or a few chops.

You hardly dare call on your neighbors these days. They're reading the latest magazine or listening to the radio and don't want to be disturbed, or else they are hurrying away to the newest "movie" or going for an automobile ride.

I save a lot of time by doing almost all my visiting on the telephone.

NEW FACTORS WHICH HELP TO HOLD NEIGHBORHOODS TOGETHER

Not all the factors tend to bring about the breakdown of the neighborhood spirit, however. Some of them tend to hold it together. For example, there are neighborhoods in which almost all the people are Italians. There are others in which almost all the people are Negroes, Germans, Chinese, or members of any other of the races and nations of the world. These people live together in intimate little neighborhoods almost completely separated from other neighborhoods. They have their own stores, their own banks, their own newspapers. Their ways of living are much alike, and they speak the same language. Thus race or nationality often holds neighborhoods together.

As you have already learned in this chapter, people who have similar incomes tend to live together. They live in neighborhoods where they can find houses or apartments which they can afford to rent. In these neighborhoods they can buy goods which are not too expensive for their incomes. Thus similar standards of living tend to hold these people together.

There are other factors too, such as nearness to work, nearness to the churches and to schools. These also help to hold neighborhoods together. Liking for the people who live in a neighborhood, friendships within it, may hold it together. But all these factors which tend to bind neighborhoods together are not so strong as those which tend to break them down. The old neighborhood life is fast disappearing.

ATTEMPTS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE INTIMACY OF NEIGHBORHOOD LIFE

As cities grew and the neighborhood spirit began to disappear, a few leaders set up plans to restore it. Public centers such as libraries, churches, schools, and even general stores were used to rebuild the neighborliness which was once an important factor in American life.

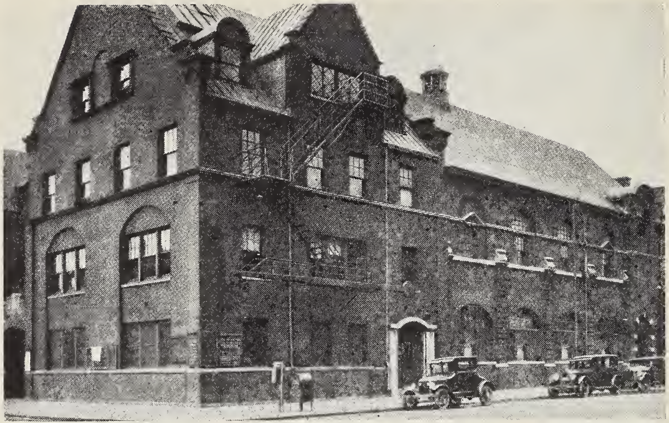
1. The work of the social settlements

One of the first movements was the establishment of social settlements. The story of such settlements starts in England in the latter 1800's. Many leaders had seemed to recognize that "something was wrong with society." They saw, for example, the great industrial cities of England, in which tremendous wealth and dreadful poverty existed side by side. In the slums they saw underfed children forced into factories as soon as they were old enough to do the simplest kind of work. They saw parents seeking to forget in drink the dreary round of life's tasks and the hopelessness of bettering their condition.

These leaders who started the settlement movement began to live among the unhappy people of the cities. They visited the poor, held classes, formed clubs, and lectured (usually on religious subjects) to the people of these poor neighborhoods. In many cases their home became the "neighborhood house."

The movement then spread across the sea and reached the United States. By 1910 about 200 settlement houses had been established in various cities of the United States and England. At first the people looked to these leaders for help only when they were in distress. As the movement grew the work was expanded. Separate buildings were constructed which became centers of education and recreation. Here the whole neighborhood was welcomed —both sexes and all ages.

During the past 30 years or so the work of the social settlements has grown steadily. Today they are good influences in the life of the poorer neighborhoods, although, as one writer has put it, "the day of the settlement has only begun—it is hardly beyond the cockcrow." Through them important improvements have come in "housing, recreation, health, industrial conditions."



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 61. Hull House, in Chicago, founded by Jane Addams in 1889. It is one of the oldest social settlements in the United States

Through them a more intelligent handling of the poorer people in the civil courts of the country has been brought about. Most important of all, however, has been the influence of the social settlements in rebuilding neighborhood spirit. Through them once again people have learned to know their neighbors.

2. The work of community centers

Community centers—or recreational centers or social centers, as they are sometimes called—are other agencies which have grown up to rebuild community life. These centers are largely neighborhood affairs and are conducted in many ways.

One of the earliest and most important of these is the one which grew up in the South Side district of Chicago about 40 years ago. In that region 750,000 people were crowded together with little or no opportunity for healthful recreation. In 1903 the South Park Commission began to develop ten neighborhood recreation centers near the parks of the district. Within two years these centers were opened to the people of the neighborhoods. In each center was later built a beautiful building, a "field house" with a stage, clubrooms, an assembly room, gymnasiums for men and for women, locker rooms, shower baths, and a branch of the public library.

Today during the warmer months most of the activities, such as pageants and plays, baseball and basketball games, are conducted out of doors. Some of the centers even have outdoor swimming pools. Neighborhood choruses are organized, and readings and folk dances are given by "local talent"; that is, by the people of the neighborhoods. In the field houses the people come together for dances, parties, dinners, and club meetings. They assemble to discuss matters of civic or social importance. Several new field houses have been added to the original ten on Chicago's South Side and others have been built in various sections of the city.

The "community center" movement also spread to other cities. Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and other cities built neighborhood centers similar to those in Chicago. Although every city has not been so successful in establishing centers of recreation as Chicago, there is a much longer list of successes than of failures.

In general, the attempts to develop neighborhood spirit and provide healthful means of spending leisure time together are producing important results for our changing American life.

One of the most valuable results of the work of community centers is the development of leadership through self-government. Good leadership can bind the people of a neighborhood together to improve their working and living conditions and their opportunities for recreation. Indeed, perhaps the development of leadership is the most important outcome to be sought in the work of these neighborhood centers.

The following story illustrates what intelligent leadership can do for our changing American communities. It also sums up the story of the growth and decline of many old communities.

The story of Van Hornesville: an example of how the neighborhood spirit in a dying community was awakened

Recall from your study of American history the story of how the Dutch settled along the fertile valleys of the Mohawk and the other rivers of New York State.

During the 1700's one little band of Dutch farmers climbed the hillsides of the Mohawk valley and settled above a rapidly running creek. There they formed two hilltop settlements—Squawk and Pumpkin Neck. For 50 years these two little communities lived there quietly, farming their land. Then the Industrial Revolution invaded them as it was invading hundreds of other communities. Abraham Van Horne with a company of merchants and millers moved into the neighborhood. Did these newcomers move to the hillside, too? No, indeed. They settled beside the stream, where there was power to turn the wheels of their grain mills. Other industries soon joined the new community—first, a plow-and-axle factory, then a foundry and a distillery, and finally, in 1840, a cotton mill. The community was growing because of water power, a rich hinterland, and near-by markets. Inns were needed for visiting merchants; so inns were built. New roads were needed so that people and merchandise could move easily to and from near-by settlements. So a plank road, 27 miles in length, was laid down. All these improvements and the opportunity for work drew other people to the neighborhood. Soon Van Hornesville, as the new community was called, became a flourishing town.

But just as the Industrial Revolution was responsible for bringing a flourishing community into being, it was responsible also for its decline. The railroad began to stretch out across the state, but it ignored the town of Van Hornesville and wound its way to other communities where it was easier to build. Electric power too began to develop in various centers of upper New York State, but the power lines followed the line of the railroads. Other small near-by communities soon grew greater than Van Hornesville in size and in number of industries. As that happened the manufacturers of Van Hornesville began to move away to communities where there was electric power and from which railroads would carry their products to distant markets rapidly and safely. The workers followed the industries. Soon the stores of the town closed for lack of customers, and the plank road rotted away, since so few people used it that it was scarcely worth repairing.

Mr. Owen D. Young, chairman of the General Electric Company of Schenectady and the man for whom the German reparations plan was named, was born in this little town. Let him tell in his own words what he saw happening in Van Hornesville: "I looked at the town with sorrow, and saw it going. The houses were falling to pieces; the milldam was growing up in cattails; the village green was a mass of weeds."

The neighborhood had broken down. Even the little red schoolhouse had been destroyed by fire. Van Hornesville was dying. The community needed leadership and co-operation among its people to restore it to life. And leadership and co-operation were developed.

One of the first acts was to build a new school. Plans for a new central school were drawn up by the leaders and the people together. The labor and the skill of the workers of the town went into the actual construction of the building. Before long, community spirit was running high—everyone, including the humblest worker, felt that he was taking part.

But the school is only one evidence of what happened to Van Hornesville under intelligent leadership and public co-operation. In addition

> mill wheels with improved machinery once more are turning, profitably; a dairy is bottling purer and richer milk and sending it to town over concrete roads; the carpenter's saw, electrically driven, cuts through the native pine; the blacksmith's successor runs a thriving garage.

Van Hornesville came to life again, and neighborhood spirit under intelligent leadership was what revived it.[1]

WHAT, THEN, HAVE WE LEARNED IN OUR BRIEF STUDY OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF AMERICA?

First, and perhaps most important: Practically all the nation's communities—small or large—are made up of little neighborhoods. It is in these neighborhoods that the life of the country really goes on. They are small, covering an area of one or, at the most, a few streets, and containing on the average perhaps 100 people. It is probably no exaggeration to speak of "America's 1,000,000 neighborhoods."

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[1] This story has been written from facts given in " 'The Young Plan' saves a Town," by Mary Day Winn, an article in the *New York Herald-Tribune* for November 23, 1930. The quotations are from the article.

Second, we learned that many factors divide the communities into neighborhoods. Chief among them are differences in wealth and income, differences in nationality and race, in the "lay of the land," in the location of rivers or hills, factories, or railroads.

Third, although we did not study the problem completely, our examples suggested that it is within the neighborhoods of communities that people form many of their opinions and attitudes toward other persons, races, and groups in the community. This is such an important problem that we shall consider it frequently in the remaining chapters of this book.

Fourth, one of the most important discoveries that we made was that the Industrial Revolution, having produced the automobile, telephone, "movies," and radio, and having brought about the growth of towns and cities, has also rapidly broken down the intimate life of neighborhoods. Both in the cities and in the rural districts and villages the intimate community spirit is tending to disappear.

Fifth, we studied important examples of attempts to re-establish the intimacy of neighborhood life. Chief among the factors tending to hold the neighborhood together is the inspiring leadership of persons in social settlements and community centers.

In later chapters of this book we shall study again and again the part which neighborhood influences play in forming American ways of living.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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Burr, Walter. Small Towns. The Macmillan Company, New York. A study of life in small towns.

Colcord, Joanna C. Your Community. Russell Sage Foundation, New York. A question book to be used as a basis for community planning.

Douglass, Harlan Paul. The Little Town. The Macmillan Company, New York. An excellent study of the rural relationships of small towns.

Douglass, Harlan Paul. The Suburban Trend. The Century Co., New York. Traces the movement toward the suburbs in the larger American cities and describes the kinds of suburbs.

Duffus, Robert L. Mastering a Metropolis. Harper & Brothers, New York. Discusses many of the problems of the great city.

Du Puy, William Atherton. Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles. Frederick A. Stokes Company, Inc., New York. See Chapter I.

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Gist, Noel P., and Halbert, L. A. Urban Society. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. How people live in urban communities.

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C-25 Goode, J. P. "A Seaport as a Center of Concentration of Population and Wealth," pp. 201–208.

A-4 Goode, J. P. "What Nature Has Done for a Tropical City," pp. 41–50.

A-24 Lyon, L. S. "Concentration of Population in Great Cities," pp. 201–208.

B-24 Swartz, G. W. "Building the Industrial City of Gary," pp. 201–208.

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Lindeman, Eduard C. The Community: An Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization. Association Press, New York. A good general study of the community; what it is, the types of communities, and organization in a community.

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Riis, Jacob A. How the Other Half Lives. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Tenement life in the slums of New York.

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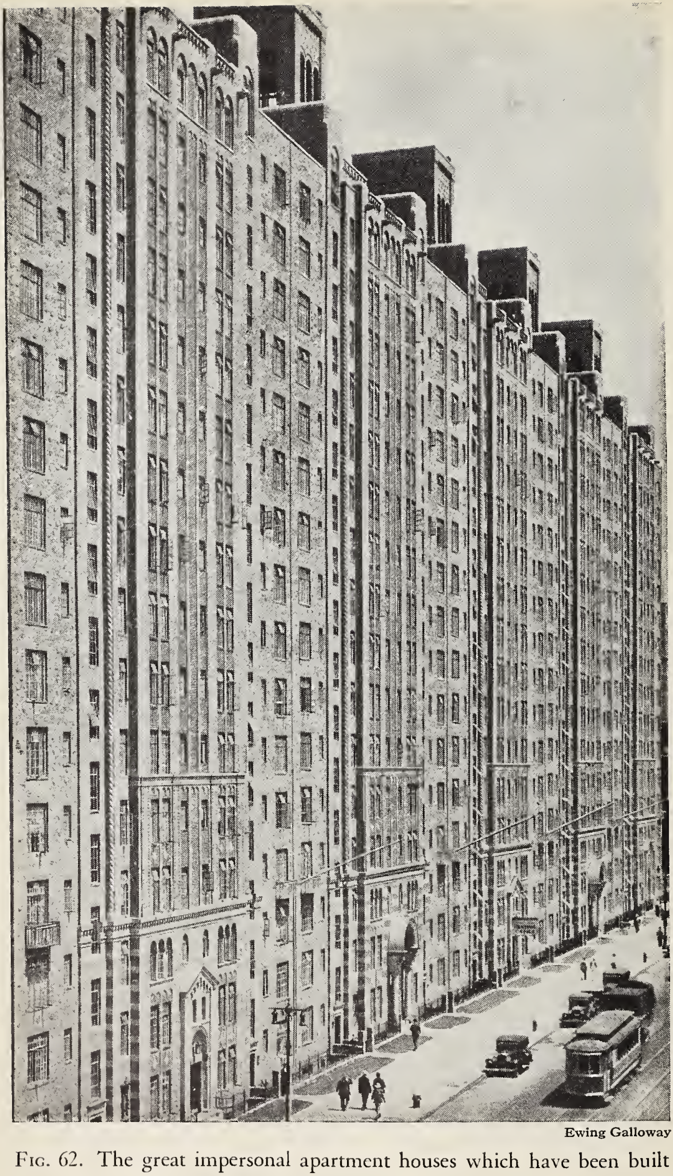
Southworth, Gertrude V. D., and Kramer, Stephen E. Great Cities of the United States. Iroquois Publishing Company, Inc., Syracuse, New York.

Young, Jeremiah, and Barton, Edwin M. Growing in Citizenship. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. See Unit II, "Community Activities and Social Ideals."



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 62. The great impersonal apartment houses which have been built where those shown in figure 72 used to stand

CHAPTER VI · The Changing American Family

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"Gold coast and slum": a contrast in houses

On a strip of land facing Lake Michigan lies the Gold Coast. Though a mile in length, it stretches back from the shore line but two short blocks. The Gold Coast is well named. Here live some of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families of Chicago. It is a district of beautiful great houses surrounded by large green lawns, luxurious apartment buildings, and splendid tall hotels. The rooms in these homes of the Gold Coast are large and light. The fresh winds from the lake keep the smoke of the industrial city farther inland.

Less than a mile back from the Gold Coast lies Little Hell—as well named as is the Gold Coast. It is the Sicilian slum district of the great city. The streets and alleys are dirty and narrow, and the houses lining them are bleak tenements. The air is heavy and dark because the smokestacks of factories are so near by. One can hear the clanging and rattling of railroads and the elevated railway.

Thus, nearly side by side in the great city beside Lake Michigan are two very different kinds of neighborhoods—the Gold Coast, almost entirely American; Little Hell, almost entirely Sicilian. The families in the Gold Coast district, with incomes of $50,000 and more a year, have surrounded themselves with a great many luxuries. Almost within their sight are other families who can afford only the simplest of life's necessities.

Is this not a contrast in family and home life in America—dreary, noisy Little Hell against the comfortable, luxurious Gold Coast? These are two kinds of "American" homes. They are, of course, the extremes, the richest and the poorest. Between them are many other kinds. Indeed between them live the 30,000,000 families of America.

American families vary as much as do their homes. In every kind of neighborhood can be found people who are leading happy and worth-while lives. In each can be found people who are leading unhappy and wasteful lives.

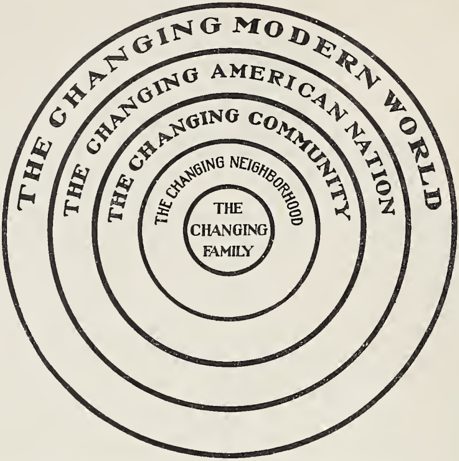
THE CHANGING MODERN WORLD
THE CHANGING AMERICAN NATION
THE CHANGING COMMUNITY
THE CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD
THE CHANGING FAMILY

Fig. 63. The unit of American life is the family. Like all other aspects of our way of living, the family and family life are changing

The family—the most important group of all

In this book we are studying all the influences that make the American what he is. And the most important influences upon him are the groups in which he lives. You have already learned about two of these, the community and the neighborhood. Now let us turn to another, the family.

Neither communities nor neighborhoods would exist were it not for the family. Although it is the smallest group, it plays a very important part in our lives. It is in the family that we are born; our infancy and most of our childhood are spent with its members. It is in the family that most of our thoughts and beliefs, our likes and dislikes, our ambitions and our ideals, are formed.

Herbert Hoover, during one of his campaign speeches for the presidency of the United States, expressed this thought:

> The unit of American life is the family and the home. It is the economic unit as well as the moral and spiritual unit. But it is more than this. It is the beginning of self-government. It is the throne of our highest ideals. It is the source of the spiritual energy of our people. For the perfecting of this unit . . . we must lend every energy of the government.[1]

Other people at other times both earlier and later have held these same beliefs about the family. Read them again. Are they not true?

If we look at the matter from the standpoint of the number of people who spend most of their time in the home, we find the following:

Of 130,000,000 Americans—
23 per cent are homemakers
19 per cent are children and other young people
11 per cent are under school age
4 per cent are old or feeble
Total 57 per cent, who spend most of their time in the home.

The remaining 43 per cent of our people are those who work as wage-earners, outside the home. But even these spend a large part of their lives with the other members of their families.

American families differ greatly

In round numbers there are 30,000,000 families in the United States. These vary in wealth, in income, in sizes and kinds of homes, in refinement and education, and in many other respects.

Note the startling differences in income during 1929, regarded as a year of prosperity:

36 families in America had more than $5,000,000 to spend
468 families had more than $1,000,000 to spend
63,000 families had more than $50,000 to spend
More than 5,000,000 families had less than $1000 upon which to live

What, then, should you expect to be true of the houses and homes of these Americans? Would they be alike in comfort, healthfulness, and convenience? The following word pictures will help to answer our question.

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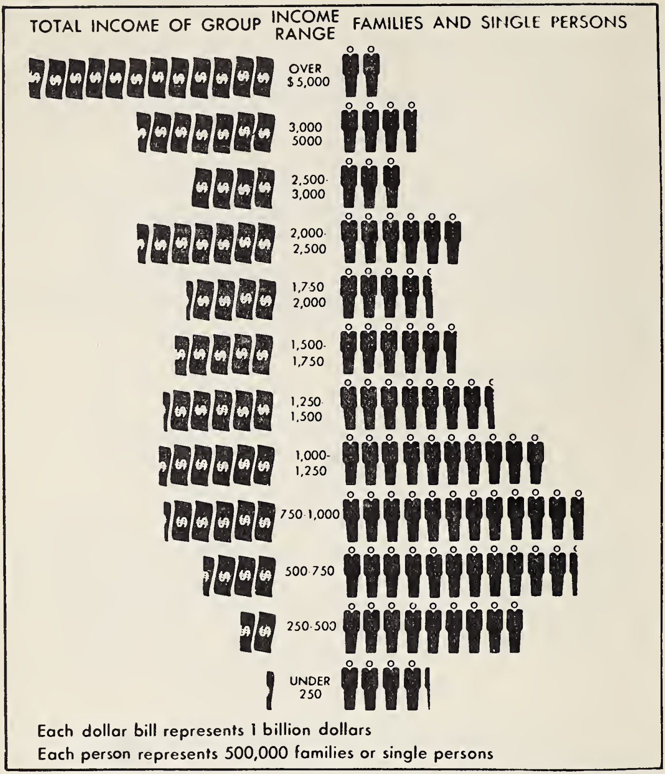
[1] From a speech delivered by Herbert Hoover at Elizabethton, Tennessee.



Pictorial Statistics

Fig. 64.[1] Distribution of income during 1935–1936

DIFFERENT KINDS OF CITY HOMES IN AMERICA

1. Mr. Very Poor Man comes home

Mr. Very Poor Man works hard and long. He may be doing backbreaking labor in some huge industrial plant. He may be working in a smaller establishment, but almost always he has a tiring and monotonous job. The Mr. Very Poor Man we shall describe here happens to wash automobiles for his living. Ten hours a day he stands on cold wet floors. At seven o'clock in the

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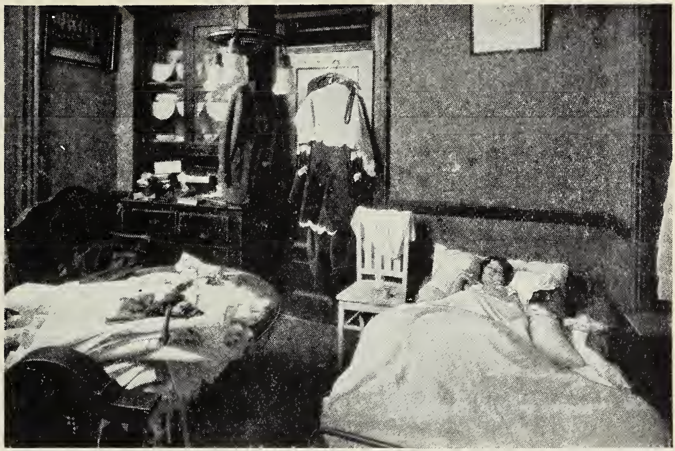
[1] From *Your Income and Mine*, issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.



Brown Brothers

FIG. 65. This room was meant for a dining room. The home is not so poor as the one described in the text, or so comfortable as that of Mr. Average Worker. Why?

evening he makes his way from the garage through narrow, dirty streets to a dreary tenement building. Up four flights of creaking stairs he climbs, at each floor passing through dark, cold halls filled with odors which seem never to leave. He turns a knob and enters his home.

Home to Mr. Very Poor Man, his wife, and five children is but two rear rooms—a kitchen and a bedroom. The mother and children are now in the kitchen gathered around the coal range, which keeps them warm. It is in the kitchen that the family cooks, eats, and talks over the events of the day. Here three of its members sleep. Cracks in the windows are stuffed with paper to keep out the cold wind. There is scarcely room to turn, and the single, flickering gaslight leaves half the small room almost without light. Wet clothes on a line strung between two corners of the room brush the heads of the family as they stoop to find their places at the table. These clothes were washed in the tin bathtub now hanging on the wall. Old newspapers, soiled clothes, a baby's bottle, a marble or two, empty cardboard boxes, and other articles litter the room, for there is no place to store them. This is one American home, and an American family lives in it.

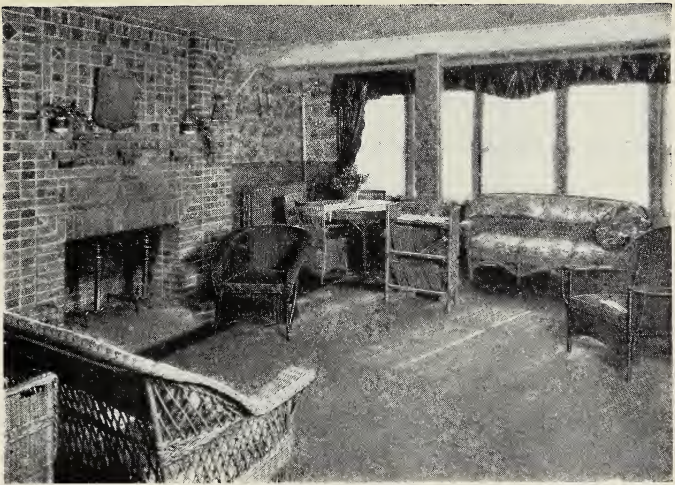
2. Mr. Average Worker comes home

Mr. Average Worker may do any one of a great number of things, ranging all the way from clerking in a department store to having a trade of his own. In any event Mr. Average Worker works fewer hours and gets more money than Mr. Very Poor Man. We shall take a mechanic as an example of Mr. Average Worker.

This particular mechanic works eight hours a day, from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. Because his wages are larger than Mr. Very Poor Man's, he is able to live in a somewhat better tenement called an apartment. Like Mr. Very Poor Man, however, he also makes his way up a rather dark stairway. But his building is heated and the halls are better ventilated. When he enters his home, he too steps into the room where most of the family life goes on. It is the combined dining-and-living room. In addition there are two bedrooms and a small kitchen. All have closets. In the daytime the rooms are fairly light, for each has at least one window. Besides the actual necessities this family has things which Mr. Very Poor Man would consider luxuries. The most important of these perhaps is the fifth room—a bathroom. It is small, to be sure, and perhaps the faucet marked "hot" doesn't always give hot water. But this extra room is certainly a real improvement over Mr. Very Poor Man's home. There are other "luxuries," such as a framed print of an artist's painting, curtains and shades, a set of furniture, and a small radio. This home also belongs to an American family. And there are millions of homes very much like it.

3. Mr. Average White-Collar Man comes home

It is five o'clock and the head bookkeeper draws on his coat, puts on his hat and gloves, and turns out his desk light. His workday of seven hours, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., is over. He hurries to the station and just catches the 5 : 25. Even now, after three years of living in the suburb, he is glad for his two children's sake that he has a nice apartment in an attractive two-family house out there. At exactly 6 : 15 he reaches the neat, grass-lined walk that leads to his porch. Though he shares this porch with the other family in the house, it is an airy, sunshiny place for the baby to sleep.

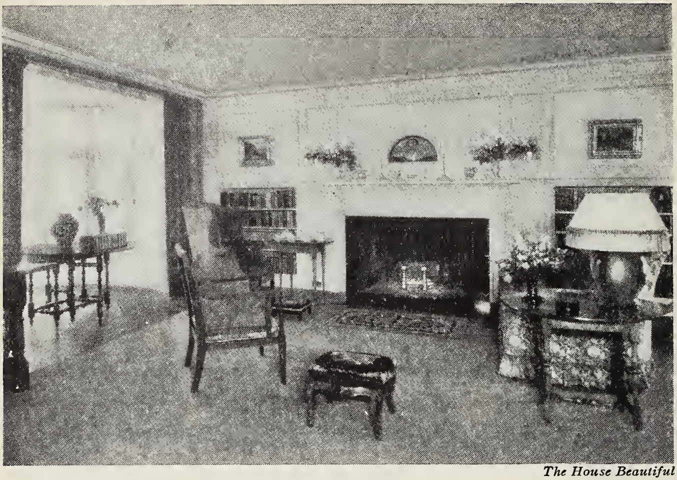


Brown Brothers

Fig. 66. This is the living room in another American home. In what ways does it resemble the home of Mr. Average White-Collar Man?

There are six rooms in this man's apartment, one of which is a "parlor," or living room. The rooms are larger and sunnier than those of the less prosperous workingmen. And there are more luxuries too—a washing machine, a vacuum cleaner.

There seems to be a place for everything. A built-in cupboard holds neat piles of saucers and plates; rows of cups are hanging from hooks. A built-in bookcase is filled with a set of "standard works," including the tales of Cooper and Bret Harte, and a few rows of other books. Some inexpensive but well-chosen pictures adorn the walls. A new rug will soon be needed and the covering on the chairs is getting worn, but they cannot be replaced until the children's new winter clothes have been bought and little Jackie has been fitted with glasses. The family is getting along, however; even though the members of it lack many luxuries, they are comfortable and happy together. There are several million Mr. Average White-Collar Men in America, and their homes resemble this one in many ways.



The House Beautiful

Fig. 67. Do you think the family that lives in this home has a larger income than the family that lives in the home shown in figure 66

4. Mr. Prosperous Businessman comes home

In the same suburb, but over on the boulevard, lives Mr. Prosperous Businessman. He reaches his office by automobile shortly after nine in the morning. By five-thirty in the afternoon he has put his car into the garage alongside his bungalow. His home seems comfortable, indeed. There are three bathrooms, a sleeping-room for each member of the family, and a guest room. There are two rooms devoted to meals. One is the formal dining room, which is used for luncheon and the evening dinner. The other is the glass-enclosed breakfast room, which is so light that it seems to be out of doors. A neat maid serves the food prepared by the cook. The whole house is comfortably furnished, and in it are all the timesaving and laborsaving devices that the Industrial Age inventors have given to housekeepers.

Mr. Prosperous Businessman has been able to afford beauty as well as comfort in his home. He has pieces of sculpture and an Oriental wall-hanging, things that Mr. White Collar Man could not buy with the savings of a year. The walls are beautifully decorated and soft Chinese rugs lie on the polished hardwood floors. But here and there can be seen useless things too, and some of them are not particularly beautiful. The whole effect, however, is one of comfortable luxury. There are thousands of such homes in America.

5. Mr. Unemployed Man comes home

Before we go into Mr. Unemployed Man's home let us look at some of the astonishing things that have happened in our country since 1929. In October of that year unbelievable things happened in the financial world. Prices of stocks and bonds began to fall. Everybody wanted to sell. Stock prices went lower and lower; some were cut in two, others went down to almost nothing. Thousands of fortunes were wiped out. Panic seized the nation.

Stores and factories did less and less business as people began to save what money they had at home and to withdraw what they had in banks. Job-holders worked only part of the week. First they were cut to four days, then to three, then to two, and finally many of them were told they were needed no longer. Because stores were selling fewer things their orders to manufacturers became smaller. One factory after another closed.

What did this mean to the workers of America? Millions of men and women were thrown out of jobs. Though able-bodied and willing to work they could not find anything to do. They were receiving no money at all, nothing to buy the things they needed. Many were depending entirely upon the charity of other people. Misery increased. Hungry men and women begged for food. Hundreds of thousands of them stood in city bread lines and in front of soup kitchens. Families unable to pay their rent were put out of their homes and onto the street.

Men and women tramped from place to place in search of jobs. Failing to find them they became bewildered. Many lost courage. Children too were affected. They knew that something was "very wrong." They were always hungry it seemed. Their clothes were getting worn out and they wondered when they would get new ones—"with Father out of work."

As conditions grew worse, citizens roused themselves to do something to lessen the nation-wide misery. By 1931 local work-relief programs were set up in more than 200 communities. Cash or food orders were given to workers doing special jobs for the community—cleaning streets and parks, repairing public buildings, and the like.

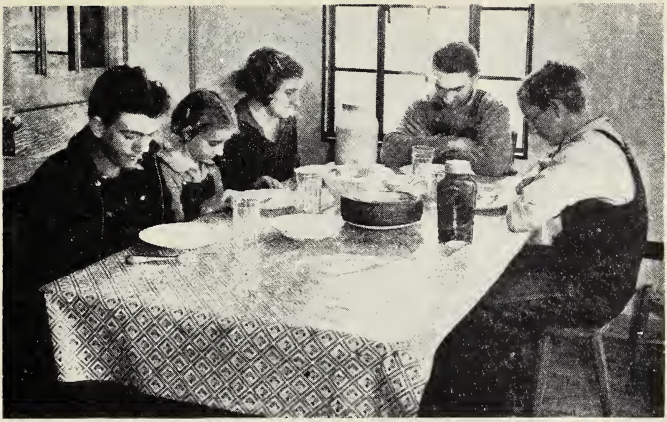
But more and more factories were closing and more and more men and women were being thrown out of work. Soon communities had no more money to give to their unemployed, and had to close up their relief offices. Some state governments then began to give money to the communities, but even these funds were not large enough to meet the needs of the suffering people.

Finally the United States government decided that it would help. By the summer of 1933 a program to relieve millions of people in distress was launched. It provided relief for unemployed workers, for people who were losing their homes because they could not pay taxes or interest on mortgages, for farmers unable to meet their debts, for businessmen.

Now let us look into the home of Mr. Unemployed Man, whom we shall call Mr. Jones. Before the depression Mr. Jones was an assistant manager of a trucking business, making $50 a week. In those days his family—father, mother, and three children—lived comfortably. They had paid $2000 on their house, which had cost $3500.

But Mr. Jones, like so many others, lost his job. Months went by and his savings grew smaller and smaller. After each day of looking for a job, going from store to store, garage to garage, even house to house, in search of "any" kind of work, he'd come home to report—"Nothing doing." And how it would hurt him to see Mrs. Jones smile faintly and say—"Maybe tomorrow." And the children,—they didn't seem to want to play as they used to. And their marks in school were lower—they couldn't seem to get their minds on their studies. Unable to make payments on the house, the Joneses lost it and moved to a little place on the outskirts of the town where rent was cheap.

Finally, though he went through agony doing it, Mr. Jones sought aid at the relief office which the government had set up in the town. He didn't want to; he had never asked for charity before—but what choice was there? His little girls were thin from need of more food. Their shoes and dresses were no longer wearable. Worry filled the minds of Mr. Jones and his wife. They scarcely talked to each other, they were so unhappy.



Acme

Fig. 68. As Mrs. Jones said (page 120), WPA doesn't mean luxury, but it does mean better food, clothing, and living conditions than unemployment or "relief"

So apply for relief he did, and he received enough to "keep body and soul together." A year passed and finally he was put on the WPA.[1] This meant that he would have charge of the trucks which were going back and forth from the new park, a WPA government project. It meant too that he would be able to get more food for his family, to buy Jane and Helen and Mary winter coats, perhaps buy some new blankets.

Let us enter Mr. Jones's living room five months after his work on the WPA began. Some neighbors have come in to spend the evening.

"I was talking to Mr. Taylor after work today," Mr. Johnson was saying. "He still thinks that the country is going into bankruptcy if something is not done to cut relief expenditures. He says it's just giving money away foolishly, that the people on relief and WPA wouldn't take private jobs if they had the chance. It's soft living on the government, he says."

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[1] The Works Progress Administration, an emergency work program set up in 1935 to furnish employment on useful public projects such as public buildings, hospitals, playgrounds, roads, bridges, etc. More than $5,000,000,000 in Federal funds had been expended by July 1938.

"Well, it's a sure bet that he never was in my spot. I'd give a fortune—if I had it—to have my old job back. And I could name a thousand right here in this town who'd say the same thing. What does he mean, 'soft'? I guess he hasn't taken a trip out to the park to see what's being done out there. Why, that's going to be a grand place for the kids of this town—his own included. Sure it's costing the country money—but what would he like to do with those men and their families?"

"I don't know what he'd do with them," answered Mr. Johnson, "but it seems that he is certainly against helping them."

"I guess," added Mrs. Jones, "one has to go through what so many of us have since the depression really to know what has happened. We're on WPA, but I don't think even Mr. Taylor would say we've got a lot, that we're living in luxury. If we had lost our furniture along with our house, what would we have in these rooms? Nothing. We still can't afford to fix up the house as we'd like to, but we're warm here when it's freezing outside. True we're healthier now than we were when Mr. Jones wasn't working. We've got electric lights. Our children don't have to stay home from school because they haven't shoes to wear."

"Yes," broke in Mr. Jones, "but we're on WPA. What about all the millions who are just getting 'relief'? They're not getting nearly so much as we are. And those not even on 'relief'! Thousands and thousands of them haven't anything at all. The paper just tonight said that there are still about 10,000,000 people willing and able to work who are out of jobs. And what's going to happen to all the young men and women as they finish high school? What are they going to do? If only times would get better! If only the machines would start humming again!"

What do you think? Should the government stop helping Mr. Unemployed Man? Could Mr. Unemployed Man really find a job if he wanted one? These are important questions, and people have different answers to them. Mr. Unemployed Man's problem is a serious one. It is forever on his mind and affects his whole family.

6. Mr. Cultured Man comes home

Mr. Cultured Man also lives in this suburb. It is about five o'clock in the afternoon, and his car is approaching the winding, hedge-lined drive to his little house among the trees. As he comes nearer, he can see that the hedge is a trifle uneven. Must trim that on Saturday, he reflects. How many afternoons he has spent in pruning those big old trees and reseeding the lawn! A great feeling of contentment comes over him at the sight before him.

After driving his car into the garage, he looks at the garden and smiles. How cleverly his wife has laid it out, he thinks, and how well she keeps it, even without a maid to do the housework. At first glance, one can scarcely tell that it serves a very practical purpose. But looking more carefully one finds a vegetable garden within the border of roses, delphiniums, and gladioli.

In the house beauty, simplicity, and order strike the eye. The same hands that made the lawn and hedge and flower garden so attractive turned these rooms into things of beauty. No more money has been spent upon this home than upon that of Mr. Average White-Collar Man across town, but what a difference between the two! The house itself, the furniture, the hangings, the many books, all show good taste and thoughtful selection. By wise planning many years ago, Mr. and Mrs. Cultured Man saved enough money from a small salary of $2500 to build this home. What hours of discussion had gone into the designing of each room, the closets, the windows, the lighting fixtures. Perhaps that is one reason why this home is such a success today.

Mr. Cultured Man's wife is sitting on the sun porch with Ruth and Harry, who have just finished their high-school lessons. They are talking about spending the evening at the "movies," for they feel the one at The Paramount is too fine a motion picture to miss.

As the father greets his family, his wife says laughingly: "Ruth and Harry were telling me this afternoon that they've been down to see the new exhibit at the Little Gallery and that they believe there is no real art in America. I am wondering if they haven't formed their opinions a little too hastily."

"Yes, indeed," Mr. Cultured Man answers, smiling at his loved ones. He sinks into a comfortable porch chair, prepared to enjoy conversation and companionship with his wife and children.

Another American family—one of small income, but one in which life is interesting and very worth while. How encouraging it would be if all Americans could visit this home and discover how much can be done through education and careful thought!

We have described only six kinds of homes, but there are countless numbers of others to be found among the 30,000,000 in America. Homes in four-room, boxlike coal-miners' huts. Homes in rough-boarded, tar-paper-covered shacks. Homes in small frame farmhouses. Homes in comfortable white-painted farm dwellings. Homes in interesting and unusual log cabins. Homes in one-family and two-family stucco residences. A great many different kinds of homes. And in them all family life goes on in America today.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IS PRODUCING A NEW KIND OF AMERICAN HOME

One theme stands out in all studies of civilization—change! Ever-increasing change! The modern world is a world of changing civilizations. Every aspect of modern life is changing.

No change is more important, however, than that which is taking place in home and family life. Every phase of home life is being altered: the size of the family itself, the houses people live in, the interest of parents in their children, the recreation of the members of the family, the unity of family life—all are changing. The Industrial Revolution has entered the home.

In order to understand these important kinds of change more clearly let us recall what we already know of American family life before 1890.

American family life before 1890

In the pioneer days on every frontier, even on the last one of the 1870's and 1880's, the American family lived as a little self-sufficient group. Food was prepared in the home. Clothing was made in the home. Even household utensils and farm implements were made there.

To the pioneer family the home meant almost the entire world. Its members not only worked as a group, they took their recreation as a group. Everybody worked—both men and women, old and young alike. The family depended upon the work each person could do, and the lives of all were bound closely together. When they left their homes for rare social gatherings, all the members of the family—even the babies—went together.

Throughout at least the first 200 years of American history the family was what ex-President Herbert Hoover (page 111) said it was—a real unit.

Then came machines, factories, the rise of manufacturing cities, and the first breakdown of the home

Even before the frontier disappeared, however, life in the growing towns and cities began to change as power-driven factories grew. During decade after decade in the nineteenth century, men left their homes to work in shops, mines, mills, stores, and offices. More and more time was spent away from the home. Steadily the family as a small compact unit, in which parents and children were bound closely together in work and in play, began to disappear.

Machines and more machines were invented to do men's work, and this affected family life very much indeed. Each member tended to take up a special kind of work different from that of the other members. Gradually different interests developed among them and took them into different groups. The father had one group of friends, the mother had another group, the children had still others.

These changes did not take place rapidly, however, until, let us say, about 1890. Even at that date the chief interests of American families still centered in the home. Few women went to factories or to "business." About 85 per cent of the women over sixteen years of age continued to do the work of the home. When the working day was over for the man, he usually returned to his home as the place for rest and recreation. Father, mother, and children were still bound fairly closely together. The family was still a real group.

After 1890 came startling changes in industry, and the home changed rapidly

After 1890, however, changes came with great rapidity. You have studied the most important ones so frequently that at this point we need merely to sum up those which affected family life:

1. The ever-increasing invention of power-driven machines to do the work of men.
2. The invention and improvement of automobiles—a car for almost every family!
3. The widespread use of the telephone, making it possible for persons to communicate at great distances.
4. The improvement of the motion picture, which soon became the chief form of entertainment for the mass of the people.
5. The invention of the radio and its widespread use in the homes of America.
6. The rapid increase in the number and kinds of organizations—fraternal societies, neighborhood clubs, business and labor organizations, memorial, patriotic, and charitable societies.
7. The changing attitudes toward women—their work in the home and outside on the job, their play.
8. The spread of the idea of universal elementary education for all and the increase in the number of years spent in school.
9. The most astonishing growth of cities that the world has ever known, the result of all these important changes and developments.

THE CHIEF CHANGES IN HOME AND FAMILY LIFE

1. Families become smaller and smaller

First, we must bear in mind the steady decline in the size of the American family. Table V presents the facts for a period of 80 years. It shows that as the continent was settled, as the standard of living rose, and as education spread, American parents had fewer children. In 1850 the average family consisted of father, mother, and, let us say, four children; in 1930, of father, mother, and two children.

Remember what frequently has been said concerning averages. The average American family may be thought of as the middle-sized one. Hence in 1850 more than half the families in the United

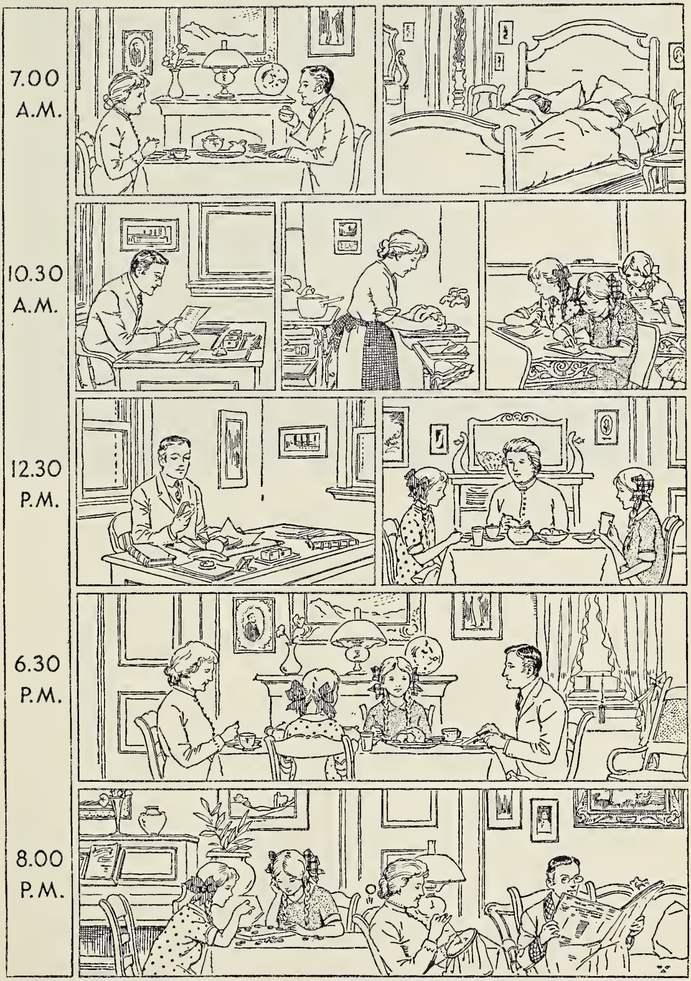
7.00 A.M.
10.30 A.M.
12.30 P.M.
6.30 P.M.
8.00 P.M.

Fig. 69. An ordinary day in the life of an American family in 1890. Compare this picture with figure 77

States were larger than six. Five to seven children in a family was not at all unusual; families even of nine or ten children were fairly frequent. But the average also reminds us that about half the families in 1850 had fewer than four children. It is impossible of course to tell the whole story concerning the sizes of American families by the use of a single national average. An average of two children to the family today means there are many families with four, five, or six children, but also that there are many others with only one child or with no children at all.

TABLE V[1]

Number of Persons in American Families, 1850–1930

Year	Persons to a Family
1850	5.6
1860	5.3
1870	5.1
1880	5.0
1890	4.9
1900	4.7
1910	4.5
1920	4.3
1930	3.9

Even though we must be careful in thinking of averages which describe a vast population, the facts of Table V are very meaningful. They show that American families are much smaller now than they were 90 years ago; probably at least one third smaller. Furthermore, the table shows that the family is decreasing in size more rapidly today than in earlier years. Note the great decrease between 1920 and 1930.

Is the size of families getting smaller as rapidly in the rural districts and small towns as it is in the larger cities? Are families among the poor as small as those among the rich? These questions are very difficult to answer. A number of investigations which have been made seem to show that the decline in the size of the family is fairly widespread throughout the country. In the smaller communities as well as in the larger ones, among the poor as well as among more well-to-do, there are fewer and fewer children. In one investigation which covered a rural village, a small town, and a medium-sized city in the Middle West, it was found that in 30 years the size of the family declined at about the same rate in all three.

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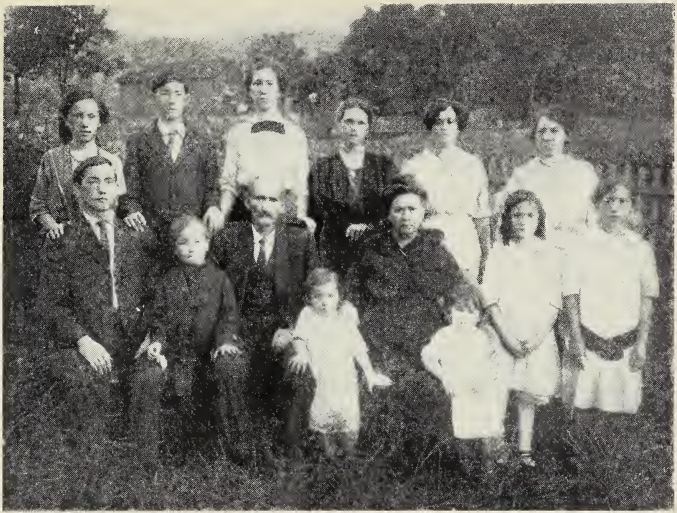
[1] *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (*1920*), Vol. XI, p. 1266. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1922. The statistics for 1850 and 1860 do not include the slave population.



Brown Brothers

FIG. 70. Do you know many families as large as this one?

What is causing the families to become smaller?

Is the size of the family decreasing because there are fewer marriages? Are people being married at an older age?

Tables VI, VII, and VIII will answer these questions for you. Note that a larger percentage of men and women were married in 1930 than were married in 1890. Also young men are being married at an earlier age than they were in 1890. Two conditions help to account for these facts. The first is the entrance of women into industry, business, and the professions. Fifty years ago marriage was postponed until several hundreds of dollars, with which to buy furniture and other necessary things, had been saved. Today the young woman often continues to work, and the man and woman live on their combined incomes. In addition, many young men today receive better salaries than did the young men in 1890; so those who do have good jobs can marry earlier.

We see, therefore, that the decrease in the size of the family is not due to fewer marriages or to later ones. Why, then, are families smaller?

Several important factors which we have already studied help to answer the question. One of the most important is the rapid rise in the standard of living. Many things which were considered luxuries not so many years ago are looked upon as necessities today. Most parents wish to bring up their children in comfortable homes and provide them with good food and clothing, and all these things cost money. Many parents wish to have only two children because they can care for two well. If they had four, five, six, or more they could perhaps give them no more than a poorly furnished house and insufficient food and clothing.

TABLE VI

Per Cent of Men 15 Years and Over Who Are Married	
1890	58
1920	65
1930	64

TABLE VII

Per Cent of Women 15 Years and Over Who Are Married	
1890	68
1920	73
1930	72

TABLE VIII

	Per Cent of Married Men	
	Aged 15–19	Aged 20–24
1890	0.5	19
1920	2.3	29

A second factor is the steady increase in education. All but a small percentage of the American people can now read, and knowledge of various kinds is spreading rapidly among them. The attendance at school has increased rapidly during the past 50 years. More young people are going to high school and even to college, but high school and college cost money. More parents, looking ahead to future expenses, tend to have fewer children. The feeling grows that it is better to care well for two children and to give them a high-school or even college education than to support several more and not be able to send them through high school.

Furthermore, as the education of women increases, as they enter business or have other careers, they feel that they cannot have large families and carry on their work at the same time.

There are still other factors. The decrease in child labor is one. In earlier times children often added to the family's income. A family had many children, and all of them were expected to contribute to the family's support. Today child labor is against the

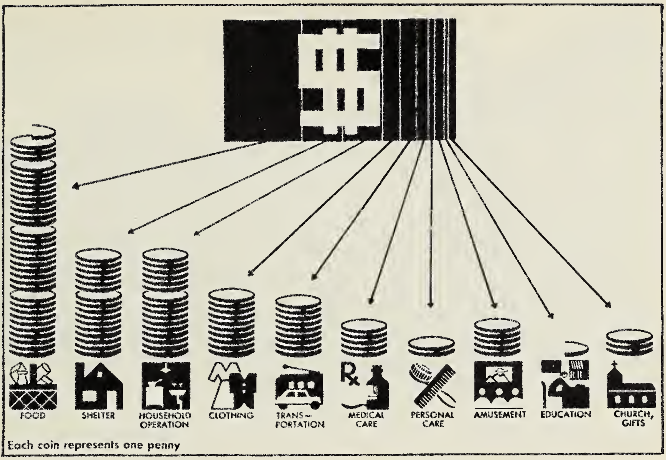


FIG. 71.[1] Where a typical family dollar goes

law in most communities of the United States. In our industrial civilization there is also the factor of fear concerning steady work and steady income. Machines have taken the place of workers in our factories. Families have moved from town to town in an effort to find work. These and many other conditions make it increasingly difficult to bring up large families.

As you can see, most of the important reasons why families have become smaller can be traced to the Industrial Revolution.

2. As communities grew, families crowded together

Most students of the problem agree that people's houses play an important part in the kind of family life they lead. Certainly one would expect to find healthier and happier people in attractive homes with plenty of room than in the crowded, partly ruined tenements of the slums. There is no doubt that one way of increasing a family's happiness and comfort would be to see to it that they have a house in which to live. By a house, of course, is meant a separate building of several rooms, or half a two-family house, or an apartment in a several-storied building.

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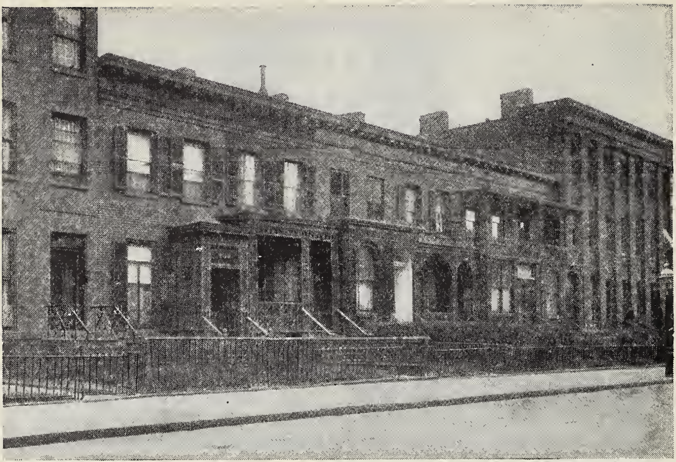
[1] From *How We Spend Our Money*, issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 72. This photograph shows the houses which stood on one New York street in 1910. Compare them with those in figure 62

Stated differently, every American family needs a house . . . a private house . . . a one-family house (a modern apartment can be that, of course) . . . for the sole use of that family. It should be large enough to give each person a room to himself. It should be a house with modern sanitary conveniences. It should be an attractive house, with large and well-proportioned rooms. It should be surrounded by a lawn and garden, shrubs and trees.

Nearly 30 years ago the National Conference of Charities and Correction drew up the following list of the things that a satisfactory house for an American family should have:

> a safe and sanitary home . . . healthful surroundings . . . ample and pure running water inside the house . . . modern and sanitary toilet conveniences for its exclusive use, located inside the building . . . adequate sunlight and ventilation . . . reasonable fire protection . . . privacy . . . rooms of sufficient size and number to house decently the members of the family . . . freedom from dampness . . . prompt, adequate collection of all waste materials.[1]

And these needs are just as true today as they were then.

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[1] Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, pp. 391–392. Cleveland, 1912.

But, in what kinds of houses do Americans live? In separate one-family residences? In tenements or apartment houses? In hotels?

Although conditions have changed rapidly in our larger cities, a study of 257 communities reveals that 52 per cent of the dwellings built in 1936 were one-family houses, 5 per cent were two-family houses, and 43 per cent were apartment houses (see Table IX).

TABLE IX

Per Cent of Different Kinds of New Dwellings Built in 257 Communities of Similar Size

	1925	1929	1936
One-family dwellings	47	41	52
Two-family dwellings	17	11	5
Apartment buildings	36	48	43

But this problem, like so many others that pertain to social life, is very complicated. No one average will completely describe the houses in which our 30,000,000 families live.

Housing conditions in small and medium-sized towns are very different from those in large cities. In 1936 a careful study was made in a Middle West community of 47,000 people. About 80 per cent of the families were living in one-family houses, each standing on a separate patch of ground, a yard. About 13 per cent of them were living in single-family semidetached or attached houses or in two-family to four-family houses. About 4 per cent were living in flats over stores. About 3 per cent were living in apartments.

In larger cities the conditions are very different. As cities have grown it has been necessary to erect large apartment buildings. By building upward toward the sky, hundreds of people can be housed on a small plot of land. This is the chief reason why the great apartment buildings have taken the place of the one-family and two-family dwellings in our larger cities.

Although people now live more crowded together than ever before, rents have increased enormously. Year after year the rental values of land in the central parts of our great cities have mounted higher and higher. Rents of $2000 to $3000 a year for a five-room or six-room apartment are common. In the sections where the wealthiest people live, apartments rent for as much as $50,000 a year. As rents have risen, apartments for people of small incomes have become smaller and smaller. Persons who formerly had six-room, seven-room, or eight-room houses are now crowded together in four or five small rooms. The kitchen has decreased in size until now it is little more than a "serving pantry" and is known as a kitchenette. The dining room, formerly a separate room, is now frequently merely a built-in corner or side of the combined living-and-dining room. As rooms have become smaller, many of the tables, chairs, sideboards, couches, divans, and large pianos have disappeared. Built-in furniture and conveniences are supplied in the more modern apartments.

The steady disappearance of yards and lawns

Fifty years ago a city block in a middle-sized community consisted generally of eight house lots, each one about 60 feet wide and 125 feet deep. On each lot there was room for a large house, a lawn, and a small kitchen garden or flower garden behind the house. Frequently there were wide open spaces between the one-family and two-family houses. In the large yards children of the neighborhood had plenty of room to play. They gathered to swing from the limbs of apple or cherry trees and play "Run, sheep, run," hide-and-seek, and other games.

As building lots became smaller one-family and two-family houses were built closer together. Naturally, lawns, yards, and gardens also decreased in size. Today in typical communities house lots average less than 40 feet in width, and each block contains ten to fourteen lots. Often alleys or side streets have been cut through them. The garage for the family automobile no longer takes up a large part of the building lot. It may stand on the ground where gardens used to be, or beneath or attached to the house.

The story of this change in the housing of American families is summed up in figures 56, 62, 72, and 73. Figures 62 and 72 illustrate the kind of changes which have taken place in the cities. On the ground which formerly housed six or eight people hundreds now live. Figures 56 and 73 tell the story of the change

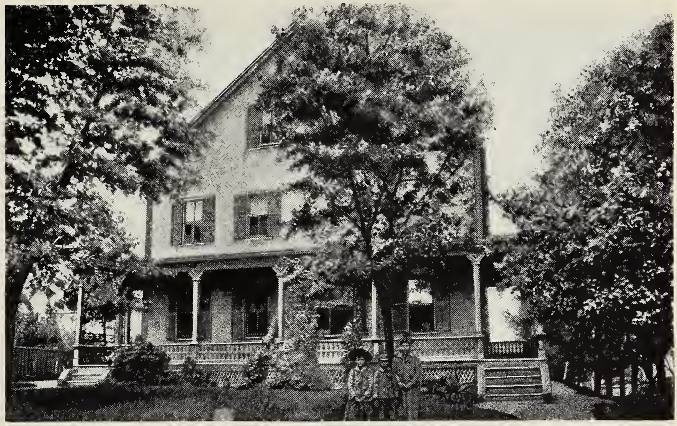


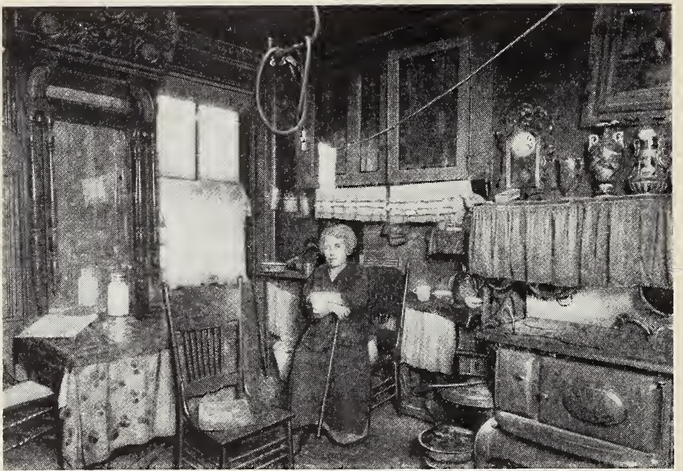
FIG. 73. In 1890 good-sized lawns usually surrounded the houses of the smaller communities

in housing in the smaller communities. The custom of building houses on large plots of ground and well apart from neighboring houses is disappearing.

3. The New Industrial Revolution brought improvements in health and convenience

In 1890 there were few conveniences in American homes. Scarcely one family in ten in a middle-sized community had running water in the house or even a hydrant out in the yard. Water was usually obtained from the house pump, which stood either in the kitchen or just outside the back door. In a report from the Board of Education of "Middletown" for 1888 the following financial item was recorded: To "Eph. Smell . . . 1 wooden pump for High School . . . $10.00." Rather amusing, is it not, to think of a city high school getting its water from a pump?

In the entire community there were only 25 bathrooms. In the larger cities there were tens of thousands of families with neither running water nor built-in bathtubs. For all but the well-to-do bathing was a "Saturday night" affair. The weekly bath was taken in a small, portable wooden or tin tub. The water was brought



Tenement House Department, City of New York

Fig. 74. A kitchen in an old-style tenement house. It is dark, cluttered, and inconvenient

from the pump in pails and heated on the kitchen stove. Few houses had sewer attachments and few communities sewage-disposal plants. Not one tenth had furnace heaters.

As the Industrial Revolution developed after 1890, housing conditions slowly improved. Laws were passed in various states, requiring running water and sewer attachments for all town and city houses. Communities built reservoirs and piped water under the streets to the houses of the citizens.

As a result improvements came in the middle-sized and larger cities and, later, even in the smaller ones. Today practically all new houses have running water and most of them have bathrooms. It is estimated that there is one bathtub for every seven people in the United States. Nevertheless, much remains to be done. Many of the old houses of the 1880's and 1890's still stand. In one average middle-sized community, about one fourth of the dwellings still lack running water and bathrooms. A recent study of housing in New York City showed that there were approximately 550,000 residence buildings in the city. In many of these tenements and apartments more than 2,000,000 people were living under conditions which in health and convenience were below the standards set by law. Another study of 1000 families showed that less than half of the families in the old tenement buildings had baths and 87 per cent still had to supply heat from coal or oil stoves in their separate tenements. Another group of 1700 persons in New York had no tubs at all. A recent survey of the houses in two city blocks in Chicago, in which 877 people were living, disclosed that only two bathrooms could be found. In another city a group of 3300 persons were living without a single bathtub. At the other extreme, many of the houses and apartments of the wealthy have a bathroom for every bedroom.

Although sanitary conditions have improved, even today there are many houses not connected with sewers. In the larger cities thousands of tenements can be still found in which there is but one water faucet and a single toilet in the hall for the use of all the families of the building.

In general, however, great improvements have been made. The new houses and apartments are being built with much greater attention to sanitation and convenience. There is better provision for light and air. In the years before 1900 there were thousands of rooms in our larger cities which were entirely dark. Rooms ran in an almost unbroken line from the front of the house to the back. Windows opened on the street in a room which was usually the parlor; on the back other windows opened in a room which was usually the kitchen. Bedrooms between the front and the rear were provided with tiny windows that opened onto small covered shafts. Odors from the lower apartments rose to mingle with those from above.

Then came a campaign to improve housing in the slums of our great cities. In 1900 there were approximately 350,000 dark and airless rooms in New York; in 1925 there were only about 250 *totally* dark ones. This sounds like an amazing improvement in so short a time, does it not? To be sure, a further study showed that many windows did not open outdoors but merely into other rooms. Still the buildings and health departments of cities and towns have really brought about great improvements in recent years. In many middle-class apartments in the larger cities all the rooms are provided with windows which open upon airy and sunny outside spaces.

Another great improvement has come about in the use of artificial light. In the 1870's Edison had invented a workable electric light and the means of sending electricity over long distances. Even in 1890, however, most American homes were using the oil lamp. In a few regions natural gas had been discovered, and there the gas was sent through pipes into the homes.

Then came the development of the electrical industry, the building of electric light-and-power plants in almost every large and small community in the country. Electricity began to light homes all over the United States. Although in 1890 only about 5 per cent of the homes were supplied with electric light, today more than 20,000,000 homes, or about 80 per cent, are wired for electric light. Even farmhouses distant from central power stations have been equipped with generators, and many farmhouses are getting electricity in this way. Also rural districts are getting electricity from power lines being run from distant power plants.

These examples are typical of the improvements in health and convenience of the changing American home.

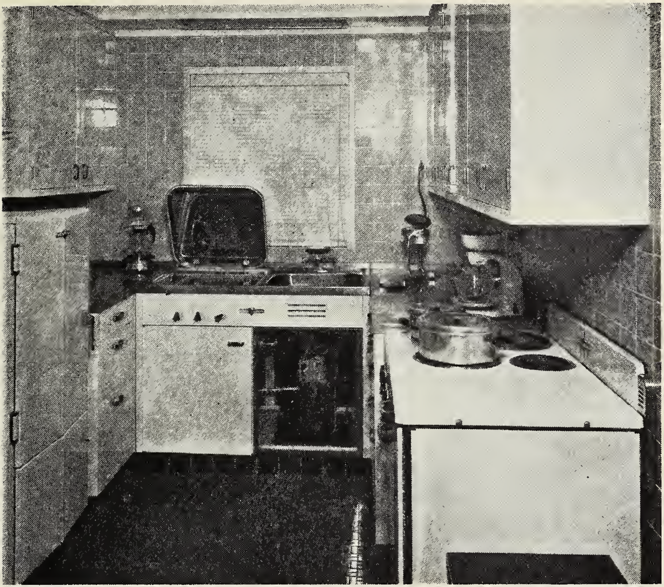
DO AMERICANS OWN THEIR HOMES?

Really to be a respected citizen, should a man own his home by the time he has reached middle age? That he should has long been a feeling in America. Because of this tradition many young men begin to save when they are quite young in the hope of purchasing a lot and later building a little house upon it. Those who find work and get steady incomes are able to save and carry out their cherished ambition.

It is with great pride that the young carpenter, clerk, or chauffeur sees the cellar of his new home being dug, the foundations being laid, and the frame going up. And what a happy day it is for him when he and his wife and little children move their belongings into their own home.

As the years go on, he may be promoted to a better position and his earnings may grow larger. The family looks forward to adding extra rooms for the children or perhaps to selling the house and building a larger one in a somewhat better neighborhood. To own a home is indeed one of the ambitions of young Americans.

But changes have come with the Industrial Revolution which



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 75. The well-planned kitchen in a modern steel house. It is light, convenient, and easy to keep clean. Note the many electrical aids

have made home-buying increasingly difficult. In frontier days land was practically free for the taking. Timber was at hand ready to be cut down and built into a house. But as towns and cities grew behind the frontier, the price of land rose higher and higher. Farm land which sold originally for $1.25 an acre steadily advanced in price until even by 1890 good farm land in some parts of the country was valued at between $100 and $200 an acre. Steadily it became harder for even farmers to own their homes.

In the towns and especially the cities, however, fewer and fewer people were able to buy or build their own houses. Land became so valuable that it was sold by the square foot instead of by the acre. Even by 1890 a small building lot in a medium-sized community would cost from $500 to $1000. Today, in the same place, an even smaller lot would cost from $2000 to $3000. A larger one in the heart of such a city is worth from $5000 to $10,000. A lot near the center of a larger city may cost $25,000, $50,000,

$100,000, and in some cases even $1,000,000 or more. These prices made it impossible for people to build residences there.

TABLE X

Per Cent of Houses Owned or Rented by People Living in Them—1890, 1920, and 1930

	1890	1920	1930
Rented	52.2	54.4	52.2
Owned	47.8	45.6	47.8

TABLE XI

Number of Americans Owning or Renting the Houses They Live in—1890, 1920, and 1930

	1890	1920	1930
Rented .	6,623,735	13,236,709	15,300,000
Owned .	6,066,417	11,114,967	14,000,000

Nevertheless, ambition has driven young men and women on to save and invest in homes of their own. By 1930 more than 47 per cent of the one-family houses of the United States were owned by the persons who lived in them (see Table X).

But really to understand the problem of home-ownership, one must distinguish between conditions in small communities and those in the larger cities. In villages and towns a much larger proportion of people own their own houses. Of those who live near the center of urban communities, not more than one person in ten owns the building in which he lives.

Why are there these differences between home-ownership in the small communities and in the larger ones? No doubt you can answer the question yourself. There are two reasons. The first is the great increase in the cost of city land. The second reason is the necessity for building large apartments to take the place of one-family and two-family houses. Remember that as cities grow, buildings become taller and taller, bigger and bigger. Two-family houses are seen less frequently; four-family, six-family, or eight-family apartment blocks take their places. Workers who crowd into the city demand homes, and to meet the need the small wooden apartment buildings are pulled down and ten-story, fifteen-story, or twenty-story steel and concrete apartments houses are built.

Most individuals cannot buy such expensive land and build skyscrapers upon it. Only groups of individuals can raise enough money to do this. Once more our old friend the corporation enters the scene. Building or real-estate companies are formed;

shares of stock are sold to the public and bonds are issued. Large amounts of money are raised, and with it great buildings are constructed on costly lands.

Is there, then, no way to satisfy the ambition to own a house in the large city? No, there is practically no way to own a separate house, unless one has wealth. There is a way, however, that one can own a single apartment in a large building. He can join with others who also do not have enough money to build houses. If a number of people pool their money they can build a large building, and each family can have a home in it. *This plan is co-operative ownership.* Citizens join together in companies, each buying enough shares of stock to cover the cost of the apartment desired. Each pays a definite amount of rent, and after the expenses of running the whole apartment house have been paid, each receives his share of the profit.

Co-operative ownership of houses began in the United States just about the time of the World War. For example, in Brooklyn, in 1916, a group of Finns pooled their money and built co-operative homes; by 1926 there were 26 co-operative housing societies in that city. These housed more than 500 families and their property was worth more than $2,000,000. The monthly rents of members amounted to $12 for three rooms, $16 for four rooms, $20 for five rooms, and higher rates for still larger apartments.

Perhaps the most notable example was the co-operative building work of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. This union formed a separate organization called the Amalgamated Housing Corporation. Through it, thirteen acres of land were purchased in upper New York City. On the land they built five-story buildings having more than 300 apartments with two to six rooms—more than 1100 rooms in all. These were completed in 1927, and additional ones were built on added acres in 1928 and 1929. Only 50 per cent of the land was used for buildings, which made possible plenty of light and air, beautiful gardens, playgrounds for the children, and other attractions.

This kind of co-operative ownership of houses has succeeded in some places; in others it has failed. But those experiments which were successful did provide decent housing at low cost. Individually the members of the co-operatives could not buy private homes; by joining together they could afford a comfortable place to live.

How can a poor man own a house?

A few of the American people do have very fine houses, but very few—only 10 per cent of them. These belong to families whose annual incomes are more than $2500. This means only about 3,000,000 families altogether. But, there are 30,000,000 families in America, and 90 per cent of them just cannot afford such houses. They cannot even rent them! Remember—in 1936 there were 10,000,000 families who had annual incomes of less than $750 and 20,000,000 had annual incomes of less than $1500. The 10,000,000 families making an average of less than $750 a year could not pay more than $15 a month for rent. The 20,000,000 families with less than $1500 a year income had to get along in houses which rented for less than $30 a month.

TABLE XII

Value of 9200 Houses in "Middletown," 1924[1]

Value	Monthly Rent	Per Cent of Houses
$7000 and over	$55 and over	7
4500–7000 .	40–55	22
2500–4500 .	25–40	44
Less than 2500	10–25	27

Under such conditions, then, what is the possibility of poor people's *owning* their own houses and paying all the expenses that have to be met—the original cost of land and house, the yearly taxes, the costs of repairs, painting, insurance, and such things? The fact is that today 10,000,000 of our families cannot have a $2500 house; 16,000,000 cannot have a $3500 house; 23,000,000 cannot have a $5100 house. And do not forget, a really "standard" village or town house with furnishings for a family of four would cost not less than $5000. And the upkeep on such a house might very well run over $300 per year or $25 per month. But 20,000,000 of our families cannot afford to pay more than $20 a month.

Thus we can see that the United States has a serious housing problem. Every man hopes to own his own home, but is it ever possible for the poor man? Yes, there are some agencies which are helping him.

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[1] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 103. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

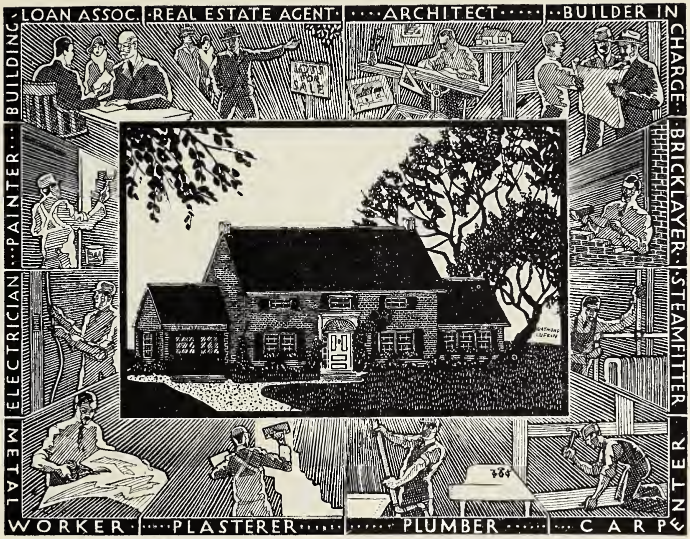

BUILDING · LOAN ASSOC.
REAL ESTATE AGENT
ARCHITECT
BUILDER IN CHARGE
BRICKLAYER
STEAMFITTER
CARPENTER
PLUMBER
PLASTERER
METAL WORKER
ELECTRICIAN
PAINTER
LOTS FOR SALE
RAYMOND LUFKIN

Fig. 76. A modern house and some of the people who have been concerned in the making of it. How many other people can you think of who might have had something to do with it?

The work of the building-and-loan associations

One way of helping a person to own a home has been through the building-and-loan companies. These companies lend money to individuals who cannot afford to pay the total cost of building a home at one time. The way it is accomplished is about as follows:

The person selects a lot. He buys this in one of two ways—either he pays cash for it from his savings or he buys it on the installment plan, paying a certain amount each month. After he owns the lot, he goes to a building-and-loan association, a co-operative bank, or a savings-and-loan association and borrows what he needs to build his house. The loan association charges the borrower interest on the loan (generally 5 per cent) and, in addition, frequently expects him to pay off the debt in regular installments. In arranging for such a loan the borrower gives a mortgage on his lot, that is, he gives his lot as security for his debt. This does not mean that he sells the lot; he remains in possession of it; but if he fails to pay back what he has borrowed plus the interest charges, the bank or association can take the lot. When the whole debt and interest are paid, however, the lender has no further claim to the lot.

In a report of the United States Bureau of the Census, one expert states that nine tenths of the homes in middle-sized and small communities are bought and paid for in this way. In 1936 it was estimated that there were 10,200 building-and-loan societies in the United States.

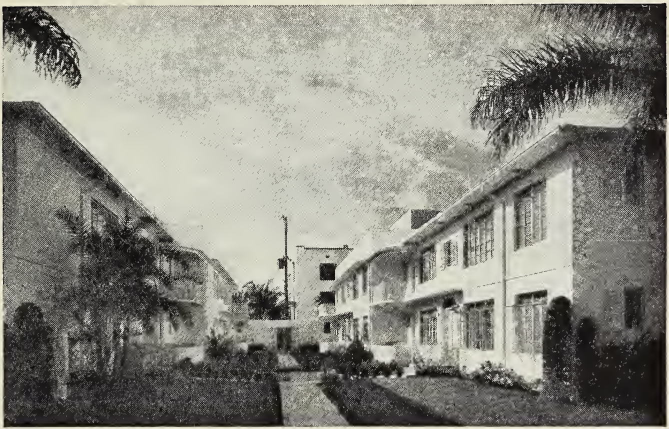
The movement began over 100 years ago with the formation of the Oxford Provident Building Association of Philadelphia in 1831. In the next half century other associations like it were started in New Jersey, New York, Illinois, and other states. After about 1880 they increased greatly in number and did a flourishing business.

The government of the United States has also tried to help Mr. Average Man to own his own home. Let us see what it has done.

The government goes into housing

For years some of the states have passed laws to help provide low-cost housing for their citizens. For example, New York passed one which exempted from taxation for twenty years houses built by companies that would limit their profits. After the City Housing Corporation of New York City was formed, it planned and built two well-known "garden-city" kinds of community—Sunnyside on Long Island, New York, and Radburn, New Jersey. These are attractive suburban communities of interesting one-family houses, large lawns, trees, shrubs, and gardens. However, in spite of the tax exemption, which reduced rents 20 per cent, and other lowered costs, a family had to have an income of at least $2500 a year to live in one of these houses.

Recently the national government has also tried to help families to own their own homes. In the past ten years it has passed several laws which have promoted low-cost housing. In 1932 it began in a small way by lending a building company $8,000,000 to help build a new community. This was for the famous Knickerbocker Village in New York City. Previously this part of the



Keystone

A group of apartments in the South built recently with government aid. These homes are modern in every respect

city had been known as "Lung Block" because so many of the people who lived there were sick with diseases of the lungs. There in firetrap, unsanitary buildings lived 386 families. Then old buildings were pulled down and new attractive, light, and airy apartments surrounded by lawns and gardens took their places.

The new community, however, failed to give the housing that was needed. Although the Federal government financed part of the work, the buildings were put up to make money for private investors. Land, rent, and other charges were so high that the building company could make money only if the apartments of four rooms rented for about $50 a month. This of course was twice as much as the old tenants of the neighborhood could afford. They had to move away, and well-to-do people moved in.

However, in more recent years the Federal government has helped to make a number of housing experiments successful. It has lowered the taxes of companies which have tried to reduce rents as much as possible. It has lent companies money to build low-cost dwellings. Home-owners have been able to borrow money from the government to pay their taxes and mortgages, and to make repairs on their homes. It has guaranteed the mortgages which buyers of new homes have had to place on their property.

Also, it has actually built communities and rented the houses to families of low income.

It has helped to clear away some of the slums. It has lent cities and states money to carry on this work at a low rate of interest and allowed many years in which to pay it back. In certain cases it has actually given grants of money outright to help cover the cost of building material and the wages of workers.

Thus we can see that the government of the United States has made progress toward the solution of the housing problem. It has helped our people improve their homes and has given them aid in buying new ones.

Summing up the factors which are working against home-ownership

There are several important factors besides small incomes which make it difficult for more people of the United States to own their homes.

First and foremost is the growing uncertainty of getting and keeping a job. One writer has described the problem of unemployment in this way: "It used to be only overalled labor that was shifted from place to place in the wake of industrial booms. Today the white-collar worker is in a similar state." To such people the ownership of a home is often a burden. It is also a burden to those workers who move whenever a new industry is starting or an old one is booming. Owning a home is difficult for anyone who for one reason or another may be transferred from place to place. One woman said in explaining her battle-scarred furniture, "We've moved six times in the past two years. I've got so I teach the children their history and geography from the car window as we go along!"

The second factor working against home-ownership is people's desire for automobiles. Many building-and-loan offices report that membership in their associations has been decidedly reduced in recent years by the low-priced automobiles and the American installment method of buying them. Officials of companies selling automobiles in this way say that frequently a workingman pays one week's wages out of every four on a car which he is then driving.

The third factor is the increase in education. More and more people are sending their children through the high school. This reduces the savings of families and postpones the ownership of homes until the children have completed their education.

These, then, are the most important changes that have come in American homes during the past 50 years. They have helped to bring about other important changes in the life of the American family. To the study of these we turn in the next chapter.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed at the close of Chapter VII.

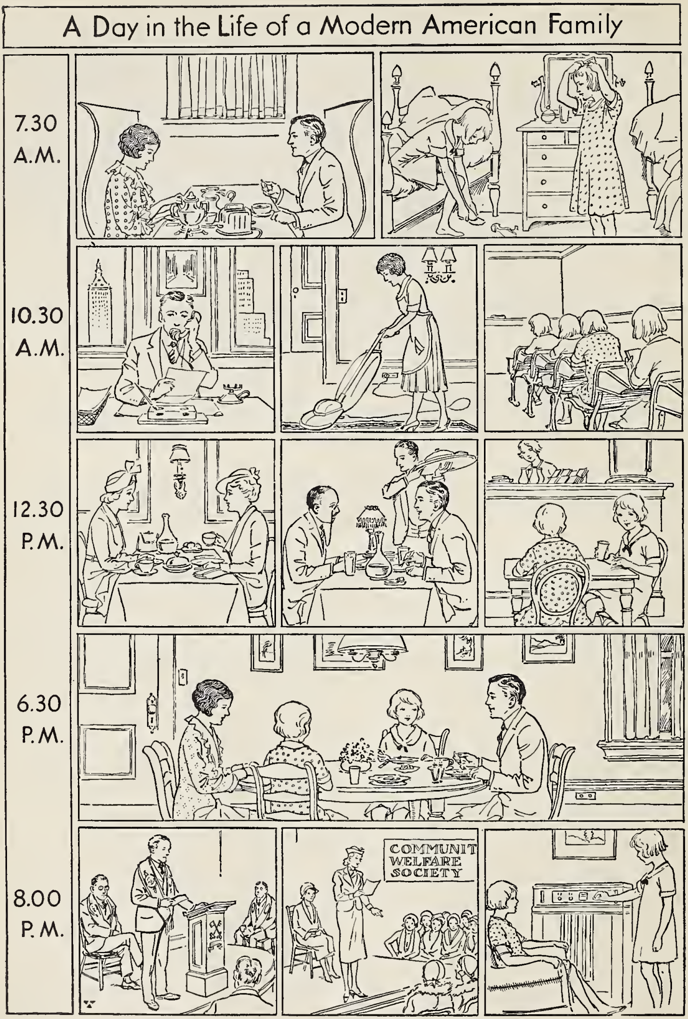

A Day in the Life of a Modern American Family
7.30 A.M.
10.30 A.M.
12.30 P.M.
6.30 P.M.
8.00 P.M.
COMMUNIT WELFARE SOCIETY

Fig. 77. An ordinary day in the life of a modern American family. How does it differ from that of figure 69?

Chapter VII · The Changing American Family (*Continued*)

★

1. Housework in the 1890's

With such far-reaching changes in the houses of America what should you expect to be true of the work done in the home? Has the New Industrial Revolution changed that? Let us see.

Have you ever heard this old jingle?

> Man works from sun to sun;
> Woman's work is never done.

It describes the work of the homemaker about the 1890's. Here was a continuous round of work. Day after day she did the same tasks over and over again—cooking, setting the table, washing dishes, making beds, "straightening up" the rooms, tending the fire. Night after night she was engaged in setting bread, replacing buttons on clothes, bathing the younger children, or doing other work for which there was no time during the day. Each week she had special tasks for special days. On one day she did the washing. Another was set aside for ironing. Baking had a special day. On still another the house was given a thorough cleaning from top to bottom. In her spare time she shopped, mended, and sewed for the family. Even much of the visiting was done while she mended or made clothes.

Twice each year house-cleaning on a large scale took place. For a week in the spring and a week in the fall the whole home was in confusion. Such scrubbing, such mopping, such dusting! In the spring the curtains were laundered and rehung. The heavy drapes were taken from the windows, cleaned, and stored away. Linen coverings, which had been laundered and stored during the previous autumn, were taken out to cover the sofas and chairs. Finally, the house was ready for the summer. In the fall the same scrubbing, mopping, and dusting went on. Curtains were again laundered and hung. Heavy drapes were taken from drawer or closet and put up again. The house was ready for the winter.

The amount of time which housewives spent in cleaning is shown by these notes from a diary of 1887:

> *Wed. 19th.* Bessie commenced cleaning house yesterday morning. . . . *Fri. 21st.* Still cleaning house. . . . *Sat. 22.* Still cleaning house; done with upper part of house (except our room), parlors and lower hall. . . . *Mon. 24.* House cleaning still going on; our room in the mess today. . . . *Tues. 25th.* House cleaning finished last night.[1]

Housework was hard and monotonous labor. Lifting ashes from the stove, carrying pails of water, sweeping, and rubbing clothes clean required a strong body. Kitchens were large, and many unnecessary steps had to be taken. Kitchen sinks were low, and washing dishes was a backbreaking task.

The cooking alone took hours and hours of time. Bread, cake, pies, and other pastries were baked every week. During the summer, vegetables, fruits, pickles, and jam were canned and stored for the winter. Rarely, indeed, did the family eat a meal in a restaurant or hotel.

The older children of the family usually helped the mother with the less skilled jobs about the house. Together they managed to keep the multitude of household articles clean and in repair. Only a few well-to-do families had servants.

2. Housework today

What a change has taken place in housework in 50 years! The Industrial Revolution has indeed entered the home. The problem today is not to find an extra pair of hands to help, but to find enough for the young members of the family to do.

People are still fed, houses are cleaned, and clothes are laundered. But how differently these things are done today! Note, first, the changes in the preparation of food. Bread, pies, cake, or pastry need no longer be made in the home. These can be bought from the neighborhood bakery about as cheaply as they can be made in the family kitchen. The corner grocery or delicatessen supplies bread of many kinds and sizes, sliced and wrapped. Food practically ready for serving—canned soups, meats, fish, vegetables, fruits, jams, pickles, and many other things—may all be bought.

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[1] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 171, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

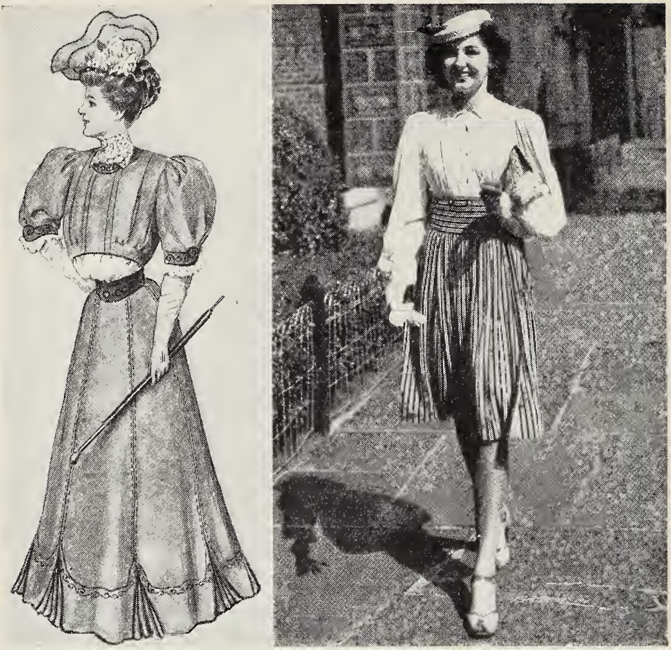
The housewife of today has come to depend upon canned fruits and vegetables. Commercial bakeries which turn out more than 5000 loaves of bread an hour can be found all over the country. In the typical small town of 1890 it is estimated that not one fourth of the bread eaten in the community came from bakeries. Today the proportion amounts to more than three fourths. Thus the Industrial Revolution has brought changes in food-getting.

Much of the housework is also done away from the home. The family wash is laundered by "hand laundries," the "hand" being used largely to direct machines! The pressing and repairing of clothes, the cleaning of rugs, curtains, drapes, blankets, and other large articles, are done at the professional cleaner's.

Whatever tasks must be done in the home, such as washing dishes and cleaning the house, are very much easier today. Vacuum cleaners, even electric dishwashers, do the work faster and better than the housekeeper of 1890 could have done it.

Kitchen utensils too have undergone changes. The old bowl-and-chopper is no more. "Grinders" have been invented which chop quickly and with little effort. Electric "mixers" can be found in a great many homes. New utensils for paring and slicing vegetables and fruits, for shelling peas, for hulling strawberries, and for dicing foods lighten the burden of the homemaker. The oil lamp of the 1890's, which had to be refilled, trimmed, and cleaned daily, is almost a rarity. In most homes one needs merely to push a button or pull a chain to obtain light. Heat for warming rooms, toasting bread, or ironing clothes is obtained in the same way. In many houses gas heaters supply water of any temperature at any time.

Not all homes, however, have all these timesaving and labor-saving inventions. Some have all of them; others have almost as few of them as were known in 1890. But it can be said that the Industrial Revolution has affected every housekeeper in the land, at least to some extent.



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 78.[1] Women's clothes in 1890 (left) were tight and uncomfortable. Compare them with clothes in 1940 (right)

3. Changes in clothing: 1890 and today

The Industrial Revolution has changed people's clothing too. In the badly heated houses of 1890, more and heavier garments were needed than in the overheated houses of today. Heavy woolen underclothing was worn in the winter, and a day in the late spring was selected in which to change from flannels to cotton. He was a lucky person, indeed, who escaped a cold in the head on that day!

Women wore several petticoats—a flannel one over the underclothing and layers of stiffly starched cotton ones over the flannel. A lined woolen dress covered the petticoats, and high collars protected the neck and throat. Even the men wore lined trousers and lined and interlined coats. Woolen or heavy cotton stockings were worn by both men and women.

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[1] The figure at the left is from the *Ladies Home Journal*; copyright by the Curtis Publishing Company.

Today all that has disappeared. Flannel underwear is almost as rare as the high-necked, long-sleeved nightgowns for women and the heavily lined trousers for men. Cotton, silk, or rayon underwear is used both summer and winter. Cotton stockings too have almost disappeared. Gone are the many petticoats and the lined dresses.

In 1890 it was not considered respectable to buy ready-made clothing. Only those who could not afford sewing machines depended upon the poorly sewed and poorly cut store clothes. Woven winter underwear was purchased at the store; but dresses, petticoats, and summer underwear were usually made in the home. Mothers and older daughters spent long hours in making the clothes for the family. What yards of ruffles, tucks, and pleats went into them; what long, tiresome hours and what strained eyes!

Think of your own clothing today and how it contrasts with that of your grandmothers and grandfathers in 1890. How much of it has been bought in the store? Does it not seem well cut and well made in comparison? Do you think it is more attractive in style? Do you feel that the simpler clothing of today is an improvement over that of 1890?

HOW HAVE THESE CHANGES AFFECTED THE HOMEMAKER?

The changes which we have described have affected all the members of the family. Most of all, however, they have affected the mother. As we have said, her tasks are lighter, and her working day is shorter. She has many laborsaving machines to help her in the home, and much of the work for her family is done by others outside.

As a result of these changes much less time is spent on housework today than in 1890. In one study of 112 housewives of the working class in a Middle West town, it was found that less than a fourth now spend seven hours or more on housework. More than two thirds spend between four and seven hours. Eight, or one fourteenth of the 112, spend less than four hours a day! Four to seven hours a day in housework! In 1890 the mothers of these women spent ten to fifteen hours a day. A change indeed!

What do the housewives do with all these extra leisure hours? Some women spend more time with their children. Others spend more time on interests outside the home—bridge clubs, political clubs, community work, church work. Still others have jobs outside the home. In this way they help to add to the family income.

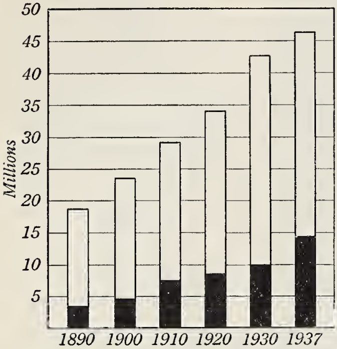


Fig. 79. The heights of the bars indicate the total number of women in the United States from 1890 to 1937. The black areas show the number of women engaged in gainful occupations

Women have entered industry, business, and the professions

As homemakers found that housework took less and less time, and as they needed less help from older daughters, more women entered industry and business. In 1890 about 19 per cent of the women of the United States over sixteen years of age worked outside the home. In 1937 the number had grown to more than 30 per cent. (See figure 79.) Most of these were the unmarried women who were no longer needed at home to help with the housework. Some were wives whose work had been taken out of the home or who did not feel that housework was any longer important enough to take up so large an amount of their time. Today many mothers who have small children not only manage their homes but do such additional work as taking in sewing or washing, pressing clothes, typewriting, or making artificial flowers.

Thus the Industrial Revolution has cut down the time needed for housekeeping, and freed women for other things.

Is there a changing attitude toward what the man and the woman should do in the home?

Throughout American history men have been regarded as breadwinners, and women as homemakers. Husbands and fathers were supposed to earn the money to support their wives and children.

Wives and mothers were supposed to keep the house, prepare the meals, and take care of the children. Nearly all the women's waking hours were spent in the home. Most of the men's waking hours were spent at work outside the home in stores, shops, factories, or offices. The men left home early in the morning, in autumn and winter frequently before sunrise. They ate their lunches away from home and returned in the evening. While the men were away at work the mother and older daughters cleaned the house, washed and ironed, made clothes, cooked, and took care of the younger children.

In the evening the husband and wife were often too tired to go out of the house. So they remained at home, together, yet far apart. The husband knew very little about housework; the wife knew nothing about business. They had little to talk about. But steadily changes came. The number of hours of work both for the man in industry and for the woman in the home decreased. Today husbands leave the house long after sunup even in winter. They begin work at 8 : 30, 9, 9 : 30, or even 10 o'clock; they stop at 6, 5 : 30, or 5 o'clock. In many families today wives also leave home and begin and end their work in an office, store, or factory at the same hour as their husbands. Their interests and hours of work are much more alike.

Has this changed the way people feel about what men and women should do in the home? It has, indeed. If both husband and wife work outside the home, the breakfast is prepared, the beds made, the dishes washed, and the house cleaned by both of them. At night the husband may stop at the grocer's and order or bring home the food for dinner. Even when the woman still continues to be the homemaker and the man the breadwinner, the husband often dries the dishes after dinner or gives Bobbie his bath so that both parents may finish their day's work at the same time.

Frequently, especially since the depression began, women have become the breadwinners of the family. Husbands out of work have been unable to find new jobs. In such cases many of them have taken on the important task of caring for the house and minding the children while the mothers are "at the office."

Take the example of Mr. Z, who was a Western mine-owner. He married a teacher from the East, and they went to live at Mr. Z's mine. About the time their second child was born, the mine was not running enough to support them. Then Mr. Z became ill, and day by day they saw their savings grow less and less. Finally, they returned to the East, and Mrs. Z went back to teaching. Mr. Z's work had always been mining, and he could not find a job. But Mrs. Z's work as teacher now brings in enough money to support the family and Mr. Z has learned how to run the home.

Is this not an example of the changing attitude which is developing toward work in the home?

Is the companionship of men and women in the home changing?

As women entered industry and business and attitudes toward work within the home began to change, the companionship of men and women changed also. Some of these changes are making companionship more possible than before; others have made it more difficult.

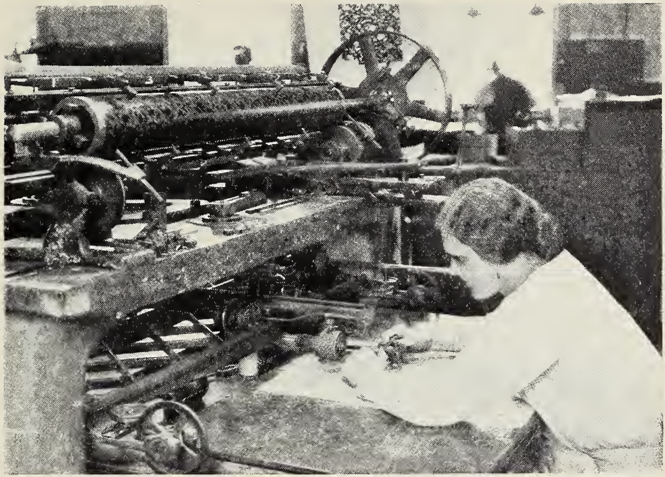
Women who have gone out of their homes to work have learned of the conditions and the problems which men face. As men have helped with tasks of the house they have learned of the work and the problems which women have in the home. Thus men and women are coming to have more in common than they had in 1890. They can discuss things with more understanding of each other's problems.

Increased education has also changed habits of companionship. The wives and mothers of today are better educated than were their grandmothers and great-grandmothers. Often husbands and wives are graduated from the same school or college. They have had the same courses of study. They have somewhat the same background of knowledge. Interesting conversation on the same subjects, therefore, makes their lives more pleasant. They are better companions.

Sports have brought about changes, too. Women play golf, they play tennis, they swim. Thus in play life as well as in work life greater companionship is possible between men and women.

But there are difficulties also. In some homes there is little companionship between husbands and wives. Why is that true?

One disturbing factor is difference in likes and dislikes, what each person considers worth while. There are great differences



Keystone

Fig. 80. At work outside the home. This woman is preparing the design for printing silk

among people; some like one thing, some like another. For example: Is your favorite study the favorite study of all your schoolmates? Is your favorite sport theirs? Probably many of them prefer to spend their leisure at the "movies," while you prefer to spend yours reading a good novel.

So it is with husbands and wives. The husband frequently likes one thing; the wife another. These differences may affect nearly everything about the home and family life—clothes, furniture, the cooking of food, the arrangement of the garden, the automobile, recreation. But it is just these differences in likes and dislikes that frequently prevent husbands and wives from becoming good companions.

Furthermore, today there are so many kinds of interests outside the home that husbands and wives may choose different ways of spending their leisure time. There are men's card clubs and women's card clubs. There is a neighborhood, a church, and a civic club for each. Almost every grownup belongs to an organization of some kind, and these organizations take people out of the home often when they might be enjoying one another's companionship. The man's club night may be Tuesday; the woman's, Wednesday. This takes them away from each other on two evenings a week, and it also gives them outside interests which they do not share with each other. The man may come home tired on Thursday night and prefer to stay at home, reading the newspaper or listening to the radio. His wife may have been in the house all day and prefer to go to the "movies" with the children. So for another evening they are separated.

Perhaps both husband and wife stay at home in the evening, but because of differences in interests want to do different things. For example, perhaps the husband is a salesman and has been talking all day; the wife has spent the whole day in the house alone. He is tired of talking; she wants to talk. So, although they are together, there is little real companionship. This condition may also have been true in 1890, but it is more so today.

Fortunate, indeed, are the husbands and wives whose interests are alike, and whose lives are made more pleasant by them. Living together requires, however, that each shall be willing to give way sometimes to the other or to learn to change his interests and ways of living.

Husbands and wives who have little money income often find it extremely hard to get along well together. When there is little money with which to buy food and other necessities, many of them get irritable. The father worries; the mother worries. They seem always to be "on edge." There are quarrels over money matters, over little things as well as big things.

But perhaps Mr. and Mrs. Unemployed Man about whom we spoke in Chapter VI have the most difficult time of all, especially as the period of unemployment grows longer and longer. They lose courage. The future looks so very dark to them. Lack of proper food and sleep increases the tension between them. Wives sometimes feel that their husbands are not trying hard enough to get jobs. Husbands, knowing that there are no jobs, feel that their wives are purposely trying to make matters worse. Then, too, the unemployed husband whose wife has had to go to work outside the home frequently feels ashamed and grows silent. So it is that a great gap frequently grows between Mr. and Mrs. Poor Man and between Mr. and Mrs. Unemployed Man.

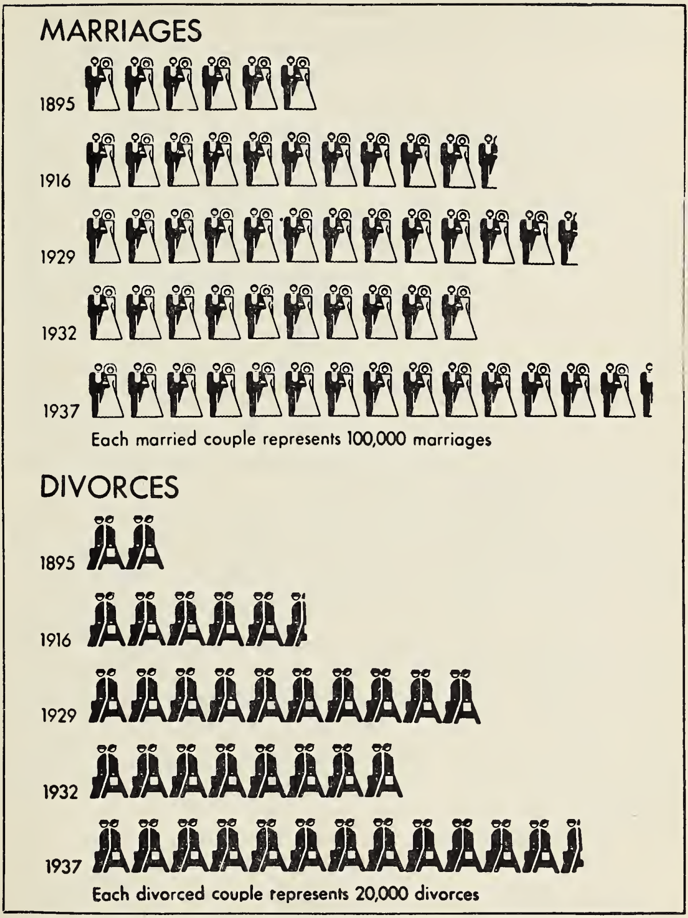


FIG. 81.[1] A record of 42 years of marriage and divorce

The increase of divorce and separation in American families

One very disturbing change in American life is the steady and rapid increase in the breaking up of American families. Many families have broken up; the mother and father separate to live in different homes. The children live with one parent. Frequently even the children are separated from one another because of this breakup. Some live with the father; some live with the mother. It is difficult to discover just how many families are separated in this way. We do know, however, that there has been a rapid increase in the number of divorces since 1890. Figure 81 shows what has taken place.

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[1] From *The Family: Past and Present*, edited by Bernard J. Stern. Copyright 1938 by D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

TABLE XIII

Number of Divorces in the United States, 1890–1935

Year	Number
1890	33,461
1900	55,751
1910	83,045
1920	170,505
1930	191,591
1935	218,000

Are as many homes in the rural communities of our country being broken up as in the urban communities? From the statistics it seems as though there were a great many more broken homes in the large cities of the United States.

What is bringing about this rapid increase in divorce? Is it the New Industrial Revolution and the changes it has brought in the home? Many students of the problem think so. They point to the increasing number of women entering industry and business, to the use of the automobile, to the motion picture, and to the great multiplicity of things which take mothers and fathers away from each other. It is difficult to tell just how much any one of these things is responsible. All the members of the family are affected by them, and there is little doubt that they are helping to break up the older kind of life, that which centered about the home.

THE CHANGING FAMILY AND THE YOUNGER GENERATION

How have the changes in the American family life affected the young people? Does the home mean as much to them today as it did to the young people in 1890? Is it their social center as it was then? Is most of their life spent there or are they, like their elders, changing, too?

The dining table was formerly the meeting place of the family. Is it today?

One child of Polish parents was asked whether he spoke to his mother in English or in Polish. He answered, "I don't talk to my mother; I just eat and run out." This may be extreme, but it is generally true that in these days the family is together only at the table. The table is the real meeting place. Jane has been away all day at school or on the Girl Scout hike. Jack has been practicing football all afternoon getting ready for the game on Saturday. Mother has hurried home from the Woman's Club just in time to prepare the meal. And Dad took a business friend for a little drive before dinner.

But there they are for dinner, and there the family news is discussed:

"Well, how did the lessons go today, son?"

"Mother, the Masque Club of the high school is giving *As You Like It* next Thursday night. Do you want to go?"

"John, I stopped by and paid the gas bill today and told them not to send it to your office any more."

"Mary, on my way down town this morning I had the windshield repaired."

So the comments go: news of coming events and of the commonplace happenings of the day, discussion of problems that must be solved, needs that must be met.

At dinnertime, at least, many families, even in changing cities, try to be together. As one mother said: "Even if we have only a little time at home together, we want to make the most of that. In our family we always try to have at least Sunday breakfast and dinner together."

Outside interests have multiplied for young people as well as for their elders, and these often take them from the home. Children tend to spend more of their time with other children outside the family group and off by themselves.

With all the outside activities of mother, father, and children, it is becoming ever more difficult to keep the family group together. Many parents are aware of this and make definite efforts to know what other members of the group are doing. As early as 1929 one woman said:

It keeps me hustling just to keep up with my husband and boys. I go to high-school games and root with my boy. Sundays I go to baseball games with my husband. I don't like Sunday sports, but he does, and it's our one chance to enjoy things together. Yesterday, my husband said, "Wouldn't some pumpkin pie go good?" But I said, "Goodness, no; I have this custard because I can't take the time to make fancy things and still keep up with my family."[1]

It is true, of course, that family life has not changed equally in all kinds of communities. Nor have all parents and children changed to the same degree even within certain communities. Let us see what conclusions were reached by some recent studies made of families on farms, in small towns, and in cities. These will give us a general picture of what has taken place.

SUMMING UP—THE CHANGING FAMILY LIFE ON FARMS, IN SMALL TOWNS, AND IN CITIES

1. On the farms

On the farms changes in family life during the past 50 years have been comparatively few. The mother still works in the home. The father still works close at hand, in the fields or around the farm buildings. The older girls help their mother about the house, in the garden, or in the poultry yard. The older boys go with their father into the fields to plow, sow, and reap. There are light jobs even for the younger boys and girls of the family, jobs which keep them with their parents.

Much of the leisure time is also spent together. As you have learned, there are few outside recreations for most people who live on farms. Such as there may be are enjoyed by most of the members of the family. For example, the mother, father, and the children take the family automobile and drive off to visit friends and relatives in town or at other farms. Visiting is still the chief recreation of the people who live in rural districts. Occasionally the family attends a "movie" in the nearest town, but this is not encouraged much by the elder people on the farms. Money is usually scarce and "spendthrift habits," such as going to the

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[1] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 154, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

"movies," are frowned upon. Except for such outings as county fairs, Grange meetings, the visit of the circus, and the like, there is little to take the family away from the home. Of 50 rural families which were studied, 29 spent all their leisure time together and 20 spent the greater part of it as a family group.

Some changes are beginning to appear, however, even on the farms. One parent said: "When I was a boy my father allowed us to visit neighbors only once or twice a year. After we were of age we could go to the monthly church dances, but had to be home by twelve o'clock." Many of the older folks in rural communities are worrying now about the influence of the automobile, the "movies," and other attractions in towns. The complaint is heard that young people are going out too much and straying too far. Other parents say that their children have better chances today and are happier, that they have many friends and do not have to look upon a person with a white collar as a stranger to their way of life. Thus you see that, although all parents do not agree that the change is beneficial, it is true that some change is coming about in the lives of the younger people on the farms. As yet the family is still a unit, however, and the farmhouse is still much the sort of home it was in 1890.

2. In the small towns

More changes are seen in the small towns than in the rural communities. Fathers may have their own shops or stores, and as their sons grow old enough to work, they enter their fathers' businesses. Or some of them may find work in other shops or stores. Many grown daughters still help their mothers about the house, although there is less need for their services since the conveniences and laborsaving machines have been introduced. Many of them try to get jobs as stenographers or clerks. But although it is difficult today for boys and for girls to find work many of them do leave home and try to find something to do in the cities. This, as you see, is a real change in the life of the younger generation.

Because laborsaving machines have cut down the work of the home so much, many mothers are free to help their husbands in the stores or shops. And, as we have said before, many wives of unemployed men have taken jobs in offices, stores, and factories.

But the family in the small town is still a unit; its members often work together and have work interests in common.

The town families, however, spend less of their leisure time together than do the rural families. One study of 50 town families showed that in about three quarters of them nearly half of the members attended the "movies" weekly and about a fifth of them went two or three times a week. But parents attended the "movies" with their children in fewer than half these families. In only one fifth of them did parents and children spend all their leisure time together.

In the small towns there are picnics and parties, card clubs for men and women, baseball games, and automobile rides which the family enjoys together. We see, however, that the younger people of the town depend much upon companions who are not within the family. They also depend upon people outside the home for work. Thus it is clear that the members of the town family live less close to one another than do people on the farms.

3. In the cities

Truly, a sharp change in family life has come in the city since 1890. As the cities have grown in size, fathers, grown sons and daughters, even mothers, frequently work in different parts of the city. For example, the father may spend his day downtown in a packing house near the docks, the son in a garage on the West Side, one daughter in a department store far over on the East Side and another in an office in the financial district. The workers' tasks vary and therefore their business interests differ.

In the 1890's, unless they were really poor, city girls did not work outside the home. Today it is very common for them to do so. Even mothers who do not work outside the home in ordinary times are glad to help out the family pocketbook during business depressions. Many work for other reasons. Those mothers who work during the day and are busy with household duties during the evening find it impossible to give much time or attention to their children. One woman said: "I would like to play with the children more than I do, but I'm too tired to do it even when I have the time."

Increasingly, the children in the cities are drawn away from the home. Those of high-school age spend much of their time in school athletics, dramatics, committee meetings, in the Y.M.C.A. or the Y.W.C.A., the Boy Scouts or the Girl Scouts, at the "movies," or at parties and dances. Older children too more often find their recreation outside the family. Many who have no money to spend gather on street corners to talk, take long walks, or find other ways to spend time with their friends.

Often members of city families today see one another only during hurried meals. Many of them are too far away from the home at noon to have a meal together.

Furthermore, even in those city families in which the mothers do not work outside of the home there is much less family life than there was in 1890. Clubs and a great variety of social activities, for old and young, tend to take the whole family away from the home. The small city apartments too have much to do with this change. On the farms and in the houses of small towns, friends can be more easily entertained in the home. In the great apartment houses of the cities, where 100 or more families are living, there is danger of disturbing the neighbors by laughter, singing, or dancing. The living quarters of the families of small income are usually too small and crowded to permit entertaining. Recreation is found outside the home—at the clubhouse, at the theaters and "movies," on the street corners, in the parks. Each member of the family can and frequently does choose the form of entertainment which appeals particularly to him but not to others in the family. Aside from mealtimes, many families in the cities spend less than an hour a day together.

Thus the gap is widening between members of families, particularly members of city families. Work, play, and other interests are pushing them apart.

These, then, are some of the important changes in the American family that our changing civilization has brought in 50 years. What are the good things the Industrial Revolution has brought to the home? What are the undesirable things? What do you think the next 50 years may bring?

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4-H CLUB CAMP

Fig. 82. Instruction and pleasure are both to be found at the Annual National 4-H Encampment

☆

Fig. 83. To be of greater aid to more people is the hope at the Annual National Convention of the American Red Cross

Acme

Chapter VIII · The American and His Organizations

★

Mr. Elkins has been reading his evening newspaper in the living room. Suddenly his eye lights upon an item. Getting up, he drops the paper and quickly puts on his hat and coat.

"Mary," he calls to his wife in another room, "Local 27 is having a special meeting this evening. I must go. I'll be back early."

In another home a woman is talking over the telephone. As she begins to hang up the receiver, she suddenly remembers something and adds hastily: "Don't forget, Jane, the Byron Club meets at Ethel's tomorrow afternoon at three."

Two men alight from a streetcar. One goes east, the other west. "Good-by, Jim." " 'By, Bill; see you at Rotary Saturday noon."

Three people walk up the path to a small-town church together—an old man, a young man, and a young woman. As they near the church door the older man says: "No, Elizabeth, I'm too old to join the choir now. I wouldn't be out tonight if it wasn't for the meeting of the Men's Club."

After a pause the younger man adds rather regretfully, "I'm afraid I can't come either, Betty. The Scouts always meet on the same night that you have choir rehearsal, and I am Scoutmaster now."

Conversations like these are taking place constantly on the streets, in homes, offices, and stores, on streetcars, elevated railways, or subways. All of them illustrate the same thing; namely, that Americans are organizers. Men and women, boys and girls—all belong to organizations. As a single example, consider the secret societies.

The forty million

Lodge night! In 1000 villages, towns, and cities, nearly every night in the week, millions of Americans meet together in secret mystery. They are allowed to enter upon giving the proper password. They initiate new members, who pledge loyalty to the order. They elect and install new officers. They hear reports, talk about current national events, and gossip about the latest affairs in the community. Finally they serve refreshments, play cards, give plays, and hold dances.

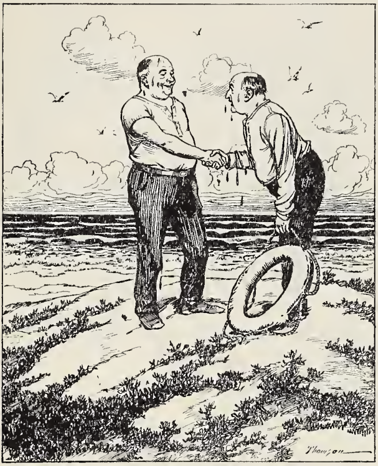

Fig. 84

First Shipwrecked Man: We're safe now, George, so let's organize first thing. You be president and I'll be secretary-treasurer. What shall we call the lodge?

Second Shipwrecked Man: Fine idea. I'm a plumber and you're a steamfitter. Let's call it the Sandy Isle Local of the American Federation of Mechanics

In a recent year there were 800 of these fraternal organizations in the United States with branches, "chapters," and "locals." There are 80,000,000 grownups in America; perhaps half of these, or 40,000,000, are members. In 1938 the Freemasons alone had a membership of over 2,500,000. Over 1,100,000 belonged to the Order of DeMolay. About 500,000 were Elks. Over 425,000 were Knights of Columbus. Almost 350,000 belonged to the Loyal Order of the Moose. About 50,000 belonged to the Daughters of Isabella.

"The world's greatest joiners"

Someone has said that if two Americans should find themselves on a desert island the first thing they would do would be to "organize." They might start the Desert Island Local of the Grand Lodge of the Loyal Americans, or the Sandy Isle Local of the American Federation of Mechanics, or the Waterless Hole Golf Club, or something else. They would find something in which both of them were interested or which would benefit both of them in some way. Immediately they would "organize."

Whether or not this is exactly true, it is certain that in the United States are found more organizations and more people who belong to organizations than in any other country of the world. If one is interested in Jersey cows or in studying coins, there are organizations which one may join. If one is interested in getting more business or in making better goods, he can find groups with those aims. If it is learning about the "savages" of Africa or converting them to Christianity, or improving the conditions of the poor, a society is waiting with a plan. In dancing or debating, in abolishing war, or in reducing or increasing the size of battleships —there are organizations to help one. No matter what one's interest is, he will find that other people interested in the same thing have formed an organization in which they may talk together or work together.

We are, indeed, a nation of "joiners." At least half the grown-ups have joined an organization of some kind, and many people belong to several organizations.

THE ASTONISHING GROWTH OF ORGANIZATIONS

In your previous studies you have probably learned how industry and business became organized. Education also became organized. Sports became organized. The theater became organized. Early in the 1800's there were some important social organizations in the United States, such as the Symposium Club, the Fanny Wright societies, the antislavery leagues, and others. By 1890 many kinds of organizations had grown up, and there were hundreds of thousands of members in them.

The really amazing growth, however, has taken place since that time. For example, in 1890 there were 92 social organizations in one typical Middle Western city. Thirty-four years later there were 458 definitely recognized ones and 100 others of a more general nature. From 1890 to 1924 the city population multiplied three and a half times. But the social organizations of the community (see figure 86) grew much faster during the same period.

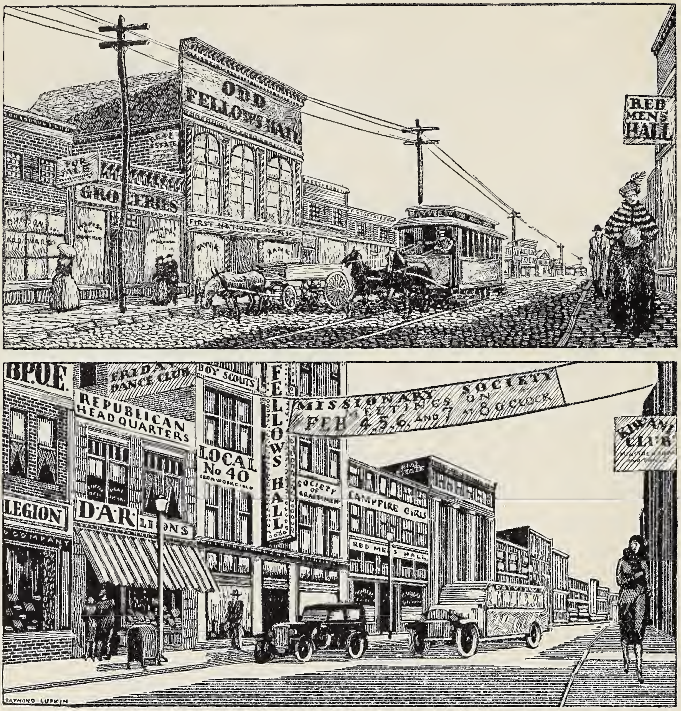
ODD FELLOWS HALL
RED MEN'S HALL
FOR SALE
GROCERIES
REAL ESTATE
FIRST NATIONAL BANK
BANK
BAYVIEW
B.P.O.E.
FRIDAY DANCE CLUB
BOY SCOUTS
FELLOWS HALL
MISSIONARY SOCIETY MEETINGS ON FEB 4.5.6. AND 7 AT 8 O'CLOCK
REPUBLICAN HEADQUARTERS
LOCAL No 40 IRON WORKERS
KIWANI CLUB
SOCIETY OF CRAFTSMEN
CAMPFIRE GIRLS
LEGION
COMPANY
D.A.R.
LIONS
RED MEN'S HALL
BAYVIEW
RAYMOND LUFKIN

Fig. 85. The same street in a small town in 1890 and today. Count the signs of the various organizations in both pictures. What conclusions do you draw?

To be sure, the labor unions and the literary, artistic, and musical clubs grew less quickly than did the population, but the social clubs and the professional and civic-business clubs grew two or three times as fast.

The same can be said about the growth of organizations in almost every community of the United States. Charitable and "uplift" (reform) organizations have increased perhaps even more rapidly than any others. In Chicago today there are probably a thousand organizations whose purpose is to improve society or to help other people through charity. As one authority said of these societies: "No human interest seemed overlooked; knowledge, health, welfare, peace, and comfort were to be promoted."

IN 1890 WHAT TOOK THE PLACE OF ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICAN LIFE?

In 1890 our grandfathers and grandmothers had no Rotary clubs, no Lions clubs, no American Legion, no Gold Star Mothers, and few country clubs. How did they spend their leisure time?

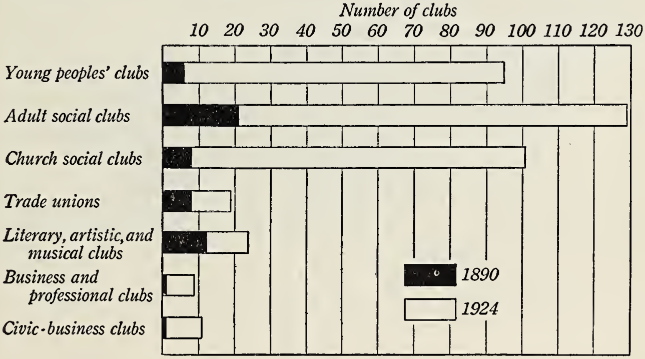

Fig. 86. Social organizations in a typical Middle Western city, 1890–1924. The black bars show the number of organizations in 1890; the white bars, the number in 1924 [1]

You already know something of social life in 1890. There was much informal visiting in the neighborhood and in the community. People "dropped in" on others to chat. Young people met more frequently in homes for parties, taffy pulls, games, or just to sing. At the churches there were strawberry festivals, annual fairs, Christmas festivals, and other entertainments at which everyone from the babies to the grandparents was present. Some churches gave euchre or whist parties, and everybody came who knew how to play, even a little. Card games, scores, and town news were eagerly discussed over the ice cream and cake which followed. Church picnics too attracted people of all ages. Sometimes picnickers met at a beautiful spot near town and ate lunch and amused themselves according to their ages.

There were a few organizations—lodges such as the Royal

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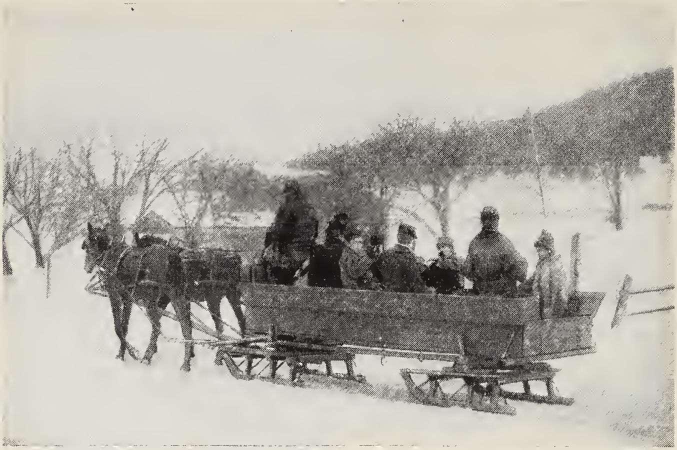
[1] Adapted from Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929), Table XVIII.



Clifton Johnson

Fig. 87. During the 1890's winter picnics of church or school sometimes took the form of sleigh rides

Arcanum, the Knights of Columbus, and the Freemasons—which had branches in most towns and cities. Each good-sized community had its board of trade. Many had study clubs of one sort or another—Shakespeare clubs, Browning clubs, Whistler clubs, reading clubs, MacDowell clubs, Beethoven clubs. The churches had men's clubs, women's guilds, and missionary societies. There were regular meetings, and some had regular entertainments such as plays, dances, "box suppers," and tableaux.

These entertainments were important in the life of the community and were looked forward to eagerly. For the most part people spent their time in their homes working, talking, occasionally reading. When they went out, instead of racing through the countryside on hot summer evenings in an automobile, people "cooled off" behind the jog-trotting old mare. In the evenings and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, the avenues of the cities and towns and the roads and fields of the country places were filled with people strolling in pairs or groups.

Thus we see that, although organizations existed in 1890, few people belonged to them and they occupied a small proportion of the people's leisure time.

Today the entire population is organized

Today, however, the interests of the entire population have become organized. Take at random, for example, merely a few hundreds of organizations listed in a recent World Almanac.[1] We quote only ten names from the 106 organizations listed under the "C's" alone!

American Society of Composers, Authors, & Publishers
United Confederate Veterans
National Consumers' League
American Institute of Chemists
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
Camp Fire Girls, Inc.
Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Co-operative League of the United States of America
American Cryptogram Association

It is difficult to make a good summary of the multitude of organizations. In our limited space we can merely take several groups and illustrate each type briefly. They divide themselves into twelve principal types:

1. *Political organizations.* There are organizations for every political idea and taste. For example:

Republican clubs
Democratic clubs
Socialist clubs
Single Tax clubs
Civil Liberties unions
League of Nations associations

2. *Fraternal organizations.* There are hundreds of secret societies, of which these are a few:

Freemasons
Knights of Columbus
Odd Fellows
Ancient and Illustrious Order of the Knights of Malta
Supreme Tribe of Ben Hur
Order of Ancient Oaks
Moose
Stags
Buffaloes
Deer
Reindeer
Geese
Serpents

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[1] See any recent World Almanac for a representative list.

In colleges and schools there are hundreds of secret societies known by the initial letters of their Greek names. For this reason they are called Greek-letter fraternities and sororities:

Phi Delta Theta
Pi Beta Phi
Delta Kappa Epsilon
Delta Gamma
Sigma Alpha Epsilon
Etc.

3. *Industrial and business organizations.* Mine-workers, printers, builders, cleaners and dyers, chauffeurs, railroad employees, clothing workers, electricians, plumbers, dock-workers—all have their societies. Practically every industry or trade of America, women's as well as men's, is represented by a labor union. Every field of business also has its national and local organizations—the bankers, the druggists, the butchers, the grocers, the dry-goods merchants, and others. In addition, there are other organizations of businessmen, such as the chambers of commerce or the boards of trade.

4. *Professional organizations.* The professions too have their organizations:

doctors
lawyers
teachers
ministers
engineers
artists
chemists
writers of fiction
poets
historians
actors
musicians

Every profession is represented. There are "locals," "nationals," even "internationals."

5. *Religious organizations.* There are nearly 200 church denominations in the United States. Within each one are many organizations, such as young people's societies, missionary societies, women's guilds, Epworth leagues.

6. *Civic clubs.* Almost every town has its civic clubs. They range from those which work for cleaner parks or better milk for the community to the Boosters' clubs for "bigger and better Huddletown" and the service clubs, such as the Rotary clubs. These types of organizations have spread through the United States and into most of the countries of the world. The Rotary clubs, for example, bring together the business and professional men of every level. The members include doctors, lawyers, grocers, storekeepers, bankers, superintendents of schools, ministers. All the business and professional classes of the community are

Acme

FIG. 88. The Women's Christian Temperance Union holds a memorial service to Frances Willard, its founder

represented regardless of wealth. "Service" is their slogan,—service to the community,—although they do combine pleasure with active work for the improvement of the community.

7. *Memorial and patriotic organizations.* Although the United States is young, it has a host of memorial and patriotic organizations. There are the Daughters (and the Sons) of the American Revolution, the Grand Army of the Republic, the United Confederate Veterans, the American Legion, the Gold Star Mothers, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a great number of local memorial associations. Together these do much to keep alive the traditions of communities, schools, colleges, and other institutions. Perhaps in your own community there are such patriotic societies as:

National Security League
American Defense Society
Better America Federation
Sentinels of the Republic
Allied Patriotic Society
American Citizenship Foundation
Military Intelligence Association
National Patriotic Council
United States Flag Association
Key Men of America

8. *Charity and reform associations.* In every town and city there is a charity organization of some kind. The mentally feeble, the old, the disabled, the ill, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the im-

prisoned, are all represented by organizations which work for their good. Reform associations have been established to prevent cruelty to children and to animals, to stop the use of tobacco, alcohol, drugs, and the like. For every menace to public welfare —either real or imagined—there is an association which has been established to try to remove it.

9. *Immigrant organizations.* Our millions of foreign-born have also followed the American custom of organization. The Germans have their German-American Society; the Irish, their Irish-American Association; the Sicilians, their Unione Siciliana, and so on.

10. *Athletic organizations.* With the growth of sports in the United States all sorts of athletic organizations have sprung up. There are, to name only a few types, golf and baseball clubs, hockey clubs, football and basketball clubs, cricket and bowling clubs, boxing and wrestling clubs, hunting clubs, fishing clubs, hiking clubs, archery clubs, and country clubs.

11. *Women's organizations.* In addition to belonging to many of the types already mentioned, women have their own organizations, such as the following:

The Women's Club (in almost every town and city)
The League of Women Voters
National Federation of Business and Professional Women
Needlework Guild of America

12. *Organizations for young people.* Nor are the younger members of society neglected. They too have such leagues and associations as the following:

Boy Scouts of America
Girl Scouts of America
Camp Fire Girls
Woodmen of the World
Young Men's Christian Association
Young Women's Christian Association
Young Men's Hebrew Association
Young Women's Hebrew Association

In churches and schools there are, for example,

Athletic organizations
Literary societies
Bird clubs
Science clubs
Social-science clubs
Secret fraternities
Secret sororities
Orchestras, choruses, etc.

The number of young people's organizations in our country could scarcely be estimated.

We have named the twelve chief types of organizations in America. No doubt you are beginning to ask: Why do people join organizations? What do people do in them? What do they contribute to the lives of individuals and to American life in general? Let us consider some of these questions.

WHY DO PEOPLE JOIN ORGANIZATIONS?

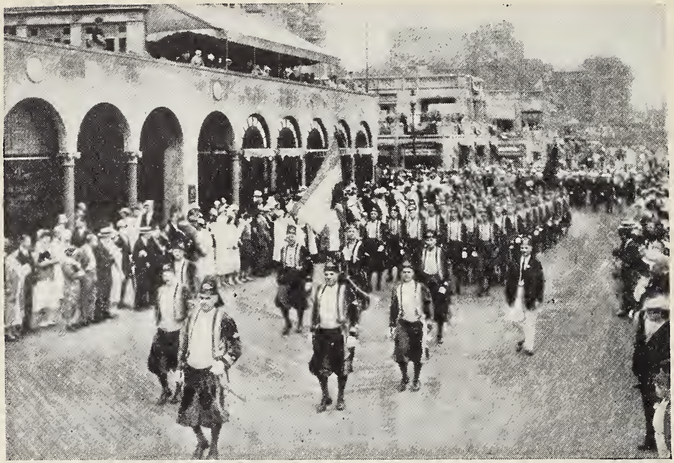
How does it happen that one medium-sized city can have 500 organizations? That a town with a population of 1800 can support seventeen secret societies? There are many reasons, of course, but most of them can be traced to the needs and the desires of human beings. What are these needs? What are these wishes which lead people to come together in groups?

First, the desire to be with other people. Most of us are social; we dislike being alone for long. From the time we are little children we are attracted toward other human beings. If we live in the country, we go into town sometimes merely to exchange news, to learn what is happening to relatives and friends. There are a few people, to be sure, who live off by themselves, seeing others only a few times in a year, but they are exceptions.

Therefore an invitation to join a club, a lodge, or other kind of organization which has meetings is accepted in part because of the deep desire to be with other people. People say, for example, "I joined the Knights of Pythias because I wanted the social life I found in their clubrooms and meetings." If there is a choice to be made, people generally prefer to be with those who think as they think or who are interested in the same things in which they themselves are interested.

Second, the desire for variety. Another reason why people join organizations is to break up the monotony of their daily lives. Women join various clubs because sometimes these furnish almost the only social life in a community. One woman explained her joining the College Women's Club by saying, "I'd soon grow dull here if I didn't. We study various themes during a season and forget the littleness of our lives."

New faces seen, new ideas exchanged, help Mrs. John Smith to



Keystone

Fig. 89. Pomp and color predominated in this parade of the Shriners

forget for a little while that tomorrow and the next day she must buy bread and onions and meat, make beds, mend and wash the clothes. If she belongs to a secret organization, she may even forget for a while that she is Mrs. Smith when she wears a Greek robe at the meeting. Mr. Smith too forgets his job and his business worries while he, like his wife, "dresses up," whispers passwords, and becomes a new person. If they are officers they feel that they must live up to their new title—President, Grand Master, or Illustrious Potentate.

Thus some people join organizations to put variety into lives that might otherwise be unbearably dull.

Third, the desire to feel secure. From early childhood, we are taught to protect our health, our good name, our very lives. As we grow older we try to protect our incomes, our families, our ideals, our religious faiths, our community, and our country from a variety of things which might harm them.

Turn back through the foregoing list of kinds of organizations and ask yourself to what extent each kind exists because of this need for security. Do business and labor organizations help, for example, to give a feeling of security? They do, indeed, for by banding together men can protect their interests, whether it is their products or their labor which they sell.

Do the immigrant organizations satisfy the need to feel secure? The political organizations? The civic leagues? Many of these organizations help to make people feel secure in other ways too. They carry insurance against ill health, accidents, and loss of life.

One organization, "a great big, broad-minded, fraternal, sociable, and charitable secret society" guarantees the following benefits to all who join: sickness and death benefits, accident benefits, benefits if disabled, even free medical service for a $6 charter fee and 75 cents a month. If you felt that a regular payment of, let us say, 75 cents a month would give you these benefits, should you be likely to join, too?

Fourth, the desire for social approval. How frequently we hear the phrase "What will the neighbors think!" The desire to be approved by our relatives, our neighbors, and by the people of our community plays an important part in the growth of organizations.

The family, the neighborhood, and the community have set up certain standards which we must live up to, if we wish social approval. For example, we must be honest, industrious, and clean. We know that if we are dishonest or lazy or dirty we are likely to have few friends in the community. All these things we learn at a very early age. Similarly the grownups know that they must keep the house looking neat and clean, the hedges and lawns well trimmed, the automobile well painted to secure the approval of the neighbors. The community has set the standards, and people will approve those who live up to them.

Many organizations which are approved by the community increase their membership because of this desire for social approval. People frequently join patriotic societies, charity societies, secret lodges, and other organizations because "It's the thing to do," because "everybody" belongs. The following conversation between two women in a tearoom illustrates this desire. One of the women was urging the other to allow her to propose her name for membership in a certain club.

"But I really don't wish to join," said the one. "I am not interested and I haven't the time."

"Oh, you don't need to attend, but you must join. Everyone who is anyone belongs," said the other.

Is this a good reason, do you think, for belonging to an organization?

Fifth, the desire to feel less inferior. Do you recall in Chapter V how the people of a neighborhood look down on some persons and up to others? How they disapprove of the people in the "lower" neighborhood and how they approve and imitate those in the "upper" neighborhood? Many people grow up with the idea that they are inferior to other people who appear brighter than they or who earn more money or who have a larger and better house or automobile, wear better clothes, seem to have "nicer" friends—in short, who seem to have a better way of living than they. Hence many of them join organizations in the attempt to overcome this feeling of inferiority. Others join because they wish to feel equal to the "best" people. Do you think this is a good reason for joining organizations?

One investigator said that the women's clubs and the church organizations have a much larger membership since they began to meet in private homes. One woman was overheard remarking to her friend: "I'd join anything and pay any dues to get to step inside Mrs. R's house."

Some organizations are difficult to enter because the members must be artists or musicians or have a larger amount of knowledge than most people possess. Many people try, sometimes for years, to belong to such organizations, since membership will make them feel that they are superior. Here is a case from one community: A new college teacher was informed upon her arrival in the town, "The Little Theater in our town is a new organization. If you belong to it you are established socially as well as culturally."

Some organizations are exclusive; that is, they will take only a certain number of members from a certain group. Hence there is often a long waiting list of people who wish to join. When they succeed many will feel that they have joined the ranks of the "best" people.

Sixth, the desire to help others. Many people who are more fortunate than others or who see about them injustice or who have been the victims of it themselves join organizations to help others. The idea of service through organizations has grown tremendously since 1890, as people have begun to recognize the interdependence of modern life. As a result, charity and reform organizations have grown and spread. People desire to help those who are in ill luck, who are unemployed or sick or disabled or unjustly imprisoned or working under unhealthful conditions. When the communities of the United States were smaller, much of this help was given by neighbors and friends, but today each person of the community cannot know all the people who need help of one kind or another. Many people, therefore, join and support organizations which search out those who are in need of help.

These are but a few of the reasons why people join organizations, but they illustrate two important facts: First, they show why so many lodges, clubs, societies, and associations have sprung up all over the United States today. Second, they teach us what some of the most important human desires are. We shall meet these desires again and again in our high-school studies.

WHAT GOES ON IN THE MEETINGS OF ORGANIZATIONS?

What do people do in their fraternal societies, labor unions, service clubs, improvement associations, and other organizations? They do a great variety of things, of course, but a few things are done in almost all of them.

Formal ritual, speeches, lectures, and discussion

Before the days of the automobile, the radio, the "movies," and "swing" music, much of the leisure time of Americans was spent in conversation. As much as anything else it was the thing which drew men together in the coffeehouse and in the tavern. It passed the lonely hours in frontier cabins. It relieved the dullness of endless days of slow travel. But today, with the hurry and rush of automobiles and quick schedules, there is less leisurely visiting and less thoughtful conversation.

But in America's organizations there still is a place for "talk." A president or other presiding officer directs the meeting. He calls it to order and comments on the reports of the secretary and treasurer and various committees, which have been read aloud and which are often very long. There is sometimes a ceremony, in which memorized words are repeated by the members and gestures are made in unison. If it is initiation night, when new people are made members of the organization, there are more ceremonies. Perhaps new officers are to begin their duties, and a special ceremony is needed.

Then there are speeches! Speeches were popular in 1890. We are told that in "Middletown" "in 1890 it was not necessary to announce the subject 'of a lecture' to draw a crowd." For example, the First Methodist Church was sure to be filled when the announcement appeared in the local newspaper that "Rev. C. R. Bacon of W—— will deliver a free lecture Wednesday night. . . . Everybody invited." Speeches were apt to be very long. For example, "A large and cultured audience crowded the opera house to hear 'a polished gentleman of pleasing appearance and happy manner' . . . deliver a two-hour lecture on 'nicknames of prominent Americans.' "[1]

Speeches are shorter today, but they are still popular. A leading citizen in one of our towns remarked recently: "No matter what it's about, there's nothing I like better than a real good speech." And this leading citizen's liking for speeches seems to be shared by a great number of the American people.

In the meetings of the service clubs such as Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis, a great variety of activities goes on—lunching and dining together, friendly teasing and gossip, and singing. A feeling of good fellowship is created. Guests brought by members are introduced to the club. For example, Frank Johnson rises at the request of the leader and says, "I want to introduce today my guest and a prominent clubman from Greeley, Tom Jackson." With great enthusiasm the members around the table shout, "Hello, Tom." When luncheon is over, the club listens to a speech given by a local minister, a leading lawyer, an educator from the college, or a prominent person in town on some professional mission.

In other business and professional organizations of various kinds the serious work consists of listening to lectures and engaging in discussion. The topics considered cover a vast range of interests,

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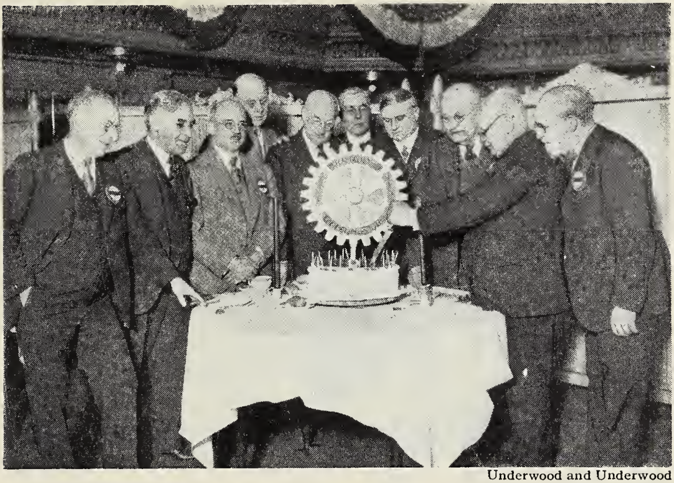
[1] Adapted from Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929), p. 228.



Underwood and Underwood

FIG. 90. The Rotary Club of Chicago celebrates its twenty-fifth birthday. What do you suppose the members did at this meeting?

such as technical reports on new discoveries in the professions or the sciences, debates on current political or religious problems, dramatic accounts of explorers, accounts of travels in distant lands, talks about international relations, and the like.

In the more informal social organizations of the smaller communities there is the same interest in lectures. At the meetings of the neighborhood card clubs, the sewing clubs, discussion clubs, art clubs, music clubs, and the like, there is much listening to "papers" by members or by a specially engaged lecturer. The subjects cover a great range of topics. In 1890 a study club frequently devoted most of its programs in one year to the study of the Bible. But other topics were often introduced, as the following list shows: "Abraham," "The Egyptian Women," "Moses," "Roman Women," "*Quo Vadis*," "The Tabernacle," "French Women," "Yellowstone National Park," "Queen of Sheba," "The Czarina of Russia," "Jerusalem," "The Life of Adelina Patti," "Madame Schumann-Heink," "Madame Sembrich," "Herman Melville."

Today, however, a more varied program is provided:

The program of one typical federated club took up within one recent year "Prophets of the Bible," "Wonders of the Radio," "What do Colleges for Women in the Orient Accomplish?" and "The Life of Paul." Another club proceeded within one winter from "Recent Religious Movements: Christian Science and New Thought" to "The Dictograph," "Mural Paintings," "The Panama Canal," "The Drama," "Hull House," and "Dress." The year's work of yet another included meetings on "Waterways," "Animals," "Our Nation," "Socialism," and "The Simple Life." The program of another club offered in an unusually long season of twenty-one meetings, five of which were purely social, a program providing study of "the Bible, history, music, art, and literature." [1]

Speeches and lectures must, of course, appeal to the special interests of the various organizations. Papers read at meetings of educational societies deal with the problems of the school. Those given before patriotic and memorial organizations concern the problems of American history, national ideals, loyalty to the flag, and similar topics. Those given before charitable societies deal with such problems as unemployment, housing conditions in cities, public health, and the changing family.

Thus conversation, exchange of ideas, and listening to lectures or speeches make up the principal part of the programs at the meetings of American organizations. No matter how general or how special and unusual are the interests of Americans today, it is possible to find, in our larger cities at least, organizations of people eager to discuss them.

AS ORGANIZATIONS INCREASE, ATTENDANCE IN MANY DECREASES

We are, indeed, a nation of "joiners." But although we join, we attend very irregularly, so the statistics tell us. While the membership rolls continue to grow, fewer and fewer people come to the meetings.

"We have 500 members," said the grand master of one lodge, "but work as we may, we can't get more than 25 to 50 out to meetings; and they're mostly new members."

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[1] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 289. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

A fine educational discussion club in a large city reports the same lack of attendance—100 members, only 20 in attendance. So from a great many sources comes the report that Americans join but don't attend.

Why do you think there is this decrease in interest? Many factors account for it, of course, but most of them can be traced to the great variety of interests that the Industrial Revolution has developed. Listen to typical comments:

"My husband doesn't go to the Red Men's any more; the 'movies' have killed the lodges in this town."

"We have so many acquaintances that we seldom get time to go to the Rebekahs. We generally try to go to the Annual Ball."

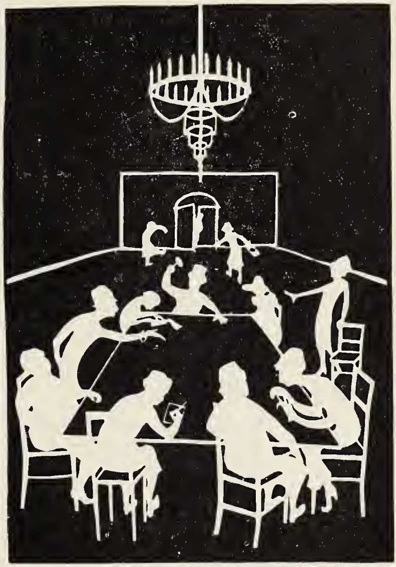

Fig. 91.[1] One artist's idea of what goes on when discussions take place in the clubs.

"John belongs to so many organizations that he never goes to any of them."

The automobile, radio, and cheap reading matter also account for the declining attendance. In the warm seasons from April to November, many tired workers prefer an automobile ride in the early evenings. In the cold winter months they listen to the music, lectures, dramatic readings, debates, and the like over the radio. The sensational tabloids and scandal sheets, the exciting short stories, and the slapstick humor of newspapers and magazines seem to other millions to provide a much more pleasant evening than the speeches and ceremonies of a "meeting."

For various reasons, therefore, we continue to join organizations, but most of us do not take active parts in them.

[1] From a scissors picture by Martha B. Bruère in *Survey Graphic.*

I. HOW, THEN, DO ORGANIZATIONS INFLUENCE AMERICAN CULTURE?

One conclusion can be drawn from this discussion, namely, that organizations of one kind or another noticeably affect American life. As we said, more than half the grownups and a large proportion of the young people belong to them and are influenced by them.

Let us summarize, therefore, the contributions of organizations to American life.

First, they satisfy many of the deep-seated desires of people: the desire to be with others, the desire for variety in life, to feel secure, to have social approval, to feel less inferior, to help others, to increase one's knowledge. In helping to satisfy these desires of people, organizations certainly make an important contribution to the life of the nation.

Second, they bring together men, women, and children who otherwise would find it difficult to meet one another. For example, church organizations bring together people from every neighborhood, occupation, and social level of the community. Rotary clubs and chambers of commerce bind together the business and professional men of the community. Labor unions gather together the workers of various trades. Patriotic and fraternal organizations bring people of various nationalities and occupations together around a common interest. In this way friendships spring up that might never have been established.

Third, organizations teach many members of the community the need for co-operation, that is, for working with others. Certainly this is an especially important need in our interdependent civilization. Nowhere is there better opportunity for practice in teamwork than in carrying on the work of organizations. Without teamwork the organization fails. Without teamwork the neighborhood and community life fails. Without teamwork there can be no real progress of a nation. Without teamwork war cannot be banished and permanent peace established. Thus we see the importance of community and national organizations in giving our citizens practice in teamwork. Furthermore, we see the importance of young people's organizations in developing this same habit of co-operation.

Fourth, organizations help definitely to encourage ideals of loyalty, charity, civic pride, and health of body and mind. For many members the ceremonial attention paid to such slogans as "Friendship-Faith-Charity" serves to lift men up and to guide them in a truly religious spirit.

Fifth, organizations work successfully toward many definite ends which would not be reached were it not for the efforts of their members. Some relieve suffering by providing employment or lending money or guarding people against disease. Others teach the blind, the deaf, or the lame how to live well in spite of their handicaps. Others try to bring about world peace or to improve neighborhoods. Still others change laws and amend national and state constitutions. Thus the purposes of organizations are almost countless, and many of them are attained. Sometimes the object for which an organization has worked affects only a few hundred people; at other times it may affect a whole nation. For example, note the success of those organizations which obtained the right to vote for women by bringing about the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. By achieving such definite and important ends, organizations are to a great extent affecting American life.

II. BUT NEW PROBLEMS ARISE AS A RESULT OF THE GROWTH OF ORGANIZATIONS

These, then, are examples of the fine contributions that organizations are making to American life. With the steady increase in their number and activity, however, new questions and problems arise for solution. Let us see what some of these are:

1. Are the organizations really discussion clubs? Does a helpful exchange of ideas take place in them? Are the really important problems of American community and national life discussed in them?
2. Are the organizations promoting the creative, artistic development of the American people?
3. Is the rapid growth of organizations tending to break down family life in the American home?
4. Does the growth of organizations contribute to the decline of neighborhood spirit?
5. Is the multiplication of organizations making our people, especially those in cities, more restless and dissatisfied?

6. Does the loyalty to many organizations help to break down the spirit of loyalty to the community?

7. To what extent is public opinion in American communities formed in these organizations? Do the organizations tend to make people think alike and act alike? Is this a good or a bad influence?

These very important questions confront American leaders. In our later studies we must consider them carefully.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Anderson, Nels, and Lindeman, Eduard C. Urban Sociology. F. S. Crofts & Co., New York. Chapter XIV contains a good discussion of the various kinds of clubs and organizations in a modern city.

Crighton, John C., and Senturia, Joseph J. Business and Government. American Primer Series. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. One of the 25-cent primers of this series.

Hacker, Louis M., Modley, Rudolf, and Taylor, George R. The United States: A Graphic History. Modern Age Books, Inc., New York. See sections on labor.

Haines, Charles G. and Bertha M. Principles and Problems of Government (Third Edition). Harper & Brothers, New York. See pages 264–284.

Lindeman, Eduard C. The Community: An Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization. Association Press, New York. The theories, principles, and types of community organizations are discussed in Chapters X and XI.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Middletown. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. Chapter XIX, "The Organization of Leisure," describes the various clubs and their activities.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Middletown in Transition. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. See Chapter VII, "Spending Leisure."

McVey, Frank L. The Making of a Town. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. See Chapter IX.

Merz, Charles. The Great American Bandwagon. The John Day Company, New York. Chapter III, "Sweet Land of Secrecy," is an interesting account of the American as a "joiner."

Rohlfing, Charles C., Carter, E. W., West, B. W., and Hervey, J. G. Business and Government. The Foundation Press, Inc., Chicago. Chapter III should be read.

Sait, E. M. American Parties and Elections. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York. See especially Chapter V.

Stern, R. B. Clubs: Making and Management. Rand McNally & Company, Chicago.

☆ III ☆

The American Way of Government: "Of the People, By the People, For the People"

The American Way of Government: "Of the People, By the People, For the People"

American communities, American neighborhoods, American families, have passed before us. One fact stands out clearly: 130,000,000 people do not live hermit-like lives, alone. They live in great cities, in villages and towns, in neighborhoods. They work in groups and they play in groups.

All of this means, as we learned in Chapter II, that our people must have some orderly way to carry on their affairs together. They must have rules—laws—to regulate what they do. They must have officials to carry out the rules—statesmen, engineers, scientists, and other workers who make plans. All of these things, taken together, we call "government."

To make sure that things run smoothly every group must have a government.

Your school has a government; it consists of the principal, the teachers and yourselves, guided of course by the Superintendent of Schools, the Board of Education, and other officials. Your class has a government. The Chamber of Commerce and the labor unions of your community—each has a government. Every club, every social organization, has a government to keep things going in orderly fashion.

Every community has a government.

At the head of each city is a Mayor and a Board of Aldermen or Councilmen (or perhaps a City Manager and a Commission). These people make the laws that state how public matters shall be managed. The Mayor, the town or city clerk, the treasurer, chiefs of police, fire, streets, parks and playgrounds, health, and other departments and their workers are hired or elected to see that the laws are obeyed. There are judges to decide disputes concerning the law.

Your state and each of the other 47 states has a government. At its head is a Governor, a Lieutenant Governor, a Secretary of State, and *other chief officials. There is an assembly which makes the laws. There are courts, judges, attorneys, and other officials to decide questions concerning legal and police matters.*

Our country, the United States of America, has a government (see chart, figure 116). At its head making the laws is Congress, consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Officials include a President, a Vice-President, heads of the departments of State, War, Navy, and the like, and hundreds of heads of bureaus and commissions. To settle questions concerning the laws there is a system of Federal courts.

Government, then, is merely the way groups of people carry on their life together—through laws, regulations, plans, and officials.

In Chapters IX to XII, inclusive, we turn to the study of government, —local, state, and national. We begin in Chapter IX by contrasting government in the local community 100 years ago with community government today.

In Chapters X and XI we see, by turning to European and American history, how we got our present ideas and practices of (1) constitutional government and (2) representative government.

In Chapter XII we see how political parties are necessary in our modern civilization to make the idea of representative government work.

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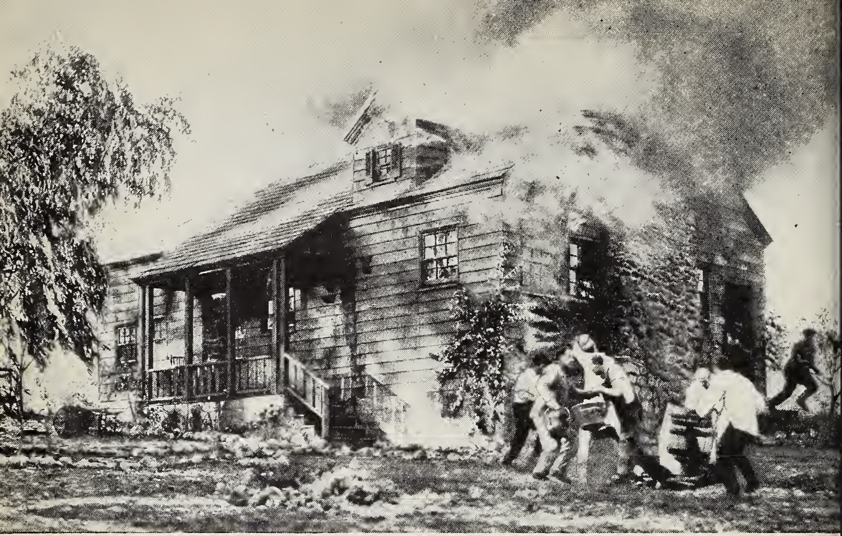

Fig. 92. In earlier days when houses caught fire each householder depended upon his family and his neighbors to put it out

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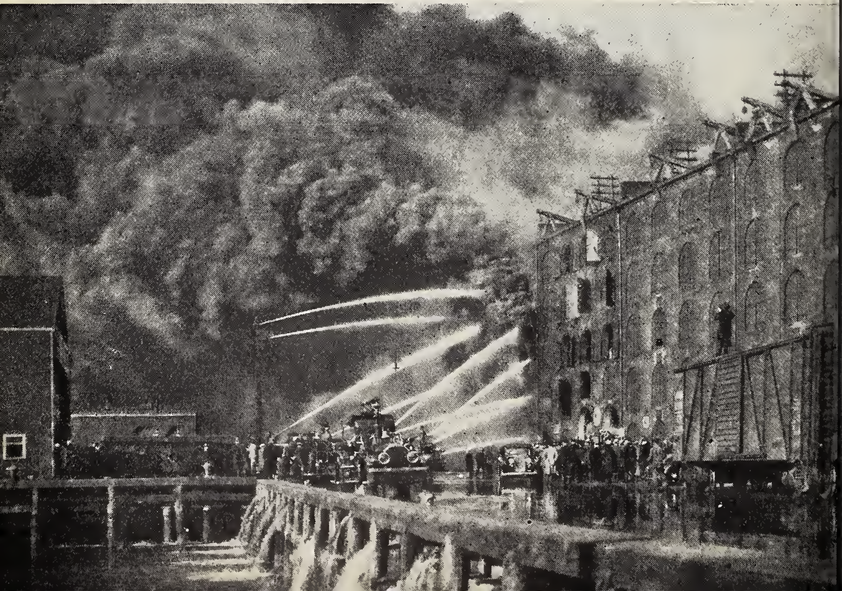
Fig. 93. Today motorized, tax-supported, trained fire departments answer the call for help

Ewing Galloway



Chapter IX · Changing Community Government in America

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A CONTRAST IN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT: 1840 AND 1940

Let us begin by comparing the way in which citizens decided questions of government in the same town in 1840 and in 1940.

1. Direct government by town meeting, November, 1840

There was standing room only in the little town hall that bordered the Laneville Common. The annual town meeting had been called. To Daniel Seabury, the moderator, or presiding officer, and the selectmen seated on the raised platform at one end of the room, it seemed that the whole community was present. Not only the villagers, but whole families from farms miles out in the township, had come to take part. Why? This meeting was of unusual interest because of the question to be decided: Should the citizens of the town build a free public school and tax everybody in the township to pay for it?

In the front were grouped the leading men of the township. The Reverend Edmund Wilson, the preacher of the First Unitarian Church and the leader in favor of the school, sat between John Stone, the town grocer, and Ed Davidson, the town butcher. In one corner John Bowles was talking to a group of farmers from the hamlet of Ponikin Hill. There they sat with jaws firm and faces flushed, determined not to be taxed for a school that they would never use. Samuel Hutchinson, the old bachelor carpenter, was in another corner arguing earnestly with John Mott, the postmaster.

The women and children were seated in the rear of the room. The women rarely missed a town meeting, for to them it was a social event as well as a political gathering. Ordinarily, it was a time when they could exchange whispered bits of gossip, talk about recent marriages and deaths, and plan outings and family dinners.

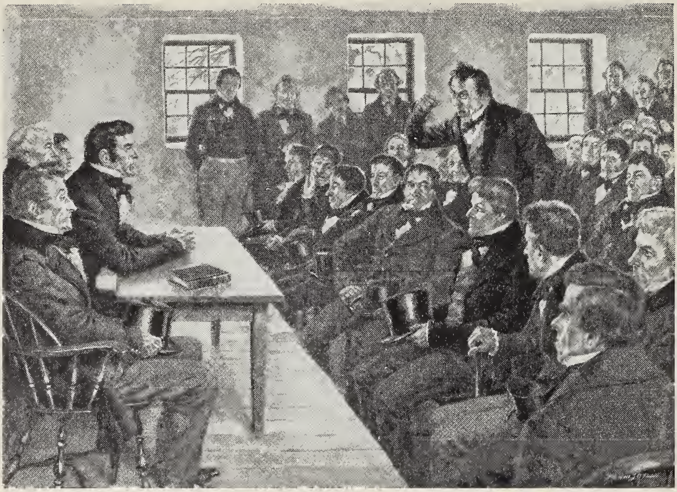


Fig. 94. A town meeting in 1830. Questions were thoroughly discussed by the people of the community before voting took place

At this meeting, however, they were very much interested in the question to be decided. They all talked very seriously about the new school project. It would mean a better education for their children than they themselves had received. Most of them had come to make sure that their husbands answered "Aye" when the question was put to vote.

In this Laneville of 1840 everyone knew everyone else. The village itself had only 40 houses, and the population of the whole township was not more than 800. There were not more than 200 eligible voters,—that is, men over 21 years of age who owned a certain amount of property and could read and write. However, even those who could not vote were intensely interested in village politics and had the privilege of expressing their opinions in the town meeting before the voting took place.

Finally Daniel Seabury called the meeting to order, and the Reverend Edmund Wilson rose to speak for those who wanted the new school.

"From every standpoint it is desirable for Laneville to have this school," he said. "The very foundation of democratic government, not only in Laneville but in America, is its educated citizens. If Laneville is to be a better community in the future it will become so only through the education of all the people."

Then John Bowles sprang to his feet.

"Why should *we* pay for the education of children who live in town?" he asked. "There's no way we can send *our* children to a village school. In the winter they'd have to travel over four miles of bad roads."

John Stone replied with arguments in favor of the new school. Then Samuel Hutchinson, the bachelor carpenter, rose.

"Why should I pay to educate the children of other people?" he argued. "Nobody educated me. Had to git my own larnin'."

"But . . ." cried several others.

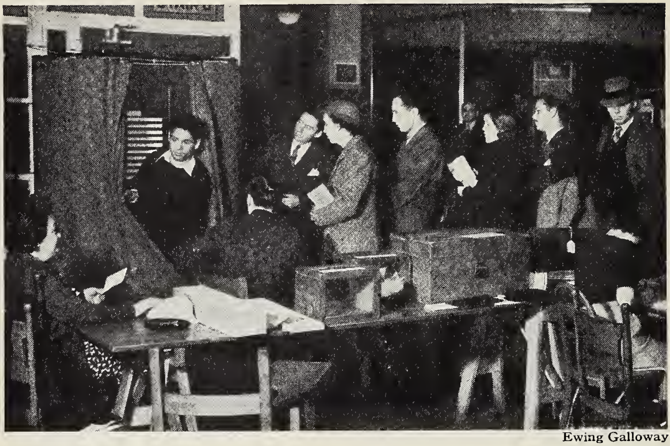
"Order!" Daniel Seabury commanded.

The debate continued and the arguments became more and more heated. Excitement ran high. During the next few hours not fewer than 40 citizens of the township addressed the community. Finally it was moved that the vote be taken. The women whispered together in the rear of the room. Would the people who wanted the new school win? Or would the opposition?

After the votes were counted, it was announced that those who wanted the new school had won by the narrow margin of three votes. Amidst a burst of excited conversation the meeting was adjourned.

2. Laneville's city election of government representatives, November, 1940

It is 100 years to a week later and Laneville, now a large manufacturing town of 60,000 people, is holding its city election, which comes every two years. Sixty officials are to be elected—a mayor, 24 councilmen, 12 aldermen, a city treasurer, a city clerk, an assessor, an engineer, and a long list of minor officials. Sample ballots show that more than 300 candidates are seeking these offices. Their names are distributed under columns headed by the names of the five political parties to which they belong. The voters now number 25,000 and include women as well as men and a score of recent immigrants of several different races and nationalities who have become naturalized. In addition to electing



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 95. Qualified voters awaiting their turn to register their choices on the voting machine

officers, these people are called upon to vote "Yes" or "No" to eight questions affecting the life of the great city—whether to build additional parks, add to the water-supply system, issue bonds for a new million-dollar junior-high-school, and the like.

The voting itself is a hurried, impersonal affair. Instead of voting in one central place such as the town hall of 1840 there are dozens of polling places in the various districts, or precincts, into which the city is divided. Voters stop in these on their way to or from work. In one of many small booths each places a cross at the head of the list of candidates or beside the name of the political party to which he belongs, or against the name of the candidate, or he may vote mechanically with one of the new voting machines. Then he rushes away.

Contrast this city election of 1940 with the town meeting of 1840! In the latter everyone met in the town hall and discussed the problems of local government. Facts were presented directly, and all sides of the question were debated by all present. Of those qualified to vote, 95 per cent were on hand. In 1940 there was no general discussion of the city's problems. Much advertising, but few facts, were given to the people through newspapers and political speeches. Candidates were not known personally. Only about 45 per cent of the qualified voters took enough interest in the election to go to the polls.

What caused this change from personal to impersonal government? Many factors brought it about. The town had grown larger and larger, and, as that happened, its life had become more and more complicated. No longer did everyone know everyone else. Individuals had become less and less concerned with the community's problems, and the public's interest in politics likewise decreased. Professional politicians had come to run the government. Elections were almost mechanical, "cut and dried." Figures 94 and 95 will help to illustrate the change brought about in 100 years.

As we have had a glimpse of these two kinds of local government perhaps you have been wondering why modern community government has become so complicated. Let us see.

The business of running a community is not an easy matter

One fact stands out clearly from our studies of the community —the public affairs of the modern American town or city are complicated indeed. For example, in earlier days each household had its own well and got rid of its own sewage. Today water must be provided from a central water-supply system and sewage disposed of in a central sewage-disposal plant. This requires the building of great reservoirs and the laying of pipe lines under the streets of the cities and into the houses.

Then, too, in the earlier days each family was responsible for its own fire and health protection. Today because houses and families are so crowded together the community as a whole must provide this protection. Formerly streets were unlighted except from the windows of houses. Today each community provides light for all public places.

A similar change has occurred in connection with the other activities of the community. One by one matters formerly regarded as *private* have been taken over by the community as *public.* Thus many services which the citizens used to take care of themselves are now being performed by the community as a whole. Can you see now why running a community is a complicated business?

The work of the community goes on smoothly only when it is carried on by an efficient government

Directing the policemen, the firemen, the health officers, the street-cleaners, the garbage-collectors, are the governing officials. Over the firemen are the engineers, the assistant chiefs, and the chief. Over the policemen are sergeants, lieutenants, and the police commissioner. Thus above the people who enforce the laws, put out the fires, and care for public health and cleanliness are the governing officials who plan and direct the work to be done and who keep the public records.

But above even these chiefs and commissioners are still more important leaders who appoint many of the employees of the community, who direct and supervise *their* work. They are leaders who belong to none of these departments but to the community as a whole. Just as a great corporation has a president, a board of directors, a secretary-treasurer, and general manager, so a community has a central governing body.

FROM THE SIMPLE TO THE COMPLEX: THE STORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

Let us see the chief steps by which the simple community government of earlier times became the great complicated business and political enterprise of today.

Throughout a century and a half of colonial history, government, like community life, was quite simple. Each of the three groups of colonies—New England, the South, and the middle colonies—had its own special type of local government.

In New England, where the people lived close together in compact communities, each town or township had a separate government. In Virginia and the other Southern colonies, where people lived on plantations scattered farther apart, each county had a separate government. The middle colonies—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware—used a combined township-and-county form of government. Let us consider these types.

1. The town meeting and town government of New England

By far the most important of these types of government in the history of the country was the New England town government. The chief feature of this was, as you now know, the town meeting. At this annual meeting, the people heard reports from the selectmen and other town officials, the eligible (qualified) voters elected new officials for the coming year, passed needed town laws (called bylaws or ordinances), levied taxes, and set apart money to pay for the expenses of government.

As the chart of figure 96 shows us, the government in those small communities was simple enough to meet the needs of the community life. In fact, as you no doubt have seen from the description of the Laneville town meeting, this was the best example of direct self-government the country has produced in its experiment in democracy. Such free and open discussion was, without doubt, an excellent method of finding out exactly about the past conduct of public officials. Comments and questions quickly showed just why any officer had supported or opposed suggested action concerning a public problem. At its best, the New England town meeting has never been equaled as a plan for local government.

The town meeting offered people real opportunities to share actively in their own government. Even the small boys who came to watch and enjoy the meeting were taught, without their being aware of it, that government is a living thing. And from practice in solving the smaller problems of the little community, men were trained to solve wisely the greater problems of the state and nation.

Thus the town meeting made the laws through direct, face-to-face debate. In the early years of our country's history the great majority of the eligible citizens took a direct part in helping to decide public questions. Interest in public affairs was deep. Many citizens were well-informed.

Throughout most of our history, even to the present day, the small communities of New England and other Eastern states have been governed by this town plan. In some communities of even 25,000 inhabitants or more, today the selectmen still post the annual "Town Warrant," announcing the town meeting on a given date. In this printed announcement, which is posted in public

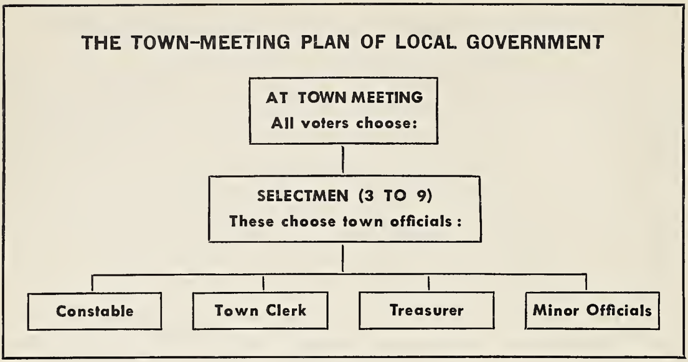

THE TOWN-MEETING PLAN OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AT TOWN MEETING
All voters choose:
SELECTMEN (3 TO 9)
These choose town officials :
Constable
Town Clerk
Treasurer
Minor Officials

Fig. 96

places, are listed the questions which will come before the meeting. For example, in a meeting held in the town of Framingham, Massachusetts (population 22,210 in 1930), a few of its purposes were announced as follows:

> *Art. 4.* To see if the Town will grant or appropriate a sum not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars ($2500) for the purchase by the tree warden of a new tree-spraying machine . . .
>
> *Art. 8.* To see if the Town will vote to install and maintain electric lights on the following named streets . . .
>
> *Art. 9.* To see if the Town will vote to raise the pay of its Police Officers fifty cents a day . . .
>
> *Art. 12.* To see if the Town will vote to appropriate a sum . . . to reimburse [pay back] Wellington H. Pratt for expenses incurred in the construction of a sewer and the laying of water pipes . . .

Although the town plan of direct self-government is still in force, the attitude toward community problems has drastically changed. Some towns using the plan have acquired a population as large as that of cities in other parts of the country. Citizens in these overgrown "towns" have little knowledge of public affairs, and so their interest has declined. The result is that even in the annual town meeting, the attendance is but a small fraction of the eligible voters. For example, in a recent year when one community in Massachusetts had reached a population of about 20,000 inhabitants, the attendance at the town meeting was only about 800. In another community in the same state, out of about 2500 eligible voters the average attendance ranged from only 300 to 400. Similar conditions are found today throughout the Eastern states.

There are, of course, other reasons for this decline in attendance at town meetings. One is that politicians now control the affairs of the local government. They choose candidates for office to be voted on at the annual meeting. They decide how important questions are to be settled. Finally they make sure that enough citizens who will support their plans are on hand to control the meeting.

2. The community government of the Southern states

In the Southern states, as we have already said, there were few towns. People lived on plantations which were generally miles apart. Because the population was scattered over such a large area, the colonists who first settled the South adopted the English "shire," or county, form of government. Each year at a meeting on the courthouse green, the voters—that is, the owners of property—elected a county board of commissioners. These men ran the affairs of the county as the selectmen did the affairs of the New England town. The county commissioners selected such needed officials as a county lieutenant, a sheriff, justices of the peace, persons in charge of roads, persons in charge of county finance. These comprised the local government.

3. The combined town-country government of the Middle States

New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware tended to combine the town and county forms of government. This was in part due to the fact that they had been settled by colonists from several different countries, who had different ideas of landownership and government. As population grew more dense and towns increased in number, these separate communities were organized under separate town governments. In the more thinly populated regions, however, the county form of government was used.

These three forms of government were carried westward by settlers, 1790–1890

During the colonial period of a century and a half, therefore, either the town, the county, or a combination of the two forms of government served the little communities of the Eastern seaboard colonies. Then came the War of the Revolution and separation from Great Britain. Even that important change in national government brought almost no change in local government. Communities continued to govern themselves in about the same manner as they had when they were subject to British rule.

In the meantime, however, the great westward movement of land settlement began and continued throughout more than 100 years. As the westward movement went forward, the three types of local government tended to move westward with it. The New England town meeting was taken over in the new states of the Northwest. The county form of government was used in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, following the example of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Many of the new states used both forms. Throughout the entire United States these three types of local government became established and were used almost without exception until after 1900.

THE RISE OF CITIES AND NEW PROBLEMS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In 1790 there were only seven cities in America having more than 8000 inhabitants. They were Philadelphia; New York; Boston; Charleston, South Carolina; Baltimore; Salem, Massachusetts; and Newport, Rhode Island. Of about 4,000,000 American inhabitants 95 per cent lived on farms or in little villages and towns. Then came the great drift from country to town and from town to city. The result was that in 1940 there were approximately 1800 communities of 5000 or more inhabitants.

With these changing conditions came great changes in local government. The old form of town or county government was too simple to manage the complicated affairs of hundreds of thousands or even millions of people. As the cities grew, therefore, new kinds of city government arose too.

In most cases both the town and the county form of government were more or less copies of the English form of local government to which the various colonists had previously been accustomed in their homeland. The same thing was true of the first city governments. In England some trading and manufacturing communities had grown to considerable size at various points within townships and counties. As they became large, the government gave them separate charters, granting them the power of self-government. These independent communities were first called boroughs.

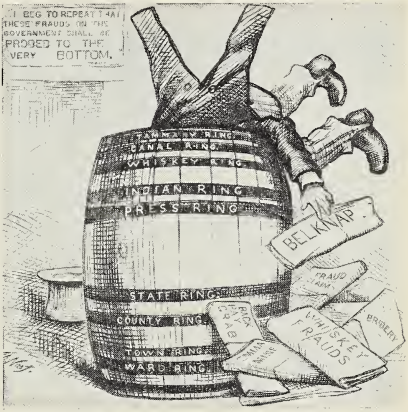

"I BEG TO REPEAT THAT THESE FRAUDS ON THE GOVERNMENT SHALL BE PROBED TO THE VERY BOTTOM."
TAMMANY RING
CANAL RING
WHISKEY RING
INDIAN RING
PRESS RING
BELKNAP
FRAUD
STATE RING
COUNTY RING
TOWN RING
WARD RING
BACK PAY GRAB
WHISKEY FRAUDS
BRIBERY

Fig. 97. This cartoon illustrates how difficult it was in the 1870's to "investigate the various city rings" (see page 205)
From *Harper's Weekly*, March 25, 1876

As similar communities grew up in America their people (British) tended to set up the same kind of governing arrangements which they had known in England; that is, they called the closely settled communities within a county or a township boroughs. These boroughs were granted charters by the governor of the colony. The first to acquire such a charter was New York, in 1686.

In the New England colonies there were no boroughs, however, for there the system of town government was regarded as satisfactory for their needs.

Where the English system of borough government was followed closely in the organization of colonial government, there was a common council. This included the mayor, the recorder, the aldermen, and the councilors. The mayor's functions were similar to those of the English mayor; he was the presiding officer of the council and head of the borough government. Nevertheless he had little independent executive power. The aldermen and councilors were usually elected by the voters of the borough and were the real governors of the community.

After the Revolution, the name *borough* was gradually replaced by the more American term *city*. The power of selecting the mayor was taken away from the governor and given to the council or to the voters themselves. New city charters were granted by the state legislature. By 1825 the council of most cities had been separated into the board of aldermen and the common council. The new idea of division of powers, which had been adopted in the Federal government, was used in city government. The position of mayor was separate from the council, and he was given specified independent powers.

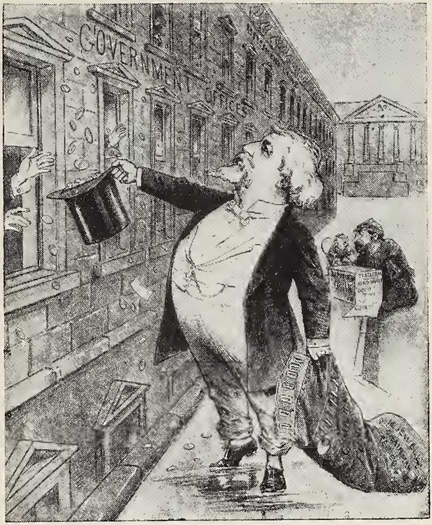


Fig. 98. This cartoon illustrates the fact that officeholders paid money to keep their jobs. Such cartoons aided the reform movement (see page 206)

From *Puck*, July 21, 1880

From 1825 to about 1870 cities grew steadily. As more people came to them, more and more territory was included within their boundaries. At the same time, two changes occurred:

First, little communities which had long been independent governments became part of the growing city.

Second, the work of the city government became more complex and diverse. New departments, or branches of government, were established and separate boards were selected to take charge of them. Among these were the board of education, the board of park commissioners, a public-library board, a health and sanitary board. Frequently these were given separate power to govern themselves, independent of the mayor and the aldermen or the city council.

The result of this piecemeal growth of cities produced by 1900 truly a state of confusion. There were innumerable boards and commissions. Consequently, overlapping of one department upon another was frequent. The park board undertook work that belonged to the board of public works. The board of public works overlapped onto the waterworks board. The result was a hodgepodge of government.

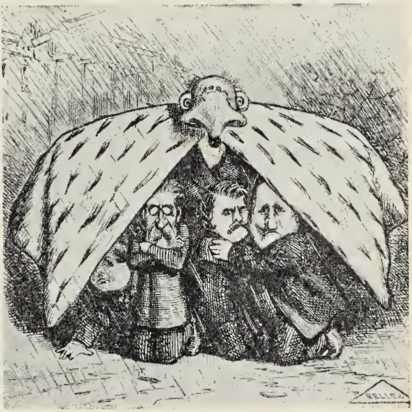


Fig. 99. Members of city rings hiding from the storm of public disapproval after the reform movements were launched

From *Harper's Weekly* February 17, 1872

At the same time the system of government grew so complicated that it became a perfect target for the spoilsman, the man who supports a political party for private gain or to obtain office for himself or his friends. It also became a target for the corrupt politician. Professional politicians took control of government all over the country. In many cases money was spent without proper planning, and much of it went into the pockets of the local politicians. In others groups known to be dishonest were organized to run the city government.

As early as 1870 one such group or ring under the gang leadership of William Marcy Tweed, a member of the state legislature, robbed the New York City treasury of about $75,000,000. Other dishonest political bosses made themselves and their friends rich at the expense of St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, Minneapolis, and other large and rapidly growing communities. Scarcely a city escaped. We could fairly draw the conclusion that the growth of large cities was everywhere accompanied by dishonesty and inefficiency in government. As cities grow still larger will this continue to be true?

ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

In the latter years of the nineteenth century the demand for reform of city government spread all over the country. One political ring after another was broken up. Grafters were driven from office, and some of the leaders were sent to prison. In various places "reform" mayors and aldermen were elected to take the places of those removed.

Many cities established a civil service. According to this system all persons desiring to get government positions had to take examinations. If successful, they were appointed to office according to proved merit. Thus the opportunities for political favoritism were decreased.

Moreover, improvements were made in the form of government. In one city after another, the hodgepodge government was replaced by a single small body, frequently called the city council. Many independent boards and commissions were abolished and their work brought under the central government as a department. As these improvements took place, the office of mayor became more and more powerful. A mayor was permitted to appoint many committees, boards, commissions, and heads of departments, and he acquired great power over lawmaking.

By 1900 considerable improvement had been made in the disorder of the city governments.

THE TYPES OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN COMMON USE TODAY

The mayor-council type is found in most of our cities

Under this plan one chief official, the mayor, is elected to direct the affairs of the community. He is aided by a council, the members of which are sometimes called aldermen. There are, also, various administrative officials and boards.

Taken all together these officials comprise the government of the community. Its principal divisions are:

1. The legislative division (aldermen, councilmen, or commissioners), which makes the laws.
2. The executive division (mayor, clerk, treasurer, engineer, assessor, heads of departments, and other employees), which carries them out.
3. The judicial division (judges and other officers of the courts), which interprets them, that is, decides what they mean.

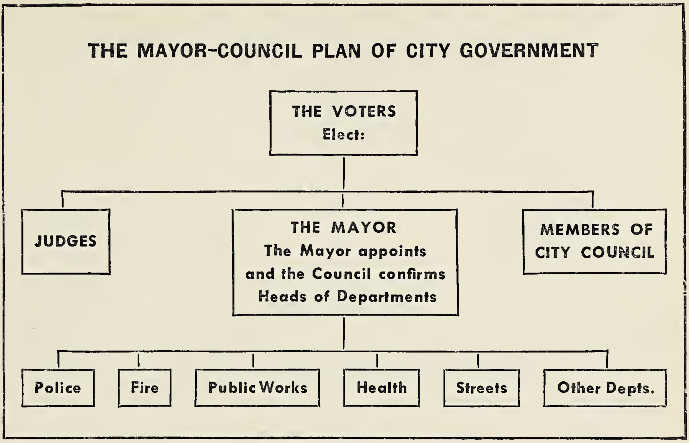

THE MAYOR-COUNCIL PLAN OF CITY GOVERNMENT
THE VOTERS Elect:
JUDGES
THE MAYOR The Mayor appoints and the Council confirms Heads of Departments
MEMBERS OF CITY COUNCIL
Police
Fire
Public Works
Health
Streets
Other Depts.

Fig. 100

Look at the chart of figure 100. It shows you the simple outlines of this plan, but it cannot really show you how complicated is city government today. There are dozens of legislators, heads of departments, assistants, engineers, clerks, draftsmen, stenographers, mechanics, and laborers. It is, indeed, a great business enterprise.

There are many faults in this system. Here are a few of them:

1. It does not choose officials who are trained and experienced in governing.
2. The emphasis is on candidates' politics rather than on business experience, and the city government is necessarily largely a business enterprise.
3. The division of authority promotes friction between the different branches of local government and creates a lack of unity. There are too many loopholes for boss rule and machine politics.
4. In such a complex system it is almost impossible to fix responsibility and to prevent dishonesty.

THE GALVESTON DISASTER BROUGHT ABOUT THE TRIAL OF THE COMMISSION PLAN OF GOVERNMENT

In 1900 a tidal wave tore over the sea wall and flooded the city of Galveston, Texas. Millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed, and nearly 5000 people were drowned. The city was without lights, water, or sewage service. Streets were torn up and

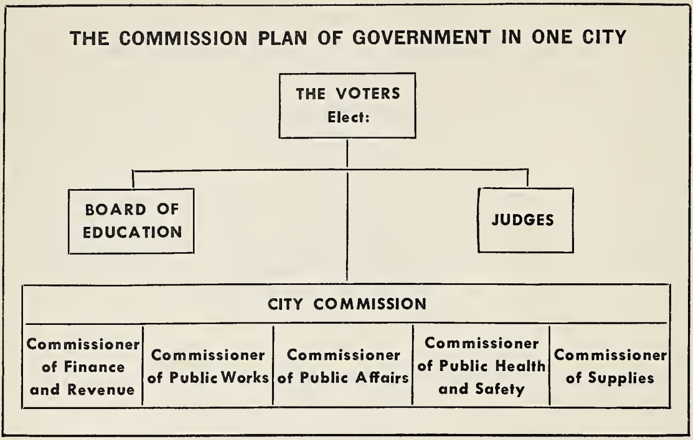

THE COMMISSION PLAN OF GOVERNMENT IN ONE CITY
THE VOTERS Elect:
BOARD OF EDUCATION
JUDGES
CITY COMMISSION
Commissioner of Finance and Revenue
Commissioner of Public Works
Commissioner of Public Affairs
Commissioner of Public Health and Safety
Commissioner of Supplies

Fig. 101

buildings collapsed or were washed from their foundations. Factories, offices, and stores were ruined. Most of the people were small wage-earners and suffered severely from the loss. Starvation and disease followed the tidal wave.

Effective relief agencies were needed at once to help the people in this emergency. Private societies and individuals donated money for food and clothing, and did all they could to relieve suffering. But to rebuild the city demanded a strong central government. It soon became clear that the men whom the people had elected to run the city under the mayor-council plan of government lacked ability to meet the gigantic problems that faced the city.

In this emergency a small body of thoughtful citizens worked out a new plan of government and persuaded the people to try it. The plan, which became known as the commission plan, proposed to abolish the control of political parties over the city and provided for a commission of trained businessmen to run the government. Each man, chosen because of his experience and skill in managing a business, was to be head of one broad department of the government. Good salaries were to be paid. Thus government by experienced and trained experts was being proposed to take the place of government by politicians.

Galveston decided to try this new plan of government, and for the first commission five businessmen were elected. The skill which they had in their own businesses enabled them to run the business of city departments more efficiently than had the former leaders. Each man devoted all his time to running his department in the best manner possible. They met together daily to discuss matters and pass necessary laws. In a short time order was re-established in Galveston.

Owing to its success there, the commission plan was adopted by Houston, Texas, in 1905. Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, and other Texas cities soon followed. The Texas Plan, as it came to be known, was discussed widely throughout the country. In 1907 four other states, Iowa, Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota, passed laws allowing cities to set up commission government. For a while the plan spread swiftly over the country.

After a few years, however, the enthusiasm of the people for a commission form of government began to die down. It was seen that the plan had defects as well as merits. The two columns below sum up both its merits and its defects.

SUMMARY OF MERITS AND DEFECTS OF THE COMMISSION PLAN

Merits	*Defects*
1. It improves on the mayor-council plan by placing responsibility in a few persons.	1. It lacks a single head to make final decisions.
2. It provides a scheme of government that the ordinary citizen can understand.	2. It has failed to make sufficient use of experts—the layman at the head of the department often deals with matters that are beyond him.
3. It is based on the principle that city government is a business affair.	3. It is not really representative; some parts of the city are often without representation.
4. It promotes harmony, promptness, and publicity in the city service.	
5. It tends to elect more efficient public servants.	

THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN

By 1917 some cities which had tried the commission plan had returned to the mayor-council system. Others adopted the city-manager plan, which was coming to the fore as "the newest and best thing in city government."

The earliest example of the city-manager plan which we have been able to find was that of Staunton, Virginia, 1907. Staunton could not adopt the commission plan because of a barrier in the state constitution. So a new idea was worked out—putting the city business under a trained and experienced manager. He was to be responsible for the strictly business duties of the community, and he was to be employed by and subject to the city council. He was to make all contracts for labor and supplies, and was to assist the council in making up the budget or expenses for running the community. A budget, as you probably know, is "a plan for spending," and it is very important for a community to know as accurately as possible how much money will be needed each year and for what. Budget-making, therefore, is a very important job.

This city-manager plan appeared to be a real improvement over the commission plan, and other small cities tried it. Sumter, South Carolina, adopted it in 1912, as did Hickory and Morgantown (North Carolina) shortly after. But it was not until another great crisis came, this time in Dayton, Ohio, that the plan was to receive nation-wide attention.

The city-manager experiment of Dayton, Ohio, 1913

While the commission plan and the city-manager plan were being tried in various parts of the country, much interest had been aroused in them in Dayton, Ohio. Under the leadership of John H. Patterson, the president of the National Cash Register Company, thoughtful citizens were arousing the people to improve their disorganized city government. By 1912 a Committee of One Hundred was working at the task of designing a new city government along the lines of the commission plan.

On March 23, 1913, the Miami River overflowed its banks and flooded the city, ruining property and leaving thousands of people

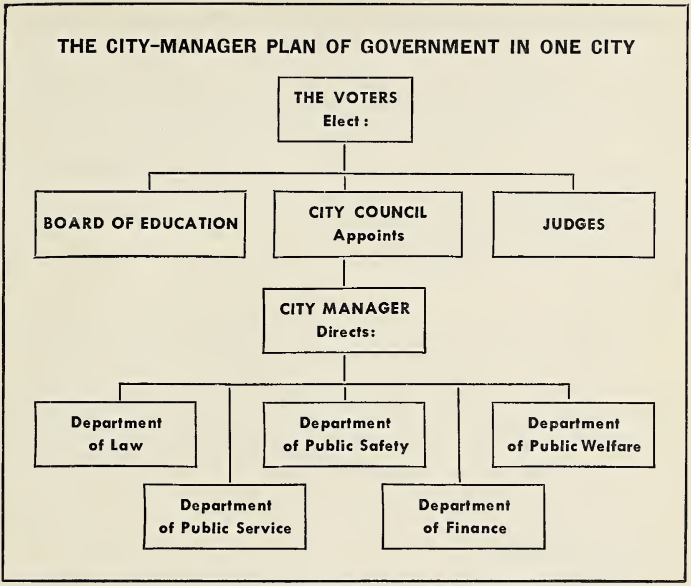

THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN OF GOVERNMENT IN ONE CITY
THE VOTERS Elect:
BOARD OF EDUCATION
CITY COUNCIL Appoints
JUDGES
CITY MANAGER Directs:
Department of Law
Department of Public Safety
Department of Public Welfare
Department of Public Service
Department of Finance

Fig. 102

in distress. Immediately there was a call for a strong emergency government. The Committee of One Hundred stepped in and successfully conducted the work of relieving the sufferers. Within two months a campaign for a new commission-manager government was put through. A new charter was secured, and the city-manager plan was definitely launched in the city.

The form adopted in Dayton was organized on a twofold plan. First, there was to be a commission to make laws, to appoint the city manager, and to discuss plans for improving government. Second, there was to be a city manager to run the business of the city. A valuable example was also set in the way the first city manager was chosen. The commission sent out inquiries all over the United States, asking for recommendations for the man best fitted for the responsible job. Mr. Henry Waite, an engineer of wide experience, was chosen.

Here, at last, was an example of running the business of a large city according to the best principles of business efficiency.

Immediately many improvements were made. City employees were chosen by means of a civil-service "merit rating" rather than by "political pull." Supplies used by various city departments were purchased openly at low wholesale prices from the lowest bidder rather than secretly at high retail prices from friends of the politicians in power. So successful was the new city administration that at the end of the first ten-year trial of the city-manager plan a long list of improvements had been achieved. Let us mention a few of them. By this plan the government

1. Reduced the cost of garbage collection from $2.60 to $1.60 a ton.
2. Placed the waterworks on a paying basis.
3. Organized the Health Department on a modern basis. This provided medical inspection in the schools and a staff of five city physicians to serve the poor who were ill, either in their homes or in public clinics.
4. Installed a modern accounting system (to show what money was used for) and a carefully worked-out budget.
5. Established a single central purchasing department and operated a central store system.
6. Reduced the infant death rate from 124 per 1000 to 67 per 1000.
7. Introduced a modern parole system for workhouse prisoners.
8. Established a home for dependent girls.
9. Established a crime-prevention bureau and a bureau of policewomen.
10. Established a free legal-aid bureau with an attorney paid by the city.
11. Bought automobile equipment for the entire fire department and established a fire-prevention bureau, thus increasing safety and reducing insurance rates.
12. Established a Civic Music League to make it possible for leading artists to be heard at popular prices.[1]

This was an important experiment in improving city government. By the end of 1913 eleven cities had adopted the plan. In 1928 there were 361 cities operating under the system in the United States and seventeen in Canada. By January, 1939, this form of government had been adopted by 453 cities in the United States.

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[1] These facts are from R. R. Woodruff's "City Manager Plan," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1928.

SUMMARY OF MERITS AND DEFECTS OF THE CITY-MANAGER PLAN

Merits	*Defects*
1. It selects the expert,—not necessarily a local man,—the best man for the job.	1. It may not be free from political and party influence.
2. It improves the administration of city business.	2. The city manager is a trained business executive. He should, but does not always, have associated with him real leaders in statesmanship.
3. It puts responsibility in one place and unifies the work of the city departments.	
4. It introduces better budget-making and accounting, makes the purchase of supplies more economical by having a single department do the buying.	

SUMMING UP THE STORY OF COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

Let us gather together the threads of our discussion of American community government. We have talked about the simple, direct, open town meeting and about the complex city government. A few communities are trying to find better and better ways of governing themselves, but most towns and cities still cling to the old ways.

Practically all communities have the power to pass laws concerning certain local matters; this has been given to them by the states in which they are located. They are permitted to have town or city officials with certain powers and duties. They may have officials—for example, council members—who pass laws, called "ordinances." These ordinances deal with education, the protection of people's lives, health, and property, and other matters which concern the local community.

You are probably wondering how this community lawmaking is actually done. Who really does the governing in each community? What part do politicians and other interested groups play in government?

Perhaps the best way to begin to answer these questions is to study two kinds of community government[1]—that in the great city, and that in the typical small city.

First, then, the great city.

The conflict between groups and individuals produces the actual, the "invisible," government

As we have learned every large city has its three powerful bodies—the great mass of voters, the special-interest groups, and the politicians. The mass of the citizens are, on the whole, too confused by the complex governmental problems of the great city to be able to carry on the work of government. They have for the most part been content to leave that work in the hands of other more interested groups.

There is not a city which lacks civic societies—for example, a City Club, a Women's City Club, a Municipal Voters' League, a League of Women Voters, a City Crime Commission, a Civic Federation, a Citizens Association. Such societies may not have these names, but they exist and are active nevertheless. And each of them, either through committees or as a body, demands special laws and special official action. A great many "improvement" societies make yearly requests for public funds to be spent on neighborhood improvements. These groups work through their committees and leaders and exert pressure upon the city officials and the various departments of the city government. Much of the improvement of community life is brought about through the influence of these organizations.

In every city there are labor groups which strive constantly to have their interests satisfied by the city government. These groups are powerful too. In many cities their membership totals several hundred thousand citizens. These people are organized in unions—some belonging to the American Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.), some to the Congress for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.); others are members of independent unions with various names. There are the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers Union, the United Auto Workers of America, and scores of others. In 1936 the Labor's Nonpartisan League was formed and developed branches in many of our large cities. Today each branch is active in city politics. The members hold regular meetings and make themselves heard. Because of the power of these many labor organizations their demands are considered very carefully.

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[1] Many of the statements in this brief account are based upon scientific researches made by such students of community government as Professor Charles E. Merriam and his associates. For more than 30 years Professor Merriam has been a close student of government in American communities. For many years he has taken an active part in the political life of his own community, Chicago, in his own state, Illinois, and in the nation as a whole.

Employers have formed groups and organizations also. The large city may have its Association of Commerce, its City and County Real-Estate Courts, a Commercial Club, a Commonwealth Club. Owners of department stores, of gas and electric-light companies, and the like, may have their own organizations. The members of all such groups are constantly looking out for their own interests. They try to secure special ordinances and special favors from the city officials. Often these groups work hard for better civic conditions when such improvements do not conflict with their personal or group desires.

There are still other powerful groups in the city—professional organizations, religious organizations, groups whose members are of one race or another, of one nationality or another. Each of these too has its special interests and desires. There is also the press, that is, the city newspapers—perhaps the most powerful group of all. Since 1933 thousands of newspaper-workers themselves have become organized in the American Newspaper Guild.

So we see that there are a great many special-interest groups in the large city, each working to bring about reforms of various kinds. They promote the passage of new ordinances and try to stop the passage of ordinances which are in conflict with their interests. They try to have public money appropriated or spent for certain purposes. In short, they are always on the alert to protect their own interests and get what they want from the city government.

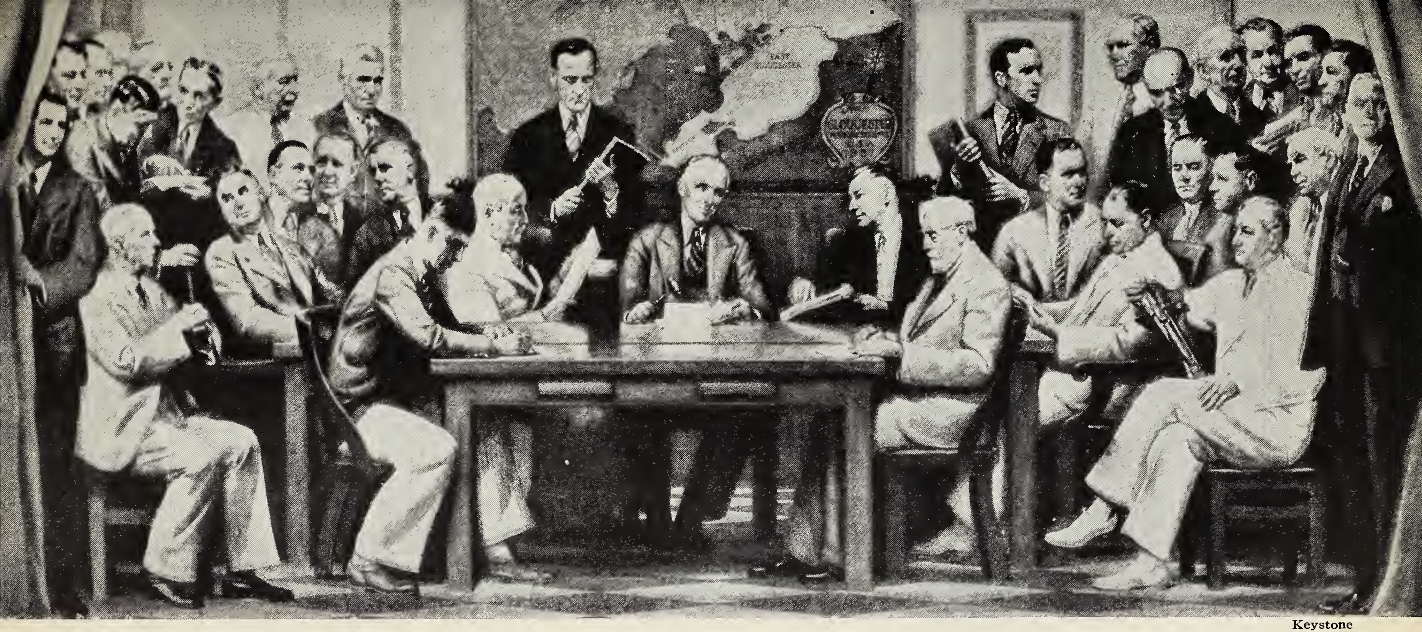
How the work of governments is carried on

Some of the work of government is carried on in full view of the public; some is carried on in secret. The actual passing of bills or ordinances is done in open meetings by each of the lawmaking branches of the city, the city council, or other governing bodies. Bills are proposed at these open meetings and then turned over to committees for study. The committees discuss the proposals fully and recommend what action they think desirable. When the bills are returned to the lawmaking body—perhaps after weeks or months of delay—they are again talked about in the open and then voted upon. If a certain number—generally the majority—of the members favor the bill, it is passed and becomes the law of the city. This carrying on of government, then, is done under the eyes of newspaper reporters, or representatives of the special groups of the city, and of any citizens who wish to attend the meetings.

Much of the real governing of the city, however, is done behind the scenes, out of the sight and hearing of the public. As has been said, all bills of any importance are given to specially appointed committees for study. In the secret meetings of these committees, a decision is generally reached as to whether or not the bill should become a law. Of course, it frequently happens that engineers, doctors, lawyers, economists, or experts in other fields, are called in to advise and inform the committee members. But the fate of almost every bill is determined in the secret committee meetings. After bills are studied there, they are often killed. This means that the committee members refuse to recommend that they be passed.

Who suggests the bills which are considered by the city council, or other lawmaking body, and its committees? Some bills are prepared by the mayor himself, who, for various reasons, wants to develop certain projects. Others are proposed by the various departments of the city government, for example, by the departments of health or education, water or streets, fire or police. Still other bills are proposed by local organizations—perhaps the Council of Churches, the Chamber of Commerce, the Real-Estate Board, or the like. Sometimes the newspapers give publicity to the need for new laws.

No matter where the bill comes from, however, it must be examined by the chief officer of the city, the council or other lawmaking body, and the invisible political machine behind the scenes. Thus a bill does not become a law merely because the community as a whole wants it or needs it. It is passed only when the special-interest groups and the controlling political machine



Keystone

Fig. 103. This mural represents a meeting of a city council. The mayor and four aldermen sit at the center table; two press representatives sit at the smaller table at the right; the city clerk and the recorder stand holding their portfolios; and the city solicitor sits at the right front. The presence of so many citizens at the sides illustrates the democratic atmosphere of such meetings, where all interested persons are free to appear

are willing to have it passed. Experienced members of city councils declare that if a proposed law appears to harm the interests of any powerful group, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to pass it.

Thus we see the personal character of the real, invisible government. It is well illustrated by the way in which aldermen of cities spend their time. Although some of it is devoted to the lawmaking needs of the community, most of it is consumed in dealing with the personal problems of people within their own wards and neighborhoods.

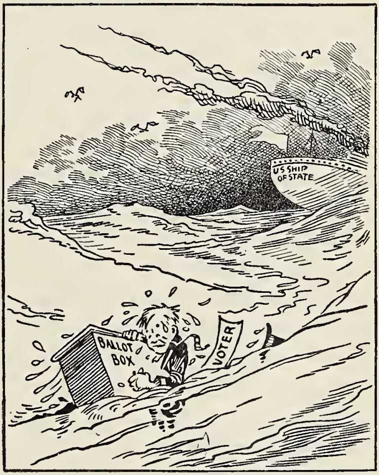
Consider some examples: There is to be a wedding, a christening, a funeral, a dance, or a picnic of citizens in the alderman's home ward. He must either attend or send the necessary congratulations or condolences. Perhaps some poor people are about to be forced to move from their home; the alderman must intercede for them and help them raise money for their rent. Scores of groups and individuals go to his office to ask for special favors. Each one of them must be dealt with as courteously as possible. A friend of a friend of the alderman, for example, has been arrested for speeding and needs help at court. The owner of a store wants to keep his business open on Sunday, even though to do so will be a violation of a city ordinance.

Frequently some demands made upon the alderman conflict with others, and he is forever trying to find satisfactory solutions. For example, the request of the storekeeper to keep his shop open on Sunday is opposed by a committee of the neighborhood church organization. The alderman must decide between two conflicting demands. The storekeeper is, perhaps, a precinct leader in his political machine and controls quite a number of votes. But the church organization controls even more. So the alderman must adjust the matter as best he can to keep harmony between his friends and political workers and the more powerful church group, which can defeat him at election time if it decides to do so.

Space is lacking to describe more fully the community government of large cities. Details are different for different cities, but the general situation is similar. Perhaps enough has been said to show that the real government is not merely what goes on in the public meetings of the lawmaking bodies. The real government is the one that goes on behind the scenes all the time.

Government in a typical small city

Similarity of Real Government in Small and Large Cities. On paper the government of the smaller community is a simpler affair than that of the large city. Since the population and area are smaller there are not as many boards, commissions, and departments.



St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Fig. 104. "Man overboard!" The bewildered voter tosses on the sea of politics while the ship of government rides on

Nevertheless, real government is carried on in much the same way. The same three human factors—the mass of the people, the special-interest groups, and the politicians—determine the real government. Also, the average voter in the smaller community is frequently uninformed concerning candidates or lawmaking needs. Before 1890 it was common in small cities to distribute sample ballots to all voters, giving the names of *all* the candidates of *all* the parties. Newspapers and other agencies printed information concerning the candidates for office. Today, however, no sample ballots are distributed, and almost no information is given in the newspapers. Requests for sample ballots in one city were met by the direction that the voter should vote for all the candidates for his party by merely marking an X opposite the symbol of his party. The symbol of the Democratic party is the star; of the Republican party, the eagle; of the Socialist party, the torch; and of the Labor party, the hammer. The practice of merely putting an X opposite the party symbol is called voting "straight." Voting for candidates of more than one party is called "scratching the ticket," or "splitting the ticket."

In other ways the voters today in many communities not only are denied information but are actually confused. For example, instead of informing the voters concerning the real issues which are to be decided at the election and helping them to judge fairly the merits of candidates, political speakers urge the voters to "vote for our leading fellow citizen" or to vote for Mr. Z because he is a "man of the people," or because he is "a real American."

TABLE XIV[1]

Per Cent of Eligible Voters of a Middle Western City Who Cast Ballots at Presidential Elections, 1888–1924

1888	87
1892	86
1916	53
1920	46
1924	40 (estimated)

Other changes since 1890 have made it increasingly difficult for a voter to cast his ballot intelligently. For example, although political reformers in many communities urge voters to choose carefully among the candidates of the parties and to vote for the best man no matter what his party, the politicians, aided by some of the leading newspapers, try to persuade the voters to vote "straight." One newspaper said in a recent campaign: "No outstanding excuse exists for anyone to scratch the ticket."

Furthermore, from more than one city come reports that voters are urged to use the new voting machines and are advised to "vote quickly." In some districts they were allowed only fifteen seconds to make their choices among hundreds of candidates for scores of offices. There is only one possible way in which this could be done in so short a time. This was to place the ballot in the machine and move the lever which marks a cross against a single political party—that is, to vote "straight."

The certain result of these changes in the community, in its government, and in methods of voting is the voter's bewilderment and lack of interest.

Table XIV shows the history of this lack of interest in a typical small Middle Western city. In 1888 about nine out of ten of the eligible voters cast their ballots; a half century later only two voters out of five took the trouble to go to the polls. Furthermore, these elections took place in years when candidates for national offices were elected—years in which one would expect the greatest interest in political affairs.

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[1] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*, p. 417. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

Another reason why the voter lacks interest in governmental affairs is that he knows there is much dishonesty in the powerful political machine. In a survey of conditions in a Middle Western state, one investigator said: "It is probably safe to say that there is not conducted in this state a city election without some sort of fraud—the buying of votes, the introduction of floaters or repeaters [those who wrongfully vote more than once], or the making of false returns in some manner or other."

Even high-school students see that there is a lack of honesty in the way political campaigns are run. In the high school in one community, a group of 500 students were asked to mark the following statement "true" or "false": "Voters can rely upon statements of facts made by candidates in campaign speeches." As large a number as 87 per cent of the high-school students marked this statement "false." Only 5 per cent marked it "true."

SUMMING UP: THE REAL GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

We here highly resolve . . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, "Gettysburg Address," November 19, 1863

Two questions confront us. The first is: Is it possible, under the present conditions of community life, to attain Lincoln's ideal of government "*of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people"?

We have studied briefly examples of actual government from the little town to the huge city. We saw that in the small community direct face-to-face discussion of government *can* take place. In such a community it is possible for a majority of the citizens really to express their will. Hence in the very small communities government *can* be not only *of* and *for* the people, but also *by* the people.

But we have also seen the steady growth of small communities into larger and larger ones. And it is likely that most communities will become larger. It seems that, whether we like it or not, the typical community of the future will be the *city*. Hence the great importance of the conclusion that stands out from our studies; namely, that as a community grows larger it becomes more and more difficult for the average citizen to understand the problems of government and to make intelligent decisions concerning them. So great does the difficulty become in the largest cities that, in the judgment of experts, direct government *by* the people is impossible.

This raises a second very important question: How can city government that is truly *of* the people and *for* the people be set up?

Our best students of city government maintain that there is but one way to do it—to introduce scientific methods into government, to turn the tasks of community government over to experts. Industries and business enterprises are turned over to experts, so why not run government in the same way?

Students of the problem ask us bluntly—

Who is best qualified to direct the waterworks of a city—politicians or trained and experienced engineers and businessmen?

Who can best direct the health department of the city—doctors who happen to be members of a political machine or trained and experienced public-health officers?

Who is best equipped to direct the fire department or the police department? Chiefs appointed because of their loyalty to the political machine or men who have made careful studies of the best methods of running such departments?

Who should plan and direct our educational systems? Good vote-getters, persons who stand well with the citizens of the community, or trained students of civilization and the educational needs of children?

To whom shall we turn over the handling of the city's annual budget of millions of dollars? To an untrained political leader or to an expert in the field of finance?

These are but a few of the questions which our best students of government are asking the citizens of America. They all direct attention to the serious need of putting government on a scientific basis.

As we have already seen, steps in that direction are already being taken. The rapid adoption of the city-manager plan in many smaller cities and towns is a striking example of it.

We know well, however, that merely a beginning has been made in the use of scientific methods in community government. Many problems remain to be solved. These we shall investigate in our further studies.

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CHAPTER X · Europe's March toward Democracy: the Advance toward Representative, Constitutional Government

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Different kinds of government today

Most of the 2,000,000,000 people on the earth today live in some 70-odd countries, and each of these countries has a government. How many different kinds of government do you think you would find among them? Are they all governed the same way? Do they have Constitutions which protect the rights of the people? Do they all have *elected* Presidents, Senators, Representatives, Mayors, and Councilmen as we do in America? Let us see.

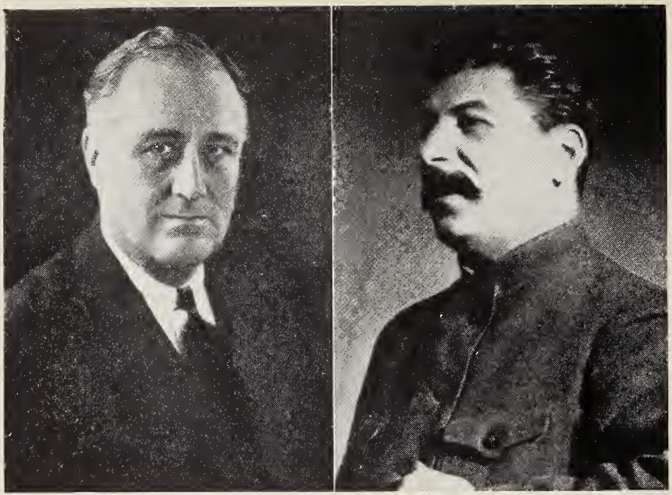
Make a kind of scale and on it arrange in order the many kinds of government that you can find around the world (see your school encyclopedia [1]). At one end put those in which a single man—a Dictator—or a very small group of men has complete rule over the people. At the other end put those in which the people govern themselves quite fully. Between these extremes put those that give the people some but not entire control over their lives and affairs. Where on this scale have you put the government of the United States? Great Britain? France? Where are those of Germany, Italy, and Russia? Let us look more closely at the different kinds of government. Perhaps the best way to begin is to consider several examples.

I. DICTATORSHIP: GOVERNMENT BY ONE MAN OR A FEW MEN

1. Germany

In Germany 85,000,000 people are now governed by one man—Adolf Hitler. Did a majority of the German people elect this man to be the head, the "Führer" or "leader," of their government? In the winter election of 1933 his political party—called

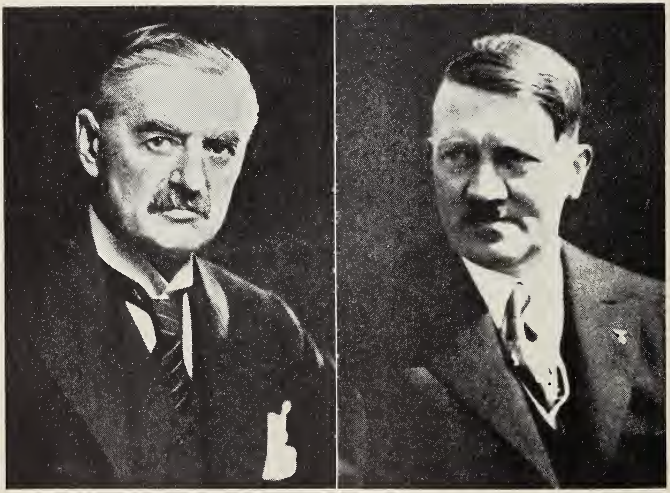
[1] See also Harold Rugg, *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*; Chapter XXIV, "How the Modern World Is Governed," especially the charts, pp. 616–633.



Keystone

Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States

Joseph Stalin
Dictator of Russia



Wide World

© International

Neville Chamberlain
Prime Minister of Great Britain

Adolf Hitler
Führer of Germany

Fig. 105. Leaders of two opposing theories of government: democracy versus dictatorship

the National Socialist German Labor Party (Nazis)—received about one third of the votes cast. By joining hands with another party Hitler was made Chancellor. That election and Hitler's rise to power were accomplished through fairly democratic methods. The people were apparently still free to choose the leaders they wanted.

But once in office Hitler and his associates (Göring, Goebbels, and a few others) abolished the German Constitution which protected the rights of the people. They sent the *Reichstag* (the elected Parliament) home and ruled as dictators. To get complete obedience from the people they used violence and terror. They imprisoned, tortured, exiled, even murdered those who opposed them in any way. They prohibited free speech, allowing not even the slightest criticism of themselves. They not only took over many of the newspapers and magazines of the country, but they forced the entire press of Germany to print only what the government approved. They refused to permit groups which were not under their supervision to meet together and discuss problems of any nature. All schools, colleges, the radio, movies—every institution fell under their own strict control.

Thus Hitler's own party, which really included only 2 or 3 per cent of all the voters, *was* the government of Germany.

Did the German people approve of this kind of government? Did they vote to keep Hitler in office? Since 1933 several "elections" have been held to give the people a chance to express their own views. But these have been mere shows. Swayed by the fear of punishment, even death, 99 per cent of them have voted to support the Hitler government.

What do you think? Do the people of Germany govern themselves? Are they living under a government "of the people, by the people, for the people"?

2. Italy

Consider Italy. In 1922 Benito Mussolini and a small political party called Fascists, totaling not over 100,000 men, seized control of the national government. They became dictators. They abolished the Italian constitution and wiped out all other political parties. For nearly two decades they have ruled Italy with an iron hand. They have exiled, imprisoned, tortured, or killed their opponents. They have stamped out free speech, free assembly, free press. No suggestions for change of program have been permitted. Schools have been compelled to teach only what the Fascist party allows.

Would you call this government "of the people, by the people, for the people"? No; in Italy as in Germany, there is no pretense of "self-government."

3. Russia

Now, let us look at the government of Russia. In 1917 a small party of Communists, called "Bolsheviks," led by Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin, seized the government of that huge country by force. They killed the Czar, his family, and some 50,000 other people who favored the old regime. They organized 2,000,000 party members (a small number in a country of over 100,000,000 grown-up people!) into one "communistic" government. A handful of men, however, were the supreme rulers over all. They abolished the Constitution, and compelled the peasants and city people to do exactly as they ordered. They permitted no discussion; the people as a whole were not allowed to make suggestions. Newspapers, schools, radio, movies—all means of communication and education were forced to support Communism. The slightest opposition meant death, or prison, or banishment to Siberia. Even hundreds of leaders who once held high positions in the Communist party were killed or exiled. After Lenin's death, Leon Trotsky himself was banished from the country, and Stalin ruled alone.

Thus Russia also has a dictatorship government—one in which all are ruled by one man or, at most, a few men. As in Germany and Italy, government is not "of the people, by the people, for the people."

4. Other examples

These, then, are three examples of government by dictatorship today—German Nazism, Italian Fascism, and Russian Communism. Were there space, more than a score of others could be added. The story could be told of the way a small party of army officers is dictating the lives of 70,000,000 Japanese. Until very recently there has been one-man rule in Turkey, that of Ataturk. Franco has established a dictatorship in Spain, largely through the help of Italian and German troops and war supplies sent by Mussolini and Hitler. In many of the so-called republics of Latin America government has for over a century been in the hands of those controlling the army.

The three examples we have given are enough to illustrate what is meant by "Dictatorship." Certainly One-Man Government has not been abolished from the earth. Even today, more than half the people of the world are permitted little or no real share in their government.

II. DEMOCRACY: "GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE"

But there are other kinds of government in the world. There are countries in which the people as a whole share in the carrying on of their national and community affairs. The United States is one; Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa; Sweden, Norway, and Denmark; Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland are others. There are kings in some of these, it is true, but they have little real power. It is sometimes said that such kings "reign, but they do not rule." Look up these two words "reign" and "rule" in the dictionary and you will understand what that means. Parliaments of political party members elected by the people play the largest part in passing laws and in carrying on the work of these governments.

There is a special word which is used to describe this form of government—*Democracy*. It is one in which *Many Men* rather than One Man or a Few Men rule the people. Our own great President Abraham Lincoln called it "government of the people, by the people, for the people." The very word "democracy" comes from two Greek words meaning "the people" and "rule."

The Greek experiment in democracy

The Greeks not only named democracy; they also made the first attempt to put it into practice. Several hundred years before Christ the citizens of the city-state of Athens had been slowly developing a democratic way of managing their affairs. By about 400 B.C. they had built up a government that Abraham Lincoln might well have called "government of the citizens, by the citizens, for the citizens."

But note carefully: the government was *of the citizens*, not *of the people*. Half of the Athenian population of 400,000 were slaves who had no control whatsoever over their lives. About half were freemen, but not even all of these were citizens. About 15,000 were "metics"—those who did not have Athenian fathers and mothers—and they were not permitted any share in the government. And although the remainder of the freemen were admitted to citizenship, most of them, about 140,000 in number, could not participate in government because they were women and children. Hence out of 400,000 men, women, and children, only about 55,000 male adults ran the affairs of the city-state.

Nevertheless it can be said that these Athenians did have the beginnings of a democracy; they did have a government in which *many people* were permitted to take active part. There was an "assembly," where all who belonged discussed and made decisions concerning important public matters. Its members also nominated candidates for office from the whole assembly, though the final choice of the officials was made by lot. In addition to the assembly there was a popular "court" consisting of 6000 male citizens, each of the ten tribes sending 600 men. The total number was then divided into ten groups, and each group served a short part of each year. Thus a part of the Athenian population, about 14 per cent, actually participated in government.

This, in brief outline, was the Greek experiment with democracy. It gave the world an object lesson in government that influenced the ideas of thoughtful men for over 2000 years. In sharp contrast to the tyrannical One-Man governments of the ancient empires, this Greek society was governed by Many Men. As long as this democracy lasted no tyrant "dictator" could oppress the free citizens and their families.

THE HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN A SLOW MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY

There are, then, two opposite plans of government: (1) Government by One Man or a Few Men, as in Hitler's Nazi government or Mussolini's Fascist government or Stalin's Communist

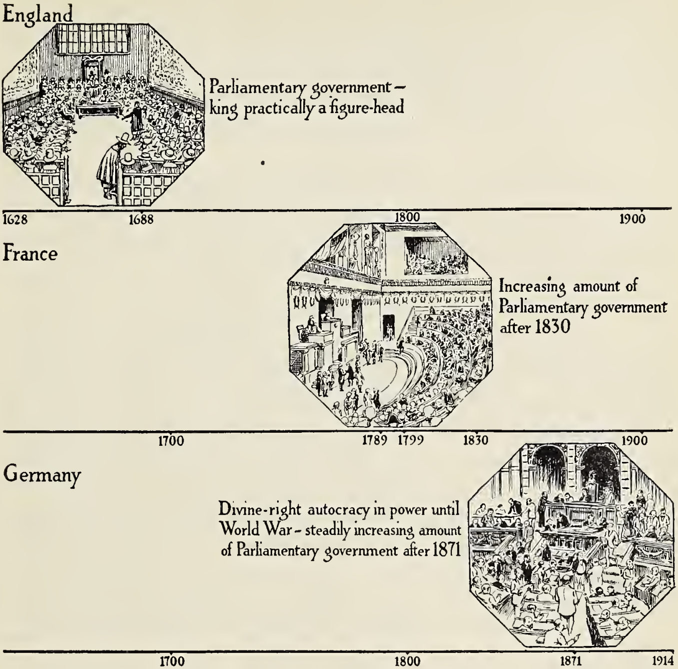

England
Parliamentary government — king practically a figure-head
1628
1688
1800
1900
France
Increasing amount of Parliamentary government after 1830
1700
1789
1799
1830
1900
Germany
Divine-right autocracy in power until World War — steadily increasing amount of Parliamentary government after 1871
1700
1800
1871
1914

Fig. 106. The growth of representative government in England, France, and Germany, 1628–1914

government; and (2) Government by Many Men, as in the government of the early Greeks or of a dozen or more democracies today. In the long history of mankind people have tried these and many other forms of governing themselves. In ancient times government generally consisted of one man or, at most, a few men. In our own times, especially since 1600, people have tried to make government democratic. In fact, the story of government in the past few hundred years has been largely the attempt to get more and more people into government. It has been a slow but fairly steady march toward democracy. To understand this thoroughly one must study the history of western Europe very carefully.

American democracy grew out of British experiments

This book is not the place to undertake a long study of European history. We shall do that in later books of this series, especially in *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures.* Here we shall concern ourselves mainly with the way government works in America. Some references to European history, however, will be helpful, for they will give a few of the important steps that certain western European countries took toward giving more of their people a voice in government.

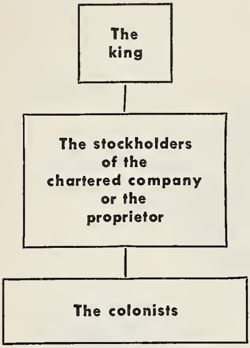


FIG. 107. The king held supreme control over the colonies. The stockholders or the proprietor of each colony ruled the colonists

Over 90 per cent of the American people are descendants of Europeans. Until the 1890's the ancestors of nearly 90 per cent of these were from western Europe—particularly from Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Germany. But up to 1790, over 90 per cent of the people who settled in America were from the British Isles—that is, English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, but mostly English. It is not difficult to understand, then, that Great Britain, and especially England, has played an extremely important part in molding our civilization, including our government.

For nearly 200 years after the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620 the people in America clung to many of their English forefathers' ways of living. They spoke the English language; in fact, Americans still do. They dressed as the English dressed. Their houses and communities resembled those in England. They worshiped in English churches. Naturally, therefore, the customs that have developed in America are much more like England's than like those of any other country.

Our government also grew up along English lines. The charters granted by the English kings determined to large degree the kind of governments that were formed in the colonies. In fact, these charters played a very important part in the making of the constitutions of our American states after the War of the Revolution. Until 1790 many of our laws were based primarily on English laws. The decisions of English judges were followed by the judges of our courts. The Bill of Rights of the American Constitution (and of the constitutions of other democracies today) is largely based on the famous British charter of liberties, the "Magna Carta."

There is no doubt, therefore, that if there had been no development of democracy in western Europe, particularly in Great Britain, the history of our own government would be very different.[1]

The great ideas in democracy

In the world's march toward democracy certain great ideas took hold of more and more people. Through the centuries they fought for these ideas, gave up their comfort, even their lives, for them.

Briefly outlined these ideas are:

1. "Rights": the idea that people are born into the world with certain "unalienable rights," rights which cannot be given away or taken away.
2. "Freedom" . . . "liberty": freedom for every man to rise to the best that is in him.
3. Equality of opportunity: the idea that each person shall be free to rise to the limits of his capacity . . . equality before the law.

THE GREAT IDEA OF LIBERTY

The central idea in the whole great march toward democracy has been "liberty."

Liberty! Is there anything more ardently desired by everyone? Freedom! Freedom to work at one's chosen occupation. Freedom to move about as one wishes. Freedom to think one's own thoughts and to speak one's own mind. Freedom to meet with others for public discussion. Freedom to write what one believes. Freedom to worship according to one's own conscience.

Taken all together the desire for freedom, for liberty, goes far toward explaining the development of life in the more democratic countries. The American Declaration of Independence, for example, definitely states that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Similarly, the American Constitution states that the American people "do ordain and establish" it in order to "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

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[1] In *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures* we shall make a careful study of the "World's March toward Democracy." See this book at this point, if you have time. It gives the history of the great democratic experiments.

TWO PRINCIPAL TYPES OF LIBERTY

There are two important types of liberty: civil liberty and political liberty.

1. Civil liberty

This includes the rights enjoyed by practically all the people of a country. They may be rights either of personal security or of personal freedom. Let us illustrate.

Every man, woman, and child in America has the legal right to live a secure life. And government—national, state, and local—is expected to protect all citizens so that they may live in safety, in good health, and in comfort. This it tries to do in many ways—by establishing legislatures, courts, departments of fire, police, health, mental hygiene, and the like, by building and operating schools, playgrounds, and parks. The right of personal security belongs to all.

In addition, all citizens have rights of personal liberty. These include:

a. The right to speak what one believes, without restriction. This is called the *right of free speech*.

b. The right to state one's own thoughts, beliefs, plans, or criticisms in writing. This is called the *right of free press*.

c. The right to meet with other persons in public or in private buildings, in streets, squares, parks, or other open places, to discuss matters of public or private interest. This is called the *right of free assembly*.

d. The right of adopting opinions on religious matters and of worshiping according to one's religious beliefs. This is called the *right of religious freedom*.

e. The right to request the government to take an action. This is called the *right of petition*.

f. The right to fair treatment by the government—for example, the *right to a fair trial in court*, with protection against illegal confinement or imprisonment.

These, then, are the chief civil rights guaranteed to all American citizens. It is possible of course for a person to violate these rights. There are limits to his exercise of them. The law stops him and punishes him when such action is necessary for the public good or when injury is being done to individuals.

2. Political liberty

But there is another kind of liberty which all citizens of America are guaranteed—*political liberty.* In fact, one cannot have civil liberty unless he also has political liberty. This is *the right to share in government*: (1) to help make public policies, (2) to vote, and (3) to hold office. Throughout modern history, the attempts of men to secure civil rights have been bound up closely with their struggle to get greater political liberty. Recall from your earlier studies the struggles for liberty in America. But remember also that long before this time people in other countries had fought for civil and political rights.

I. THE MARCH TOWARD CIVIL LIBERTY

How old is the idea that, from the moment of birth, citizens have a *right* to personal security, a *right* to speak their minds and to assemble for the purpose of free discussion, a *right* to vote and to hold office? It is really quite a new idea, even in the Western world. Certainly the Romans of less than 2000 years ago did not believe in it. It was not put into practice in Europe during the Middle Ages. Only a favored few—the kings, the nobles, and the clergy—enjoyed such rights. In fact, in most parts of Europe they were not held by the common man even as late as the 1800's. Let us look into the history of the idea of individual liberty a little more carefully.

It took centuries for this idea to develop, but slowly gains were made. From about the 1100's on, the idea spread in Europe that every man, woman, and child had certain rights to protection—that they could expect a government to protect them from murderers, robbers, disease, and fire. Then followed more hundreds of years of struggle for other rights—such as the right to take part in government and the rights of free speech, free press, and a fair trial.

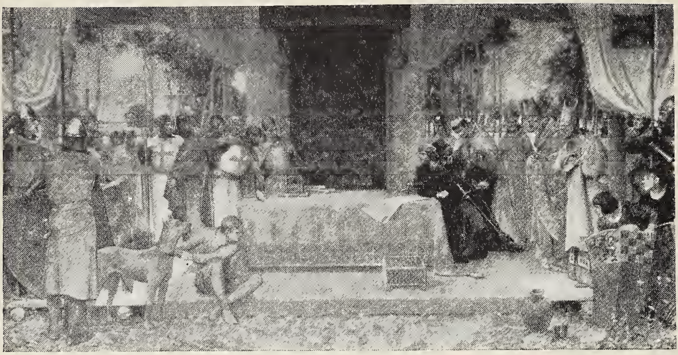

FIG. 108.[1] King John of England (1199–1216) signing the Magna Carta. This document granted certain civil rights to freemen, but no guaranty of rights was made for the serfs—the great mass of the common people

Until the 1100's most of the people of Europe were serfs, which means that they were practically slaves. They belonged to lords, who made them stay and work on the land. However, as the centuries passed, these serfs obtained more and more freedom to move about, to go where they chose. By 1600, especially in England, freedom to move about was well established.

Some beginnings had been made in the direction of giving the common people other kinds of freedom also.

Up to the 1200's the kings and other rulers of the countries of Europe had absolute power over the people. What the rulers commanded the people to do, they did. But gradually other influential citizens—well-to-do clergy, landowners, and nobles—began to force the kings to give them certain liberties. For example, in 1215 a number of barons and landowners made the king of England sign the famous Magna Carta. This provided that only certain taxes could be levied, that justice could not be sold or denied, that a man could not be unjustly deprived of his liberty or property. Today the Magna Carta is considered one of the great documents in the world's march toward democracy, even though when it was put into force it really gave guarantees of freedom only to a few influential people.

The 1600's were especially famous years in the story of democracy. It was in that century that businessmen as well as landowners, the clergy, and nobles won new liberties from the kings. For example, in England the Petition of Right, signed by the king in 1628, and the Bill of Rights (1689), and the Toleration Act of 1689 gave all English citizens such civil liberties as freedom of speech, guarantees against unfair imprisonment, right of trial by jury, freedom of worship.

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[1] From a painting by Albert Herter in the State Capitol of Wisconsin.

Thus by the beginning of the 1700's the individual was guaranteed many rights of civil liberty.

II. THE MARCH TOWARD POLITICAL FREEDOM

What of the common man's fight for political freedom? When did he come to share actively in his government?

The tremendous power which kings held over the people of Europe was beginning to decline as early as the 1200's, especially in England. Little by little the rich property-owners and then the small property-owners were allowed to share in government. In England two Houses of Parliament were formed—an important step toward building government upon the principle of "the consent of the governed," though until the 1600's Parliament did little more than approve the acts of the king.

Fig. 109. The distribution of the English people in the year 1300 according to their right to vote. The upper bar represents the per cent of people who were entitled to vote. The lower bar represents the per cent who had no vote

But in the 1600's and 1700's world trade and business developed with great speed. And it was the new businessmen who did most for the development of *political* democracy in Europe. Becoming ever more powerful in business life they demanded that they too be given a share in government. And it was they who finally put an end to the absolute rule of the kings.

As the businessmen rose to strength in government, so also the working people, in the 1800's and early 1900's, demanded and secured new rights. Laws were passed which gave more and more people the right to vote. For example, in England, the Reform Bill of 1832 raised the per cent of the people who could vote. Another bill (1867) increased the per cent a little more. Some 2,000,000 agricultural workers were given the ballot in 1884. By the time of the World War in 1914 about four out of every five Englishmen could vote. Finally, in 1918, the women of England were given the suffrage.

SUMMING UP

Thus we see that in more than 1000 years the rights of all the people to two great kinds of liberty have been established:

1. The right to important *civil liberties.*
2. The right to important *political liberties.*

Step by step as the long struggle advanced the people generally became free.

On the side of *civil liberties* the British people [1] received:

a. The right of free speech.
b. The right of a free press.
c. The right of free assembly.
d. The right to petition the government on any matter.
e. The right to religious freedom.
f. The right to a fair trial in court and to protection against illegal confinement.

On the side of *political liberties* there were great gains:

a. Political liberty and religion. In earlier times only members of recognized churches could vote and hold offices. Now there are no religious restrictions.

b. Political liberty and the ownership of property. Formerly only persons owning a stated amount of property could vote and hold office. Now there are no such laws.

c. Political liberty with respect to sex. Formerly only men had the right to suffrage. Now women as well as men can vote.

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[1] We have confined our brief story chiefly to the efforts of the British people to free themselves. We must remember that during the same centuries the people of France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and other European countries were also opposing their rulers and demanding more rights.

III. BUILDING THE BRITISH CHARTER OF LIBERTIES WAS LIKE MAKING A CONSTITUTION

Another way to sum up the whole vast march toward democracy is to remind ourselves that during these centuries people were really building *constitutional* government. "Constitutional government"? you ask. "Is this still another name for our democratic way of government?"

Yes, but it really does not add a new idea. You know already what a constitution is. It is a written plan of government that is accepted by the people as the supreme law of the country.

The constitution of a country generally states: (1) the rights of the people; (2) the plan of government—that is, how laws are to be made, carried out, and interpreted. It names the chief officers, their powers and duties. It is the "frame of government."

It is interesting to note that the making of the constitutions of many countries has been greatly influenced by the development of government in Great Britain. The British Bill of Rights has been copied time after time.

IV. FROM MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY

Finally we can sum up the march toward democracy by describing briefly the different kinds of government which developed in Europe as the centuries passed. One-Man Government gradually gave way to government by more and more men. Century by century the people of the world moved closer to real democracy—government "of the people, by the people, for the people."

1. Monarchy: The rule of one

Since the time of the early Greeks, Europeans have named the various kinds of government after Greek words. History shows that most people of the earth have at one time been ruled by some form of One-Man Government. In European history a One-Man Government has been called a "monarchy," from two Greek words which mean "one" and "rule." Thus monarchy means the "Rule of One." Regardless of whether the ruler is called King, Emperor, Duke, Count, Duce (leader), Fuhrer (leader), or by another name, he is a monarch—a single ruler.

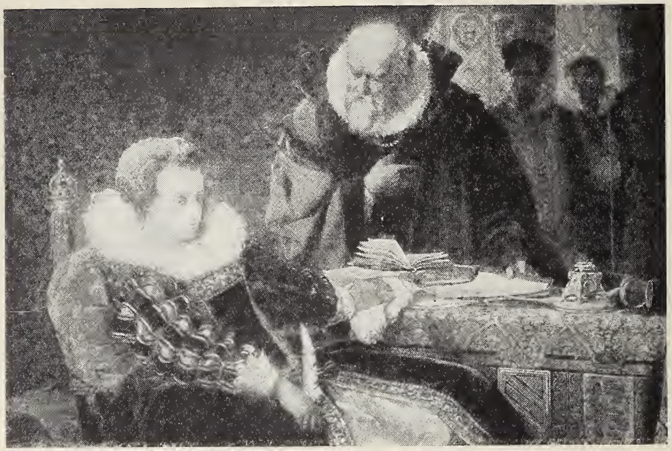

Fig. 110. Elizabeth, queen of England from 1558 to 1603, was the daughter of Henry VIII. She was the last and greatest of the Tudor sovereigns

Hereditary Monarchy. Moreover, in most countries throughout recorded history the monarch has inherited his rule. When the "King" died the oldest living son rose to the throne. On such an occasion a government "crier" announced on the streets of the capital city: "The King is dead! Long live the King!" If the king had no living sons, the oldest daughter inherited the throne. If there were no daughters then the rule passed to the nearest blood-relation, as defined by law. If the heir to the throne was not of age, a "regent" was generally appointed by the supreme royal council. This regent served in the heir's place until he or she was old enough to take over the rule.

Absolute Monarchy. This is complete One-Man rule. Louis XIV, King of France from 1643 to 1715, was such an absolute ruler. He was so powerful that no act of his was or could be questioned. To oppose him in any way meant imprisonment or exile, perhaps torture and death. Louis made the laws and issued the decrees; all legal or moral questions were settled by him. He decided everything. He decided on the amount of taxes to be collected from the people. In fact, his personal bank account *was* the na-

Keystone

FIG. 111. George VI and Elizabeth, "limited" monarchs of the British Empire

tional treasury. He could spend the nation's money as he saw fit—for war, for conquest, for peaceful improvement of the country, for schools or art, even for his own comfort or luxurious living.

Louis XIV, then, is a good example of the absolute monarch. His long reign was a "dictatorship," a one-man government. Throughout all history, dictators have ruled peoples in different parts of the earth. European history reveals many of them. There are some even today. Thus, for thousands of years most of the peoples of the earth have lived in monarchies, and sometimes these were of the absolute, One-Man, type. As late as the eighteenth century there were absolute monarchies in Europe and Asia. In Germany, in Austria, in Russia, and in other countries kings and emperors ruled with unquestioned powers.

Limited Monarchy. With the exception of The New Dictators (Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and a few others) there are no absolute monarchies; certainly there are no such "hereditary" monarchies. Instead there are "limited" monarchies—that is, kings or emperors with very limited powers. King George VI of Great Britain, King Gustaf of Sweden, and King Leopold of Belgium are "limited" monarchs. In each of these countries parliaments elected by the people have the real governing power. They make the laws and appoint the officials to carry them out. They decide legal disputes. Under a limited monarchy the king is more or less a figurehead, a kind of symbol of the central power of the government. Though in most of these monarchies there is real affection for the reigning kings and queens, there is no doubt in anyone's mind that the sovereigns have lost their power to interfere with lawmaking or government in general.[1]

2. Oligarchy: The rule of the few

Frequently, throughout history, a reigning monarch has depended on a small group of strong leaders for advice and assistance in governing. In some cases, indeed, the single ruler was not strong enough to rule alone and several other leaders divided the work of the government among them. The Greeks had a name for this kind of government also. They used two words meaning "few" and "rule"; from these has come our word "oligarchy."

Four hundred years before Christ, the name oligarchy was given to a government by the wealthy people—that is, the well-to-do landowners and the businessmen. In fact throughout much of man's history government has been largely in the hands of the owners of property. Today we call this kind of government "plutocracy," another name that has come from two Greek words meaning "wealth" and "rule." There are students today who maintain that the governments of Great Britain, France, and several other industrial countries are plutocracies. We shall study this problem carefully in later years.

3. Aristocracy: The rule of "the best"

There has been another kind of oligarchy, in which only a few people govern the masses. This is called "aristocracy." The name comes from two Greek words meaning "the best" and "rule." Thus aristocracy has been regarded as government by "the best people." By "the best people" the Greeks meant those individuals of highest perfection, those with the most intelligence and strongest character. The Greek philosophers and many other great thinkers since their time believed aristocracy to be the most desirable kind of government. Only a few of the people of each city or country, they said, possessed the brains and wisdom needed to govern well, to be true leaders. The masses, they insisted, lacked the needed ability, and so should be forced to submit to being governed by others.

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[1] Appendix B gives a list of limited monarchies in the world today.

Time after time throughout history ambitious business people captured control over government. That happened in the 1200's in Venice. It happened in Florence, Italy, during the 1300's when the rich Medici family was in power. It happened also in Augsburg, Germany, under the rich Fuggers of the 1300's and 1400's; in Amsterdam under the Bickers, the Buicks, the Bams, and others; in England in the 1600's at the time of the Greshams.

Thus "history repeated itself"—the rich ruled the rest of the people. And in many cases aristocracy, or government by the best, has really been plutocracy, or government by the wealthy.

4. Democracy

A glance back over the history of government will reveal that Monarchy, the Rule of One, and Oligarchy, the Rule of the Few, have slowly given way to more and more Democracy, the Rule of the Many. Step by step a larger and still larger proportion of all the people have been given a voice in government. Steadily their civil liberties of movement, free speech, free press, free assembly, trial by jury, and the like, have been established. Slowly their right to vote, to share in making public policies, and to hold office in government has been guaranteed.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

CRICHTON, FRANCES E. Peep-in-the-World. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. The story of an English girl visiting her uncle's castle in Germany.

DAVIS, W. S. Life on a Medieval Barony. Harper & Brothers, New York. An excellent book on life in the typical community of the thirteenth century.

FINNEMORE, JOHN. Germany (Peeps at History Series). The Macmillan Company, New York. A short, interesting narrative of important events in the political and military history of Germany.

GEORGE, CARRIE L. How the World Is Ruled. Thomas S. Rockwell Company, Chicago. Easy to read.

GOULD, KENNETH MILLER. Windows on the World. Stackpole Sons, New York. Chapter XIII gives the story of how people took government out of the hands of kings and fought for the right to vote.

HILL, MABEL. Liberty Documents. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Evolution of constitutional government from Henry I to the present.

MARTINEAU, HARRIET. The Peasant and the Prince. Ginn and Company, Boston. Describes the conditions in France which brought about the Revolution.

QUENNELL, MARJORIE and C. H. B. A History of Everyday Things in England (1066–1799). Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Contains fine descriptions of life in England from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.

SWIFT, LUCIUS B. How We Got Our Liberties. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

TAPPAN, E. M. When Knights Were Bold. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Picture of life in castles and manors, monasteries and towns, during the Middle Ages.

VAN BERGEN, ROBERT. The Story of Russia. American Book Company, New York. Excellent account of Russia's history.

VAN LOON, HENDRIK WILLEM. The Story of Mankind. Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York.

Foreign Policy Association. "Changing Governments" and "Dictatorship." Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City. Pamphlets on government in France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and Denmark.

Chapter XI · American Constitutional Government: What It Is and How We Got It

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We have taken the time to tell a little about the development of democracy in England because, as we said before, American government was modeled very much along the lines of British government. Until well into the 1800's our customs were essentially British. The charters of our colonial governments were written by British statesmen and signed by British kings. Our laws were based upon British laws. The American Constitution itself largely followed the framework of the British charter of liberties and other documents of British legal history. We are now in a position to see clearly what government in our America is, and how it developed.

GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA IS CONTROLLED BY WRITTEN CONSTITUTIONS

One difference between our own government and that of Great Britain is worth noting. Our national Constitution is a single written document; the British Constitution is not. Turning to Appendix A you can see (1) that our Constitution covers 16 printed pages—some 10,000 words; and (2) that it consists of 7 original Articles (24 Sections) and 21 Amendments. Here, in one single written document, is a definite statement of the supreme law of our country.

There is no single constitution in Great Britain which states definitely how the people are to be governed. The supreme law of that country is written in a great many documents. The Great Charter (1215) is one. . . . The Petition of Right (1628) is another. . . . The so-called "Bill of Rights" (1688) is still another. These three great charters of British liberties are part of "the British Constitution." Still another part is the tens of thousands of laws passed by Parliament and the thousands of decisions made by British courts.

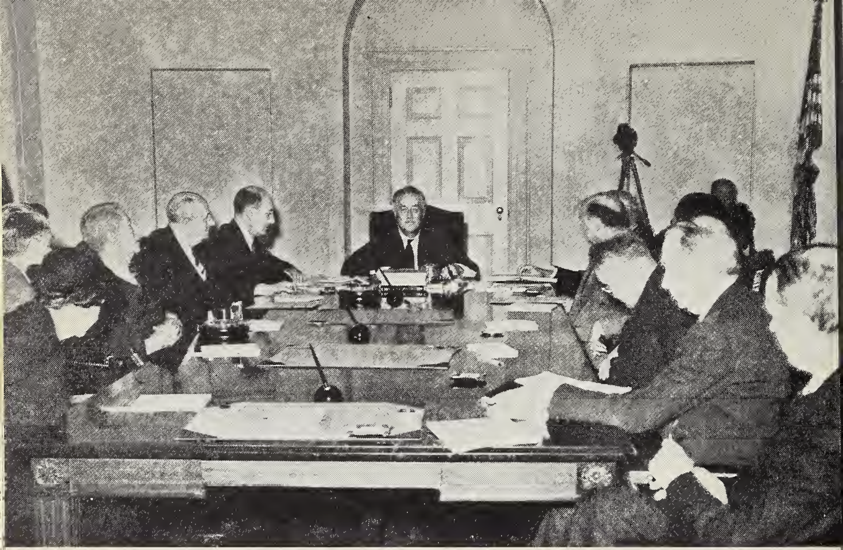

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Fig. 112. The thirty-second President of the United States and his Cabinet

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Fig. 113. The Cabinet of the first President of the United States

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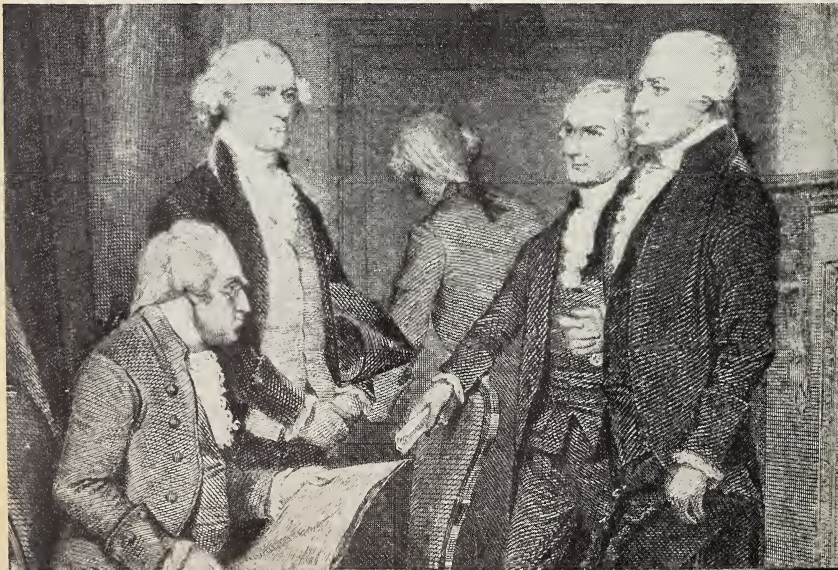

This is not to say, of course, that the British government is not a Constitutional Government. It was perhaps the very first modern one in the world, and the others that exist have to a large degree been based upon it. In a real sense there is a British Constitution, but it has never been briefly summarized in writing as have the constitutions of most modern governments.

If we are to understand our government and how it works we must know the provisions set down in our American Constitution.

WHAT DOES THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION DO?

From your earlier studies and from Appendix A you know that the American Constitution does three things:

1. It describes the form, or framework, of our government, stating the offices and officers in charge of national affairs, who are eligible to hold these offices, their powers, and the like.
2. It states exactly what the departments and offices of government may and may not do.
3. It tells exactly how the Constitution may be amended.

Let us note some of the details of the Constitution. It has 7 Articles and 21 Amendments. The first three Articles give in respective order the organization and operation of the three Departments of government—Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

Article I states the membership and chief offices of the two Houses of Congress, and what the qualifications of their members must be. It tells how vacancies shall be filled and sets the conditions for impeachments. It states how the two Houses shall operate, how laws are to be made and passed. It describes what powers are and are not granted to Congress, and what ones are forbidden to the States.

Article II deals with the offices of the President and the Vice-President, stating their necessary qualifications, how they are elected, their term of office, what happens in case of vacancies, their powers and duties.

Article III deals with the United States courts—the Supreme Court and the other Federal courts.

Article IV regulates the relations of the states to each other.

Article V states exactly how the Constitution is to be amended.

Article VI states definitely that the Constitution is the "supreme law of the land." It tells how all public debts made before the adoption of the Constitution were to be recognized, and provides for oaths of office which officers of government must take.

Article VII states exactly how the original Constitution was to be ratified.

These seven Articles were the original American Constitution. Only eleven pages long, they can be read in half an hour.

HOW THE CONSTITUTION WAS MADE

In the hot summer months between May and September of 1787 fifty-five leaders from twelve of the original thirteen states[1] met in Philadelphia to draw up the American Constitution. Included were some of the most brilliant and patriotic Americans. There was the popular and successful general of the Revolution, George Washington. The famous scientist, inventor, writer, publisher, elderly philosopher, and diplomat of the colonies, Benjamin Franklin, was there. Alexander Hamilton, thirty-year-old genius of business and finance, and the young James Madison, often called "The Father of the Constitution," attended. The Morrises, businessmen of Pennsylvania . . . the Pinckneys of South Carolina . . . the brilliant young Edmund Randolph of Virginia . . . and the successful Northern businessmen Rufus King and Roger Sherman—these and others of prominence were on hand. It was a gathering of prosperous, well-to-do businessmen and political leaders who had proved their patriotism, courage, and ability in the quarter century of successful revolution against the British government. They were property-owners—owners of large estates, of industry and shipping, of retail and wholesale trade, of banking.

The Americans wanted a written constitution

The 55 Americans who met in Philadelphia wished to describe exactly in a written Constitution the framework and working of the new government. Why did they want a *written* Constitution?

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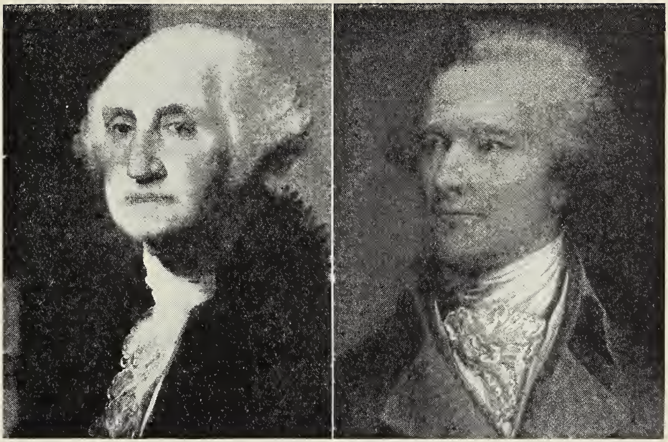
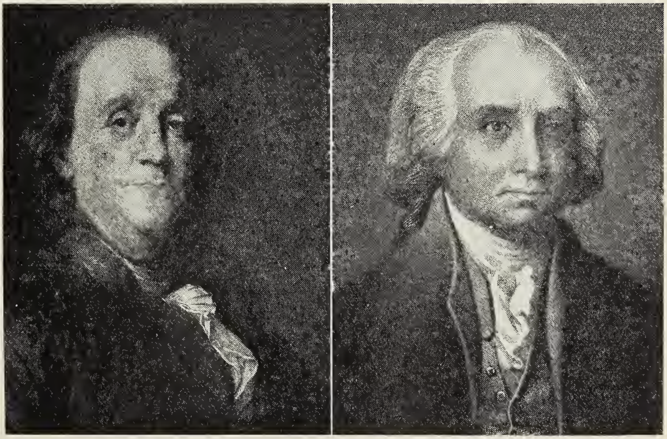
[1] Rhode Island sent no delegates to the convention.



WASHINGTON HAMILTON



FRANKLIN MADISON

FIG. 114. Four men who played a leading part in the formation of the United States Government

In 1000 years of developing democratic government the British people had never made a written constitution.

There were several reasons. Some of these had grown out of the century and a half of relations with Great Britain. Others had to do with the unsettled living conditions of the new states. Still others grew out of the jealousy and friction which existed between the separate states. It was all these reasons taken together—no one of them alone—that led our leaders to put our Constitution into written form. One eminent European described it as "the noblest act ever struck off by the hand of man."

The Americans were accustomed to "charters" and "bills of rights"

Remember that these Constitution-makers were descendants of British freemen whose civil and political liberties had been clearly guaranteed by signed documents. The statement of liberties and rights in England had been in the process of formation for more than five and a half centuries. Every Act, Petition, Bill, and Charter—from the Magna Carta in 1215 on—had contributed to it. Naturally, therefore, the idea of written charters was firmly established in the minds of the makers of our Constitution.

Moreover, the practice of protecting rights in written charters was followed in the granting of land to companies of business adventurers who settled the colonies. For example, there is the story of the charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony. John Winthrop and his friends hid it in a trunk for a long time while they ruled the Colony as a little dictatorial oligarchy. Finally, however, the other "freemen" of Massachusetts Bay succeeded in getting it out of Winthrop's trunk and discovered that in it their right to take part in making laws had been stated very clearly. From then on Massachusetts' government became more and more democratic as larger and larger numbers of freemen took part.

Most of the other colonies had similar charters which stated in writing how government was to be carried on. Thus in a century and more the colonists had become thoroughly accustomed to the idea that their governmental affairs should be carried on in accordance with stated laws. In fact, in some colonies—Connecticut and Rhode Island, for example—the colonists made their own charters. Rhode Island planned its own frame of government, including in it provision for a legislature elected by the people and a bill of rights guaranteeing freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and so on. The King of England had accepted this, had "granted" it to them. So it was that by 1787 "Chartered," or "Constitutional," self-rule had become a habit in the colonies and new states.

The states had made State Constitutions

It is not difficult to understand, then, why the new states drew up written State Constitutions soon after the control of England was thrown off by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. They had been governed by written charters for 100 years.

Most of the new states followed the example set by Massachusetts in 1780. In brief this is how they went about making their state constitutions: A Constitutional Convention was held of delegates elected by the people of the various towns in the state. These delegates debated, drew up a written document, revised it, and finally adopted it. It was then sent to the people of each town. There it was discussed in town meetings and voted upon; at last it was approved, or ratified. Finally, the Constitutional Convention met again and made a public proclamation that the new Constitution was now the law of the land.

The Confederacy of thirteen independent states (1783–1789) failed

By the time the national convention was called in Philadelphia in May of 1787 many of the states had already been carrying on independent government under self-made Constitutions. This really served to separate the states, to hamper the binding of them together into one unified country. Each state was so accustomed to thinking of its government as its own affair, of considering itself its only "homeland," that there was little feeling for "America" as a country. A citizen tended to say: "I am a Virginian, and proud of it!" or "I am from Massachusetts, the Bay State!" or "I am from Rhode Island, Roger Williams's state!" or "I am a Pennsylvanian!"

This feeling was also shown in many business and political matters. The farmers, the craftsmen, the merchants, the bankers in one state were jealous of those in another. In some cases, the friction between states became so great that state legislatures passed laws requiring duties to be paid on goods crossing their borders.

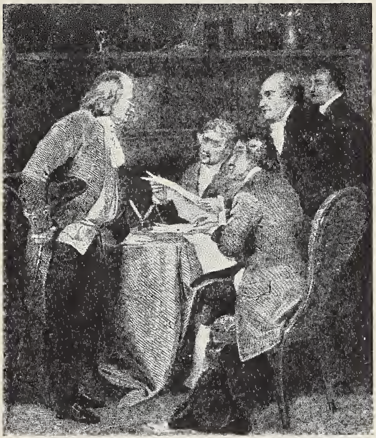

Keystone

Fig. 115. Drafting the Declaration of Independence

And certainly the existing national government was not helping matters any. This had been set up in 1777, during the second year of the Revolutionary War. The Second Continental Congress had been organized and it proposed a plan—a kind of "Constitution," called "The Articles of Confederation." Its purpose was to join the thirteen states in a "Confederacy"; the union was, in fact, actually called "The Confederacy." But this was little more than a "league of nations," a federation of thirteen independent states.

Under the Articles of Confederation the central government was weak and unable to solve successfully the many difficult domestic and foreign problems. For example, it had

1. No power to enforce its laws.
2. No power to raise money and provide an army and navy.
3. No power to control business between states.

The new Constitution created a strong central government

Knowing the weakness of the government established in 1777, General George Washington, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and other leaders tried for several years to get a real national conference of representatives from all the thirteen states which would build a strong central government. After several failures, they achieved success: the Constitutional Convention was held in 1787.

General Washington presided over the long-drawn-out deliberations. James Madison, the young "walking encyclopedia," kept a careful and full record of what took place. The youthful Alexander Hamilton and the aged Franklin were brilliant and tireless workers. Indeed the whole convention was filled with valiant and hard-working patriots.

For four months the delegates argued out their differences, which as we know, were many. Finally the document—the American Constitution—was completed. It was signed by 39 of the men present and sent to the thirteen states to be ratified. Five states approved it within a month, but the others delayed. In June, 1788, however, when nine had ratified it, the new country—"The United States of America"—was born.

But this government created by the new Constitution was not a mere confederation; it was a real central *national* government. The former Continental Congress was replaced by a "National Congress." The new Constitution distinguished very clearly between the powers of the national government and those of the states, and the states had to give up certain powers that they had jealously held on to under the Confederacy. The national government was given the power:

1. To issue money and to levy Federal taxes.
2. To regulate all business *between* states and with foreign countries.
3. To provide a national army and navy.
4. To make national laws by a Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives.
5. To execute and interpret national laws.

To the individual states was left the management of such things as: (1) education; (2) all questions concerning property, industry, and trade; (3) decisions as to who can vote and hold state offices; (4) the making of state laws.

To the local governments in towns, cities, and counties, the state governments left the management of such things as: (1) protecting lives and property through departments of police, fire, health, streets, and the like; (2) local education; (3) regulating local trade, transportation, and such public services as telephone, water supply, and the like.

Thus, the leaders of the Constitutional Convention created a central national government with power behind it to enforce its decisions. This government could deal with "American citizens" directly, not with Virginians, Pennsylvanians, South Carolinians, and so forth. And it had *strength.* Its powers were clearly defined. It had a complete body of officials to make laws and to carry them out. It had a system of courts, judges, police officials, and the like to interpret and enforce the laws.

But the Constitution-makers had omitted the "Bill of Rights"!

So intent had these leaders been on creating a *strong central* government that they had neglected to include what had always been regarded as the very basis of British liberties. They said nothing about the rights, the liberties, of individual Americans! The so-called Bill of Rights, which Englishmen had been 1000 years establishing, was entirely missing in the original draft of our Constitution.

So—the first ten Amendments

When the original draft of the Constitution was sent to the states to be ratified, a great protest was heard: "What about our rights! They haven't been mentioned!" The Constitution-makers replied that a Bill of Rights was not necessary because the national government had been given only certain expressly stated powers, and that the various state constitutions fully protected the rights of individual citizens. But the protest continued and grew so loud that the Constitution-makers agreed that several amendments would be added to provide for these rights when the first elected officials took office. In 1791 Congress proposed and the states ratified the first ten Amendments to the Constitution. These have since been known as the "Bill of Rights" of the American people. Read them again in Appendix A. They guarantee our civil liberties —free religion, free speech, free press, free assembly, free petition, trial by jury, and the like—and are stated in almost the very words used in the British Bill of Rights.

One of the most difficult questions concerning democracy

In the making of the American Constitution, the leaders ran square into an age-old controversy about government. Such ques-

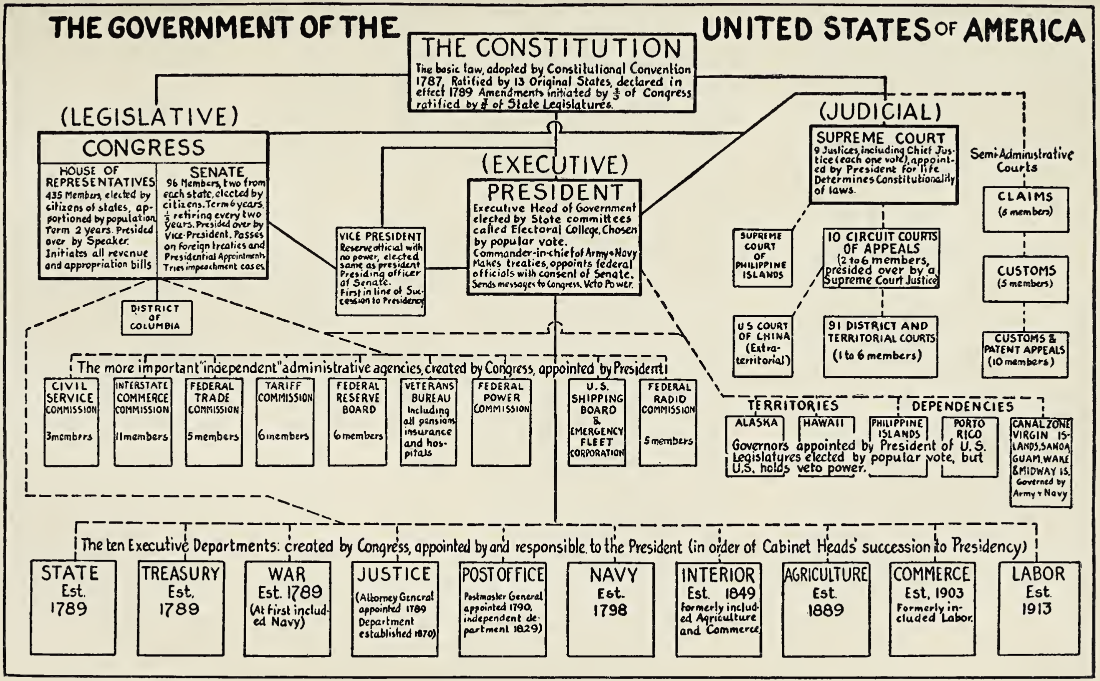

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE CONSTITUTION
The basic law, adopted by Constitutional Convention 1787, Ratified by 13 Original States, declared in effect 1789 Amendments initiated by ⅔ of Congress ratified by ¾ of State Legislatures.
(LEGISLATIVE)
CONGRESS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
435 Members, elected by citizens of states, apportioned by population Term 2 years. Presided over by Speaker. Initiates all revenue and appropriation bills
SENATE
96 Members, two from each state, elected by citizens. Term 6 years. ⅓ retiring every two years. Presided over by Vice-President. Passes on foreign treaties and Presidential Appointments Tries impeachment cases.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
(EXECUTIVE)
PRESIDENT
Executive Head of Government elected by State committees called Electoral College, Chosen by popular vote. Commander-in-chief of Army + Navy Makes treaties, appoints federal officials with consent of Senate. Sends messages to Congress. Veto Power.
VICE PRESIDENT
Reserve official with no power, elected same as president Presiding officer of Senate. First in line of Succession to Presidency
(JUDICIAL)
SUPREME COURT
9 Justices, including Chief Justice (each one vote), appointed by President for life Determines Constitutionality of laws.
SUPREME COURT OF PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
10 CIRCUIT COURTS OF APPEALS
(2 to 6 members, presided over by a Supreme Court Justice)
U S COURT OF CHINA (Extra-territorial)
91 DISTRICT AND TERRITORIAL COURTS
(1 to 6 members)
Semi-Administrative Courts
CLAIMS (6 members)
CUSTOMS (5 members)
CUSTOMS & PATENT APPEALS (10 members)
TERRITORIES
DEPENDENCIES
ALASKA
HAWAII
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
PORTO RICO
Governors appointed by President of U.S. Legislatures elected by popular vote, but U.S. holds veto power.
CANAL ZONE VIRGIN ISLANDS, SAMOA, GUAM, WAKE & MIDWAY IS. Governed by Army + Navy
The more important "independent" administrative agencies, created by Congress, appointed by President
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION 3 members
INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION 11 members
FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION 5 members
TARIFF COMMISSION 6 members
FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD 6 members
VETERANS BUREAU Including all pensions, insurance and hospitals
FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION
U.S. SHIPPING BOARD & EMERGENCY FLEET CORPORATION
FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION 5 members
The ten Executive Departments: created by Congress, appointed by and responsible to the President (in order of Cabinet Heads' succession to Presidency)
STATE Est. 1789
TREASURY Est. 1789
WAR Est. 1789 (At first included Navy)
JUSTICE (Attorney General appointed 1789 Department established 1870)
POST OFFICE Postmaster General appointed 1790, independent department 1829)
NAVY Est. 1798
INTERIOR Est. 1849 formerly included Agriculture and Commerce
AGRICULTURE Est. 1889
COMMERCE Est. 1903 Formerly included Labor.
LABOR Est. 1913

FIG. 116

tions as the following pressed for answer: "Do the people have the ability to govern themselves?" . . . "Do they have the intelligence to form sound judgments?" . . . "Can the people be depended on to make their own public policies?"

These are questions that have confronted students of government throughout all of man's history. In later years you will study the problems involved in these questions more thoroughly than we can do now. At this point, however, we should remind ourselves that there are and have always been two sides to the controversy.

Let us see how the opinions of the "Fathers of the Constitution" were divided.

The American leaders split over "how much democracy"

We can say that the makers of the Constitution belonged to two groups: (*a*) the aristocrats and (*b*) the democrats. The aristocrats, led by the young Alexander Hamilton, far outnumbered the democrats. In fact the real leader of the democrats, Thomas Jefferson, was not in the Constitutional Convention at all; at the time he was representing the new government in France. And several other leaders who inclined more toward democracy in government were also absent.

Most of the delegates taking part in the convention, therefore, were men who feared "too much democracy." They were convinced that the mass of the people must not be given too free a hand in government. They believed that only a few people had enough ability and judgment to make national policies, to devise and interpret the laws, and to carry them out. Only the "best people" can do these things wisely, they said: only "the rich, the wise, and the good," to use the historic phrase.

And who were these "best people"? Each state had its so-called First Families. (No doubt you have heard the governing families of Virginia referred to as "The F.F.V's.") These families had the biggest estates—often covering as many as 10,000 acres. They were the leaders in business, in banking, in manufacturing. They were the society leaders who set the social fashions. In the long run they were also the ones who were chosen to hold important offices in the government. Note, for example, that most of the Constitution-makers belonged to this group.

The written words of these leaders show very clearly that they inclined to be aristocratic. Elbridge Gerry, the fifth signer of the Declaration of Independence, said that "hard times" came from "too much democracy." Edmund Randolph said they were caused by "the turbulence and follies of democracy." Alexander Hamilton said: "All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and the well-born; the other, the mass of the people, . . . are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by change, they, therefore, will ever maintain good government."

Believing in permanence in government Hamilton urged that the new senators should serve for life. Even James Madison, a close friend of the great democratic leader Thomas Jefferson, believed that the "minority" (meaning the few well-to-do people) had to be protected against what the "majority" (the masses) would do to them. "It is of great importance in a Republic," he said, "not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of society against the injustice of the other part. Different interests necessarily exist in different classes of citizens. If a majority be united by a common interest the rights of the minority will be insecure."

So the aristocratic Hamiltonians made a permanent government that would change only slowly

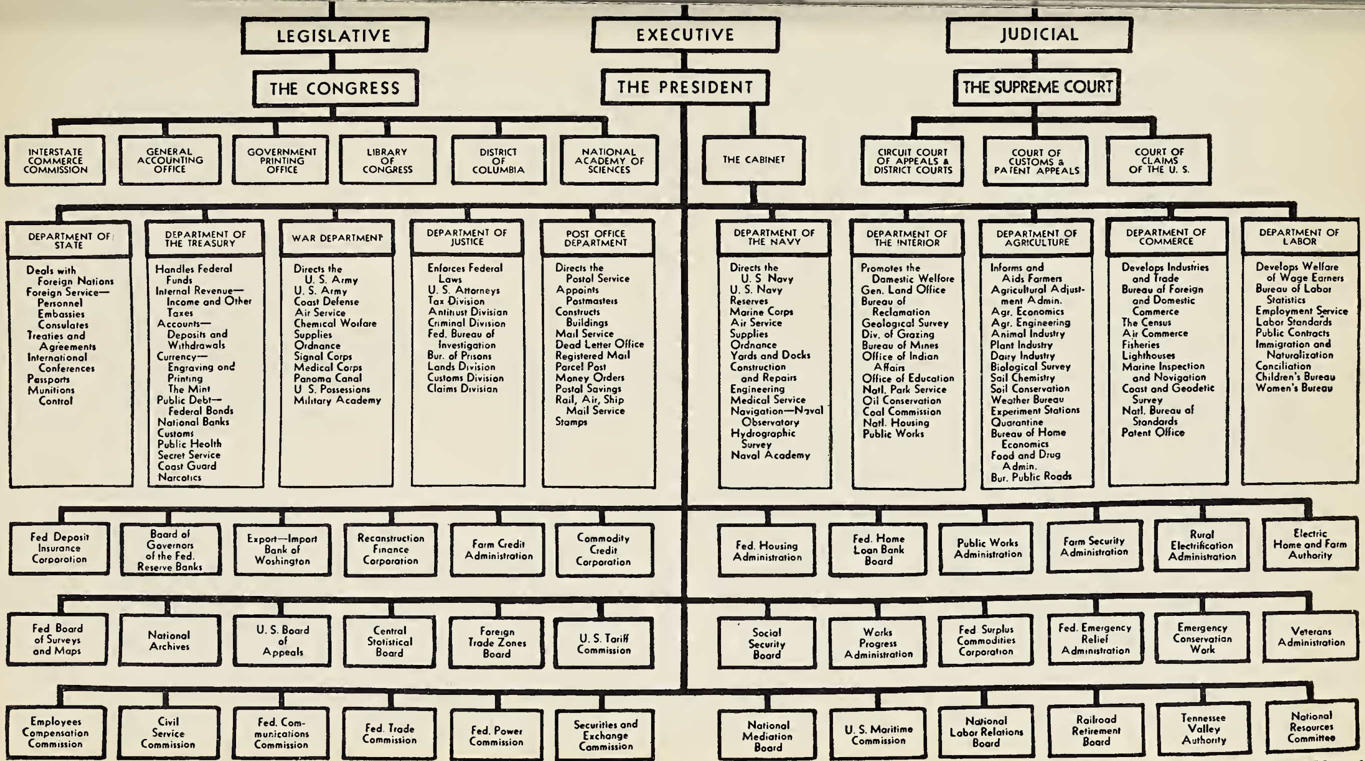
A government of "checks and balances"

Holding to these views firmly and vigorously, the Constitution-makers made a plan of government which no one group could change quickly. No mob, as they were fond of saying, could overturn government, pass obnoxious laws, take property unfairly, and so on. How did they do it? They did it, first, by dividing the work of government among many people. Each of the three chief departments—the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary—was given power to "check," or "hold in balance," the acts of the others.

For example, because they feared that "restless" or "turbulent" representatives of the people might pass dangerous laws:

1. They created two Houses of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, the former to act as a kind of brake on the other.
2. They decided that laws had to be passed by *both* houses of Congress. They thought of the House of Representatives always as more directly "of the people" than the Senate.
3. They chose to have the Senators elected by the various state legislatures. This was indirect election, as contrasted with the direct election of the members of the House of Representatives. (This provision, however, was changed by the Seventeenth Amendment. Since 1913 Senators as well as Representatives have been elected by the direct vote of the people.)
4. They provided that a Senator should have a long term—six years—and that only one third of the seats of the Senate should be vacated every two years. The term of office of members of the House of Representatives, however, lasted but two years.
5. They gave the President veto power to check Congress. And once he vetoed any act it could not become law unless it was repassed by two thirds of both houses of Congress.
6. They sought to guarantee that a sound and conservative man would always be chosen to be President. This they tried to do by having him elected, not by the direct vote of the people, but by delegates, or electors, from each state. They believed that these electors would be more likely to choose a "safe and sane" man.
7. They created a system of Federal courts. The President was to appoint the judges in these courts, but his appointments had to be confirmed (agreed to) by the Senate. This was another way in which the legislature could check the executive. Moreover, during the 150 years of our history our Federal judges have been deciding whether acts passed by the Congress are Constitutional. Again one department checks another.

We see, then, that the government which the leaders of 1787 set up in the Constitution was well named a government of "checks and balances." Down to the present day the three departments have checked one another repeatedly. Certainly little more could have been done to build a strong government . . . a stable government . . . a government that would change only very slowly.


LEGISLATIVE
THE CONGRESS
INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION
GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
EXECUTIVE
THE PRESIDENT
THE CABINET
JUDICIAL
THE SUPREME COURT
CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS & DISTRICT COURTS
COURT OF CUSTOMS & PATENT APPEALS
COURT OF CLAIMS OF THE U. S.
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Deals with Foreign Nations
Foreign Service—
Personnel
Embassies
Consulates
Treaties and Agreements
International Conferences
Passports
Munitions Control
DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
Handles Federal Funds
Internal Revenue—
Income and Other Taxes
Accounts—
Deposits and Withdrawals
Currency—
Engraving and Printing
The Mint
Public Debt—
Federal Bonds
National Banks
Customs
Public Health
Secret Service
Coast Guard
Narcotics
WAR DEPARTMENT
Directs the U. S. Army
U. S. Army
Coast Defense
Air Service
Chemical Warfare
Supplies
Ordnance
Signal Corps
Medical Corps
Panama Canal
U. S. Possessions
Military Academy
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Enforces Federal Laws
U. S. Attorneys
Tax Division
Antitrust Division
Criminal Division
Fed. Bureau of Investigation
Bur. of Prisons
Lands Division
Customs Division
Claims Division
POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
Directs the Postal Service
Appoints Postmasters
Constructs Buildings
Mail Service
Dead Letter Office
Registered Mail
Parcel Post
Money Orders
Postal Savings
Rail, Air, Ship Mail Service
Stamps
DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
Directs the U. S. Navy
U. S. Navy
Reserves
Marine Corps
Air Service
Supplies
Ordnance
Yards and Docks
Construction and Repairs
Engineering
Medical Service
Navigation—Naval Observatory
Hydrographic Survey
Naval Academy
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
Promotes the Domestic Welfare
Gen. Land Office
Bureau of Reclamation
Geological Survey
Div. of Grazing
Bureau of Mines
Office of Indian Affairs
Office of Education
Natl. Park Service
Oil Conservation
Coal Commission
Natl. Housing
Public Works
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Informs and Aids Farmers
Agricultural Adjustment Admin.
Agr. Economics
Agr. Engineering
Animal Industry
Plant Industry
Dairy Industry
Biological Survey
Soil Chemistry
Soil Conservation
Weather Bureau
Experiment Stations
Quarantine
Bureau of Home Economics
Food and Drug Admin.
Bur. Public Roads
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Develops Industries and Trade
Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce
The Census
Air Commerce
Fisheries
Lighthouses
Marine Inspection and Navigation
Coast and Geodetic Survey
Natl. Bureau of Standards
Patent Office
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Develops Welfare of Wage Earners
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Employment Service
Labor Standards
Public Contracts
Immigration and Naturalization
Conciliation
Children's Bureau
Women's Bureau
Fed Deposit Insurance Corporation
Board of Governors of the Fed. Reserve Banks
Export—Import Bank of Washington
Reconstruction Finance Corporation
Farm Credit Administration
Commodity Credit Corporation
Fed. Housing Administration
Fed. Home Loan Bank Board
Public Works Administration
Farm Security Administration
Rural Electrification Administration
Electric Home and Farm Authority
Fed Board of Surveys and Maps
National Archives
U. S. Board of Appeals
Central Statistical Board
Foreign Trade Zones Board
U. S. Tariff Commission
Social Security Board
Works Progress Administration
Fed Surplus Commodities Corporation
Fed. Emergency Relief Administration
Emergency Conservation Work
Veterans Administration
Employees Compensation Commission
Civil Service Commission
Fed. Communications Commission
Fed. Trade Commission
Fed. Power Commission
Securities and Exchange Commission
National Mediation Board
U. S. Maritime Commission
National Labor Relations Board
Railroad Retirement Board
Tennessee Valley Authority
National Resources Committee

Building America, adapted from U. S. Government Manual

FIG. 117. Our Federal Government is not a simple organization

The Constitution is difficult to amend

The Fathers made another plan that permitted government to change only very slowly. They made it difficult to amend the Constitution quickly; first, by requiring for any amendment the vote of two thirds of members of both houses of the Congress and, after that, by requiring the confirmation of this vote by three fourths of the state legislatures. Apparently they got what they wanted for only eleven Amendments have been passed since 1791. Three of these—XIII, XIV, and XV—were passed because of the difficult problems created by the Civil War. Most of the others were passed only after years of public discussion. For example, Amendment XX, which merely changes the dates when the President, the Vice-President, and members of Congress take office (certainly not a matter of deep controversy) required eight years of discussion before it was passed and confirmed.

All this does not mean that many small groups and individuals have not wanted to change the Constitution. On the contrary! *In a century and a half 3000 Amendments have been proposed!* But only 27 were passed by Congress, and six of these failed to get the necessary ratification of three fourths of the state legislatures.

Thus in the century-and-a-half-long history of the Constitution:

Over 3000 Amendments have been proposed
27 have been passed by the Congress
21 of these have been confirmed by the state legislatures

One point should be made on the other side. The Constitution has been changed quickly in times of great crisis or when the people were otherwise aroused to the importance of change. Let us give some examples. The first ten Amendments were passed within two years after the inauguration of the new government. Amendments XIII, XIV, and XV were all passed during the five years following the close of the Civil War. Amendment XXI, which repealed the "prohibition" Amendment (XVIII), was passed and ratified within one year from the moment it was first proposed in Congress.

So there is much to be said on both sides for the kind of constitution our Fathers made. Stable, permanent, slow to change under ordinary circumstances,—the Constitution surely is. A great

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Charles E. Hughes, once described the American government as "the most successful contrivance the world has ever known for preventing things from being done."

And yet we can say with certainty that if a change simply *must* be made the Constitution does not prevent it. If the American people really want to amend the Constitution, they can do so and without unreasonable delay.

But the Constitution has really been changed by Congress and the courts

Actually, however, the basic law of the land has changed much more than the passage of 21 Amendments would suggest. A careful study of the Articles of the Constitution will reveal that most of them are stated in general terms. The Constitution-makers did this purposely. They left much of the design of the government to Congress, the courts, and the many officials who were to work out the details.

For example, most of the machinery of government was not mentioned in the Constitution at all. Congress has had to take care of that through a vast amount of legislation. For example, during a century and a quarter Congress created ten departments, the complete list of which is given below. Note that the first four —State, Treasury, War, and Justice—were established during the first national administration under President Washington.

State	1789	Justice	1789	Agriculture	1889
Treasury	1789	Navy	1798	Commerce	1903
War	1789	Interior	1849	Labor	1913
		Post Office	1874		

Congress was also given power (Article III, Section 1) to create courts, and Congress has done so. It was given power (Article I, Section 8) to levy duties upon imports, and it has done that too—upon thousands of articles coming from abroad. In doing such things as these Congress has really "interpreted" the general terms of the Constitution. Through passing laws it has said what the Constitution means.

Other officials of the Federal government have also interpreted

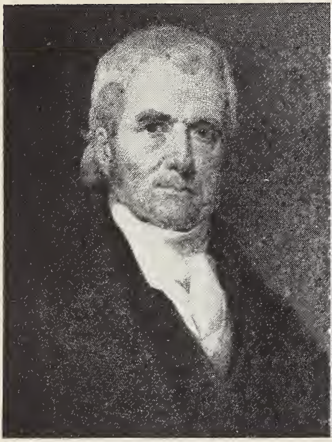


Fig. 118. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for 34 years

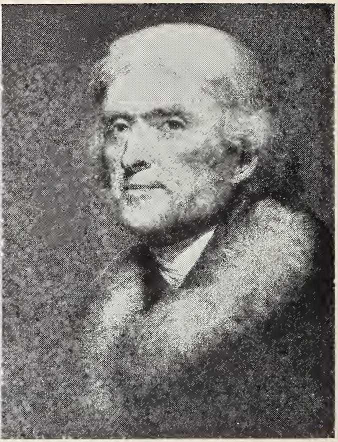


Fig. 119. Thomas Jefferson

Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

the Constitution. The President has a Cabinet, consisting of the Secretaries (Heads) of the ten departments of the national government. The Constitution did not create, indeed did not even mention, such an agency of government. But from the very beginning, every President has held regular meetings with these Secretaries. They report to him and advise him concerning his policies and executive actions. As a Cabinet, however, they have no legal powers.

There are many other ways in which the acts of the President and the officials of the Federal government serve as a daily interpretation of the Constitution. New meaning is forever being read into the Constitution.

How the Supreme Court "interprets" the Constitution

Perhaps the one division of our government which interprets the Constitution most often is the judiciary. As you know, Congress has created a vast network of Federal courts. There are district courts, circuit courts, other special courts, and, most important of all, the United States Supreme Court. For over a century the Supreme Court has been interpreting the Constitution. It has been determining whether laws passed by Congress were constitutional—that is, whether they agreed with the stated or definitely implied provisions of the Constitution.

But nowhere in the Constitution is such power given to the Court. Article VI, Section 2, merely states that "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made *in pursuance thereof*; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." Article III, Section 1, gives the judicial power of the country to a "Supreme Court" . . . and to "such inferior courts as the Congress may . . . ordain and establish." This is all. There is no direct grant of power to the United States Supreme Court to declare that acts of Congress are or are not in accord with the Constitution.

And yet for over a century, since the time of Chief Justice John Marshall, the Court has assumed this power; and Congress and the people generally have permitted it. As Chief Justice Marshall once said in a famous decision: "If two laws conflict with each other [meaning that the Constitution is one law and an ordinary act of Congress is another] the courts must decide on the operation of each." And, assuming that only the Supreme Court could decide the issue, he added, "The Constitution, and not such ordinary acts, must govern the case."

Can you tell, now, what "constitutional" government is? Try to sum up what it means clearly and briefly.

Our national government a "Federal" system

Have you noticed how frequently we refer to our government as the "Federal" government. We say that the United States Supreme Court is a "Federal" court. What does that mean?

There are several other examples of the Federal form of national government besides our own. In Europe there is Switzerland. In Latin America there are Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. Each of the four main parts of the British Empire outside of the British Isles—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa—has the federal system.

To understand this we must contrast it with two other kinds of government: (1) the "Confederate" type; (2) the centralized, or "unified," type.

The Confederate system was the form employed by the thirteen original American states in the period between the beginning of the Revolutionary War and the Constitutional Convention of 1787. We have seen how weak that was, especially because it was a loose union of independent states. Hence there were no central executive officials or courts. There was little or no real central authority over the internal affairs of states. There was no strong central government to handle foreign affairs. Member states could withdraw (secede) from the Confederacy at any time.

The system outlined by the Constitution and adopted by our people when they ratified it is, in contrast to the "Confederate" type, a "Federal" system. Some powers over government are definitely given to the national, or Federal, government. Some other powers that are not given to the national government are reserved to the states. Still others are definitely reserved to the states.

The third form of national government is the "centralized," or "unitary," one, in which the real powers of government are centralized in the national government. For example, officials are appointed by national heads of departments instead of being elected within their states or appointed by officers of those states. The many dictatorships of the world today are examples of this type carried to extreme where one man or a very few men hold all the power. Among the democracies, Great Britain and France are the best examples.

To contrast the Federal with the completely centralized kinds of government consider the management of education in France and in the United States. In France the Minister of Education at Paris is the supreme educational officer of the country, controlling the leaders of the 89 departments (the principal political divisions, somewhat like our 48 states) and of the thousands of local communities. In France the real control is in the central government at Paris. But in the United States the real control is in the "school boards" of the 48 states and of the local cities, towns, and villages. In most cases the local communities elect their local "boards of education." These boards appoint the superintendent of schools, the principals, and the teachers. On the recommendation of these

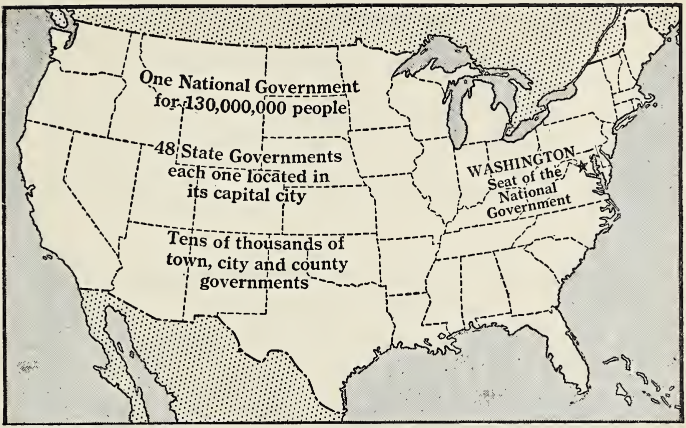

One National Government for 130,000,000 people
48 State Governments each one located in its capital city
Tens of thousands of town, city and county governments
WASHINGTON Seat of the National Government

FIG. 120. Ours is a Federal system of government

professional educators they supervise the educational work in their community. So in the Federal system of America, most of the power over education is left to the state and the local community.

We should study the criticisms made of the Federal system

Later you will undoubtedly study very carefully the advantages and disadvantages of the Federal system as contrasted with a more centralized one. In this book we can only point out that many people insist that in our kind of society the powers of government must be centralized. They say the Federal system, with much power left to the states and the communities, was good for an agricultural small country such as ours was in 1790. But that in a country of great machine industries, corporations, and transportation and communication systems that reach out all over the country, with people buying and selling things from one coast to the other, with any one section very dependent on others, the powers of government should be greatly centralized.

What have we learned about constitutional government?

Looking back now, what is the significance of the idea of constitutional government? How important is the Constitution? Why did our leaders insist on having a written one?

In summing up, try especially to answer these questions:

1. Why did the leaders try to make a government that could be changed only slowly?
2. What is the meaning of a government of checks and balances? How does such a plan make sure that government will change slowly?
3. Just what does it mean to say that our national government is a Federal system? Can you see special advantages in such a system for our people?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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CHAPTER XII · Representative Government and Political Parties

★

Government in most democratic countries today is carried on indirectly, through representatives. The chief agency for selecting representatives and administering government is the "political party." After several centuries of experience this seems to be the most desirable way for people of democracies to govern themselves; at least it must be admitted that a more satisfactory way has yet to be invented. We must know, therefore, what a political party is, who its leaders are, and how they work.

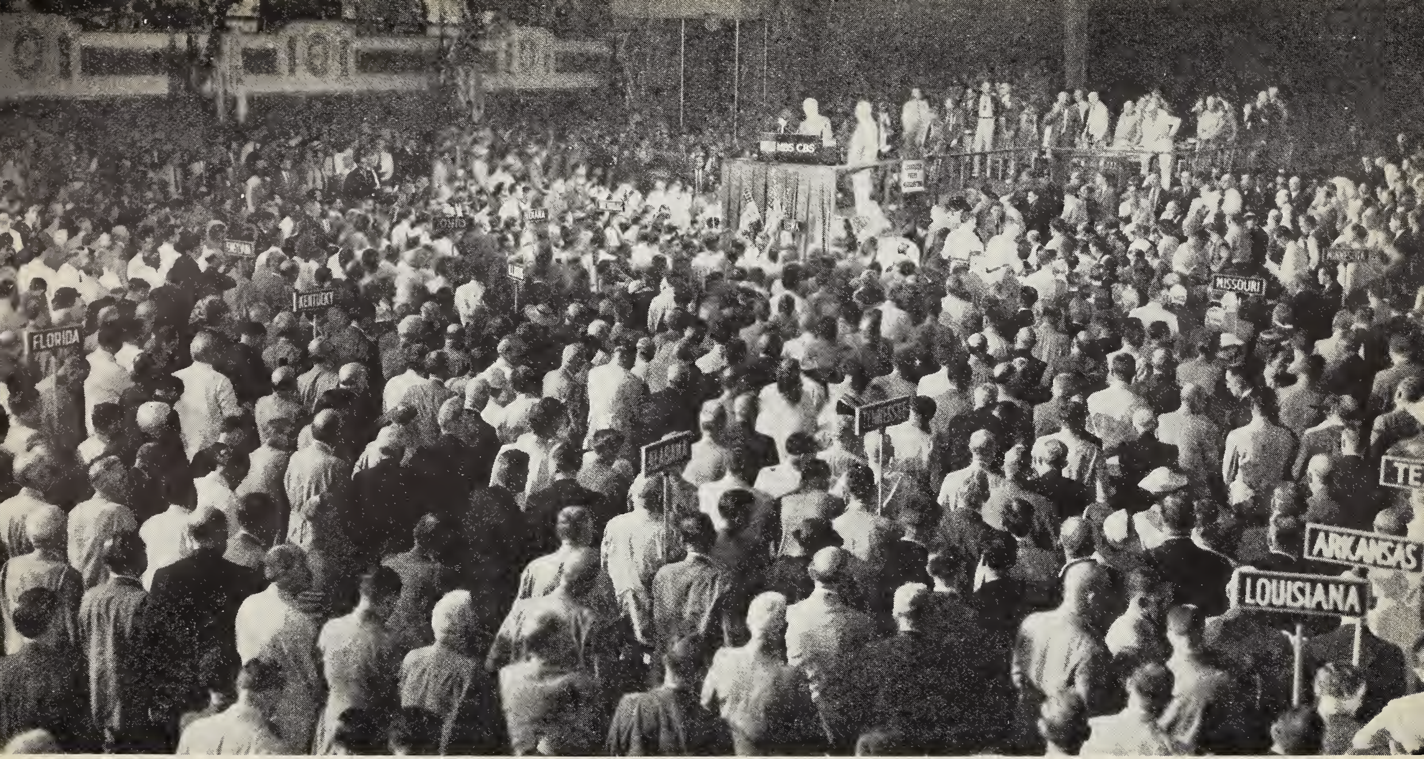
"A political party? Oh, everyone knows what that is!" you exclaim. "It's the Republicans or the Democrats! Why do we need to study that?"

Yes, the Republicans are one political party, and the Democrats another; the Socialists, the Communists, the American Labor Party, are others. In fact there are about a dozen political parties in the United States. In France, in Great Britain, and in several other European countries there are political parties too. In Germany before Hitler became Dictator there were a dozen parties; today the National Socialist German Labor party (the Nazis) is the only one that is allowed to exist. Before Mussolini seized the government of Italy in 1922, there were several parties there; today the Fascists are the only one. Before the Revolution of 1917 Russia had a number of political parties; now there is only the Communist party under Stalin.

Thus government in Europe and in America has for a long time been carried on by political parties. And it still is in the democratic countries. Let us see how these parties work.

What is a political party?

First let us make sure that we know what a political party is. Simply, it is an organized group of citizens united, or banded to-


FLORIDA
KENTUCKY
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
TE

Acme

Fig. 121. A night session of the 1936 Republican national convention

gether, for the purpose of electing officials and carrying on government. It is made up of voters. In the United States no one can belong who is not at least 21 years of age, that is, eligible to vote. Throughout our country some 70,000,000 men and women are divided into political parties. Each party has a carefully worked-out organization including offices in different parts of the country, which are run by paid executives and large numbers of employees.

For the past few national elections the voters of America have been organized in about a dozen parties. Two of these—(1) the Republicans and (2) the Democrats—are called "Major Parties" because most of the voters of the country belong to them. All the others are called "Minor Parties." They are:

Progressive
Farmer-Laborite
Prohibitionist
American Laborite
Socialist
Socialist-Laborite
Communist
Unionist
Social Democrat

Political parties are run by politicians

"There are 21,000,000 Republicans! 15,000,000 Democrats! These parties must really be big businesses to have so many members!" we can hear you exclaim. They are indeed. They are in business to elect thousands of candidates to government positions all over the country. And that takes money—lots of money. Also, hundreds of party offices must be maintained in various parts of the country, and vast sums of money are required to do it.

Like any other business, a political organization cannot exist without leaders, executives, to carry on its work. And each political party does have them. There is a leader in each precinct or neighborhood, a leader in each ward, a "boss" in each town or city. There are special leaders in each county and in each state, and at the top are national leaders.

All of these political leaders are called "politicians." They devote most of their time to working for the interest of their party and trying to put their party candidates into office and keep them there.

Why are parties necessary to carry on government in a democracy?

To answer that question think about the government of your own social-science class. Do you need political parties to hold an election?

"Of course not," you say. "The group is small. There are only 25 of us. We all know each other well. We can call a meeting, talk over the problem together, and decide on the officers we want. What would be the use of our dividing into parties? Everything we need to do can be done through open and direct discussion."

Exactly so. And that was true also of voting and elections in the tiny hamlets and villages that made up America many years ago. Indeed it is true in thousands of little crossroad hamlets today. So few people live in them that everyone knows everyone else very well. At a town meeting they can choose George Allen to be Road Supervisor, or Tom Hutchins to be Town Clerk, or Bill Reed to be Marshal, without the slightest need for the special people called politicians. The other local offices can also be filled without them. In such places, then, there is no need for political parties.

But what about places like Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Detroit, and hundreds of other large cities? In them we find hundreds of thousands of people living together. Each citizen knows only a few other citizens—those in his immediate neighborhood, those who work with him on the job, those who belong to his church or lodge or labor union or service club. Moreover, as we said before, each citizen is interested first and foremost in his own personal problems of getting a living, raising a family, owning a house, and so on.

This raises important questions about the necessity for government to be "representative"

And all this brings us to another very important characteristic of modern democratic governments. All of them, America's included, are representative governments, that is, they are carried on by persons who represent the people. Instead of the citizens of a community or of a state voting directly on each question of law and its enforcement, they elect representatives to vote for them.

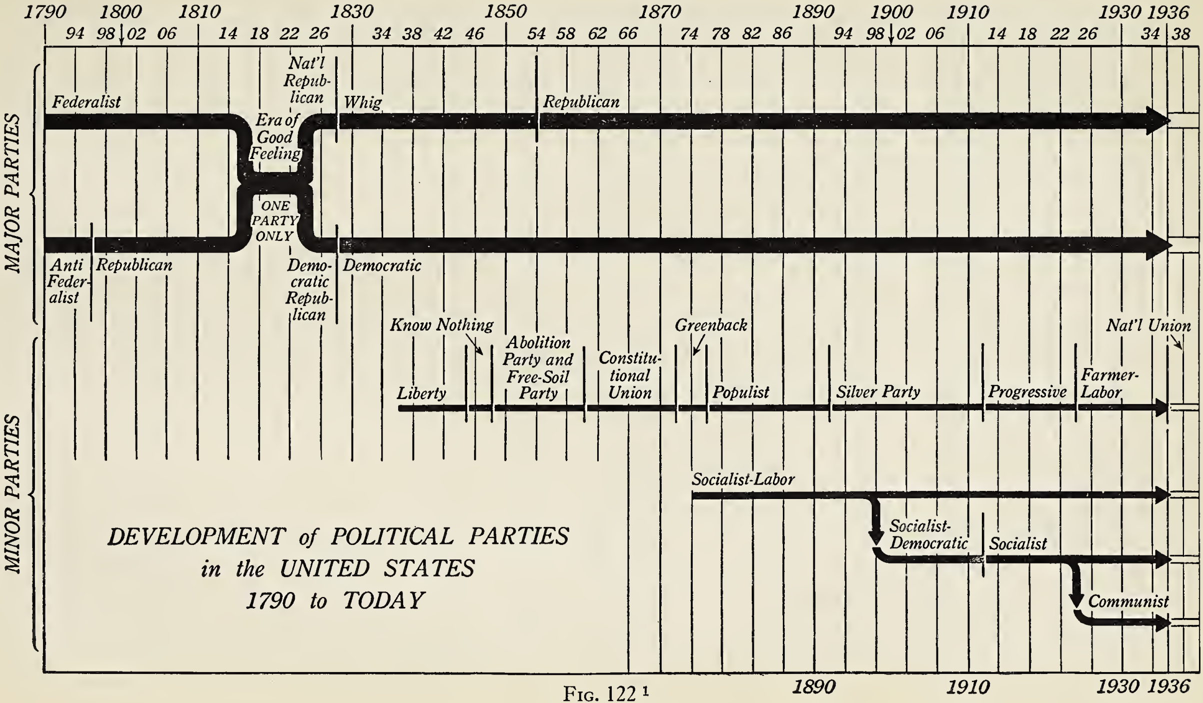


Fig. 122[1]

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[1] From *Building America*.

1. They elect United States Congressmen, state legislators, and city aldermen and councilmen to pass laws for them. These are their representatives in lawmaking.
2. They elect a President, 48 governors, mayors, and other officials. These are the people's representatives in executing or carrying on government.
3. They elect or otherwise choose judges and other officials. These also are the people's representatives in interpreting the laws and punishing offenders.

Thus, much of government today is carried on by representatives. That is why we speak of American government as representative government.

"But why do we use representatives?" perhaps you ask. "If our government is 'of the people, by the people, for the people,' we should run it ourselves, directly."

The reason why we cannot do so is not hard to understand. The conditions of living in a modern country like ours have changed so greatly that the people are forced to rely upon representatives to act for them. Let us consider four of these conditions briefly.

First, the number of people has become too large to permit them to govern directly

We can use school government as an example to make this point clear. Think a moment of the government of your own school, school system, or even of your class in the social studies. You and your classmates—20, 30, or 40 persons—elect officers, discuss problems and policies, and vote decisions. This is direct government, face-to-face policy-making. You are so few in number that all of you can get into a small room and talk things out. Every "citizen" can be heard and can hear his neighbors. Even if your ninth-grade class has 100 or 200 members, it is still small enough to allow you to meet face to face, think things out aloud together, and vote.

But what of your whole school, with 600, 1000, 2000, or even more students? Several thousand students may be able to get into an auditorium to have assembly meetings. (Some high schools in New York City are so large that their students cannot all get into any one public auditorium!) But it is not easy for 1000 or 2000 students to talk things out on the floor of the school assembly.

If complicated problems are to be discussed thoroughly, a smaller body of students must be chosen to do it. Usually in schools of that size each class or group chooses one or two boys and girls to represent them and the representatives of all the classes or groups hold small committee or council meetings. These—perhaps 10 or 20 or 30 in number—discuss thoroughly and intimately the problems of the whole school. They vote and a majority decides. Sometimes the school assembly gives this council full power to act for them. Then the decision of the council is final. But at other times the assembly directs the council to bring their decision before the whole school for ratification. Then, at a called meeting in the auditorium, the problem is discussed again by representatives of the various points of view presented in the meetings. Other students also rise and speak from the floor. Finally a vote is taken and the recommendation of the council is either ratified or rejected. This is representative government.

Think finally of the schools of a large city system with 100,000 students or even, as in New York City, over 1,000,000. How can this huge number make policies or decisions? They are too many to meet together in any single auditorium or public gathering place. No face-to-face talking out of policies is possible. How can a decision affecting all of them be reached "democratically"? Only by some kind of representative government. The many school assemblies in the city elect one or more representatives to meet with the representatives of all the other high schools and form the city-wide high-school council. This council must be kept small, consisting of only 20 to 40 students perhaps, so that policies and problems can easily be discussed and decided by it. According to the constitution of the whole student body of the city system these decisions can be regarded either as binding on all the schools, or they can be referred back to the assemblies of all the schools for ratification.

This, then, is an example from school life of the way representative government works. True, it is indirect government, but this is necessary because the number of citizens is too large to permit all to take active part all the time. But it is democratic and representative too, because the final power of acceptance or rejection lies with the people. In this case the people are the whole student body.

We have given this example of school government because it illustrates how government in our country as a whole is run. The large communities of America have representative government for the same reason that large school classes and systems have it—there are too many people to meet together in one place and elect officers and decide on policies. From Table II on page 58 you can see that most of the people of America are settled in large communities. Remember that there are

5 communities with more than 1,000,000 people
88 communities with from 100,000 to 1,000,000 people
Over 3000 towns, small and large
And a vast number of smaller groups

It is only in the small communities that the people can come together and talk over their community problems. In those, direct government by town meeting, as it was called in earlier days, could exist. But three fifths of our 130,000,000 people live in cities where it is absolutely impossible to hold town meetings. If government in such cities is to be democratic, it must be representative. We have already seen that government in the nation as a whole is representative; elected legislative bodies and national executives act for the people. It is also representative in most of our communities, because the number of people in them has become too great for direct governing.

Second, in our cities and towns citizens are too remote from problems of government

In most of our larger communities the citizens scarcely ever know the candidates who seek office. They may live 35 miles away from some of them. What they know about these candidates and about important community problems is usually limited to information they have gathered from newspaper accounts, conversations with other people, and campaign speeches and pamphlets. And most of these have given only one side of the argument. Under such circumstances do you think the average citizen can know very much about the true merits of candidates or the real needs of the community?

Third, citizens are too busy with their own personal problems

Moreover, today each person spends most of his waking hours looking after his own personal affairs. Men are busy on their jobs or trying to get jobs; women are busy caring for their houses and children or attending to work outside the home. The tasks of earning a living, keeping a household running smoothly, and bringing up children occupy most of the time and thought of men and women. If they consider problems of government at all, it is during leisure time or when emergencies arise.

By and large, Mr. and Mrs. Average Voter are reminded of government only at certain times of the year—perhaps just before election day or when taxes are to be paid. Occasionally, of course, they become very directly involved with the community's government. If found driving an automobile at too great a speed they may be arrested and fined by its officials. Then government touches their lives very directly.

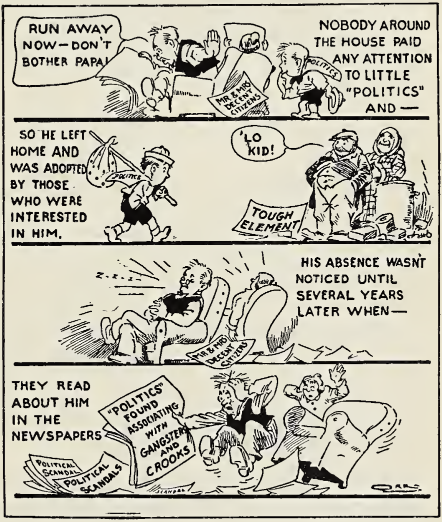

RUN AWAY NOW—DON'T BOTHER PAPA
NOBODY AROUND THE HOUSE PAID ANY ATTENTION TO LITTLE "POLITICS" AND—
POLITICS
MR & MRS DECENT CITIZENS
SO HE LEFT HOME AND WAS ADOPTED BY THOSE WHO WERE INTERESTED IN HIM.
POLITICS
'LO KID!
TOUGH ELEMENT
HIS ABSENCE WASN'T NOTICED UNTIL SEVERAL YEARS LATER WHEN—
Z-Z-Z
MR & MRS DECENT CITIZENS
THEY READ ABOUT HIM IN THE NEWSPAPERS
"POLITICS" FOUND ASSOCIATING WITH GANGSTERS AND CROOKS
POLITICAL SCANDAL
POLITICAL SCANDALS
SCANDAL
ORR

FIG. 123. This comic strip illustrates what some people think happened when the average citizen lost interest in politics and failed to exercise his right to vote

Orr in the *Chicago Tribune*

Most problems of government are so deep and far-reaching that they really do affect every citizen, even though he does not know it. Merely because they seem not to affect him today, at this moment, he is little concerned about them. In actual government, many laws are passed which Mr. Average Voter never learns about until his own personal life is affected by them.

For example, suppose such a question as this came before the community: Should the town pass a law requiring all taxicabs to contain the photographs and license numbers of drivers? Does that concern Mr. Average Voter much? He seldom uses a taxicab. He may not even understand what is to be gained by having drivers' photographs and license numbers in taxicabs. Other people know more about such matters; let them take care of it, he says.

TABLE XV

Per Cent of Voters in the United States Casting Ballots at Presidential Elections, 1896–1932

1896	90.0
1904	67.6
1912	62.9
1920	49.3
1932	68.6

Or this question may arise: Should the town give a franchise to a new bus line? Mr. Average Voter doesn't care much; the bus will run on the other side of the town anyway. He and his family won't be affected one way or the other, he says. So he lets others who are more interested decide.

Thousands of other average voters reason the same way. Tables XIV (page 220) and XV show the lack of interest in matters of government. Table XV gives the facts relating to the entire country for national elections. Compare them with the facts of Table XIV, relating to one community. What do you think? Are the American people as active in voting as they should be?

Fourth, most citizens cannot get the facts needed to enable them to govern directly and wisely

Another important point should be noted here, at least briefly; later we shall come back to it. Wise decisions concerning many questions of government today cannot be made unless they are based upon a thorough study of a great many facts and factors involved. For example, sometimes an almost endless number of technical facts must be known. Certainly it is impossible for most citizens to get them. In a little rural hamlet in 1840 the citizens knew or could easily get the facts. If a new bridge, a new hose for the fire department, or wagons and shovels for the road-builders were needed, the people could get all the information necessary to decide for or against the purchase. But to carry on the life of the vast modern cities many kinds of *professional* knowledge are required—knowledge that Mr. Average Citizen cannot possibly get. He must rely upon experts in many different fields—experts in public water supply, in street and highway construction, in fire prevention, in sanitation and health, in education, in law, and so on.

So a professional body of government workers appeared

Was it not to be expected, then, that as our country grew the work of government would increase and be taken over by specially trained persons? Looking back on 150 years of national history we see that that is exactly what happened. The tasks of government multiplied, and a body of professional people grew up to perform them. Who are these people and what do they do? Perhaps an outline will help us to answer this question.

The kinds of workers needed to govern in "the American way"

I. *The Politicians and the Party Machines.* All our political parties (Republican, Democratic, Farmer-Labor, and others) have Leaders and Bosses and many other officers. These are persons who have made vote-getting a profession. They are experts in public opinion, that is, they are clever at sensing what the people (the voters) like and want. They are vigorous workers in campaigns and elections. Thus leadership in our government is centered in *political parties.*

II. *The Government Officeholders.* These include (1) the lawmakers (Senators, Representatives, and the like), (2) the executives (the President and Vice-President, Governors, Mayors, City Managers, and the like), and (3) the judges. Most of these too are put into office by the politicians and party machines. They belong to one party or another, are loyal to it, work with it and, to some extent, for it. Again we see the great importance of *the party.*

III. *The Technical Workers.* A vast staff of skilled and semiskilled workers—engineers, lawyers, accountants, stenographers, auditors, postmen, and so on—is needed to carry on the many tasks of government. As a result of a century of progress in perfecting the machinery of our government most of the lower-grade government jobs go to the candidates who are most successful in competitive civil-service examinations given by the government. These persons receive appointments according to merit. But there are many other positions which are still given to faithful members of the political party that happens to be in power at the moment. Hence *the political party and its machine* plays a very important role even in the technical branches of our government organization.

The discussion so far has dealt with many of the difficulties encountered in setting up truly representative government, one that is "*of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people." But we have not mentioned them all. There are others, and very complex ones, too. We must study them carefully, for it is upon them that our community government depends.

THE THREE HUMAN FACTORS IN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

First, let us think of the people of a community in a threefold way:

1. The people themselves, the public, the general body of the community—which includes the farmers, the house-owners, and the housewives, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker, the doctor, the lawyer, and the merchant-chief.
2. The many groups into which the people divide themselves—in work, in play, and in worship.
3. The professional government workers—the statesmen and the politicians who spend all or almost all their time electing officials, passing, enforcing, or interpreting the laws.

Each of these three groups wants something of the community government. Let us see what they want.

1. The people themselves and what they want

First, the rank and file of the people—the average voters. These are the ones who have the final power; they cast the ballots which legally elect or dismiss officials. What do they want from community government?

They want, first of all, what the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the "Fathers of the Republic," said that all men should have—life, liberty, and a chance for happiness. They want their houses protected against fire and thieves, their lives protected against murderers. They want their health protected by good water systems, pure food, clean streets and parks and playgrounds. They want safety and public conveniences. For example, they demand good traffic laws, uninterrupted railroad and motor-truck service, and quick means of communication by mail, telegraph, and telephone. They want cheap and uninterrupted gas and electric-light service. They insist on having good schools for their children. They seek low taxes on their houses. They want the condition and quality of the things they buy to be reasonably guaranteed.

In addition, many of them want special favors. They want city jobs, they want protection when they get into trouble with the traffic police or are brought into court for one reason or another. They want special privileges for their businesses, their houses, their families, or their friends.

Do not forget, then, that in the carrying on of government what the individual men and women want for themselves is very important.

2. The interested groups and what they want

But we have already learned that most of the waking hours of these people are spent in groups. Recall, then, the chief ones. *First*, the economic groups—the labor unions, the Chambers of Commerce, the Rotary Club, the Kiwanis Club, and many others. *Second*, the many fraternal and social organizations. *Third*, the civic clubs, the neighborhood improvement organizations, and other groups organized to promote the passage of special laws and improve life in the community. *Fourth*, the churches and other religious groups. *Fifth*, the patriotic and memorial societies. *Sixth*, the immigrant groups. And, finally, there is a long list of other kinds of organizations.

Each of these separate groups has its own special interests. Each wants something from the community government. A committee from a certain neighborhood group may ask the city council for more street lights, for additional policemen, for a neighborhood park, or for road repairs. A religious group may ask that theaters be closed on Sundays. A patriotic or memorial society may ask that a monument be erected by the city to honor some person or event.

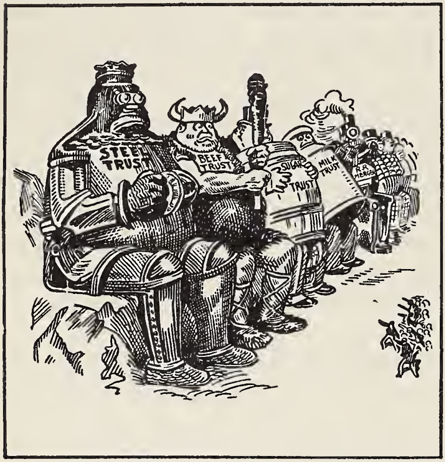


FIG. 124. This cartoon illustrates one artist's idea of the strength of the people and of some of the interested groups

New York Herald and *Review of Reviews*

In addition, many groups want their own special interests protected by the government. On the one hand, there are the employer groups—manufacturers, bankers, contractors, and owners of public services. On the other hand, there is the employee group—the workers in the trades and industries. Each has its own desires. Let us note a few examples. The bankers want control over the sale of the city bonds. The real-estate men want to sell land to the city. The contractors want contracts from the city for the erection of buildings or the making of roads. The manufacturers want to sell their products to the community. The owners of public services, or utilities—such as the streetcar or bus lines, and gas and electric plants—want their rates raised. The labor-union leaders want laws to protect the health and safety of workers.

Thus almost every group in the community wants something special from the community government. And, since each is an organized body of people, it has power with the government. For this reason it often succeeds in satisfying its desires.

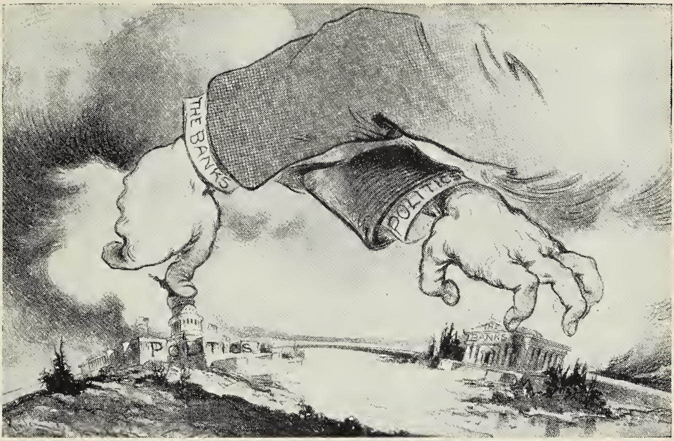


Fig. 125. This cartoon appeared at a time when many people were demanding Federal control of the banks. What two big ideas does the drawing illustrate?
From *Puck*, August 20, 1913

3. The politicians and statesmen and what they want

As we have said, the professional politicians are those who devote most of their lives to the business of governing the community. What do they want?

First, they want the things we said the people generally want—they want a living, a good income, and the things that go with them. They want attractive homes and automobiles, time and money for recreation, a good education for their children. But, second, they want something very special from government, for that is their lifework. They want power; they want to remain in control of the government. So they regulate all they do to the end of winning and keeping the approval and confidence of voters. Above all, they want their party and their officials to stay in power.

We see, therefore, three bodies which influence and have power over the community government. The vote of all the people is the final power. The organized groups have the power of money and influence. The politicians have the power of position in the government. All three have wants, and all three look to the government to satisfy them.

Citizens must study the party machine and how it works

One fact is clear from this brief outline. To understand how America and its communities are governed we must know how the political party and the political machine work. It rarely happens that any man or woman gets elected to a city, state, or national office without the support of a political party. The party, as we have said, is at the very center of government.

Political organizations, then, are extremely powerful in government. Let us see how the professional politicians control them. First we shall discuss three that will show how the local community is governed: the precinct leader, the ward leader, and the city boss and his committee. Then we shall discuss the county and state bosses and their committees. Finally we shall see all of these leaders organized under national bosses and committees.

As we watch all these people at work the difficulties of obtaining city, state, and national governments that are "of the people, by the people, for the people" will become clearer. In reading the description of the political machine, let us also refer occasionally to the chart of figure 126.

HOW THE POLITICAL PARTY IS ORGANIZED

I. The Political Machine of an American Community

The political machine of a town or city today can be understood best in terms of the parts played by three types of leaders. The city is divided into wards ranging in size from about 8000 to 18,000 inhabitants; each ward is divided into precincts of about 600 people. Over each precinct there is a machine leader called a precinct boss. Over each ward is a leader called a ward boss. Directing the whole political machine of the city is the city boss.

1. The precinct leader

The smallest political division in a community is the election precinct. It averages about 600 voters. Its leader is the smallest, but also the most important, unit in the party machine. There are some 250,000 precinct leaders in the country, and the party machine depends upon these leaders for its strength and support.

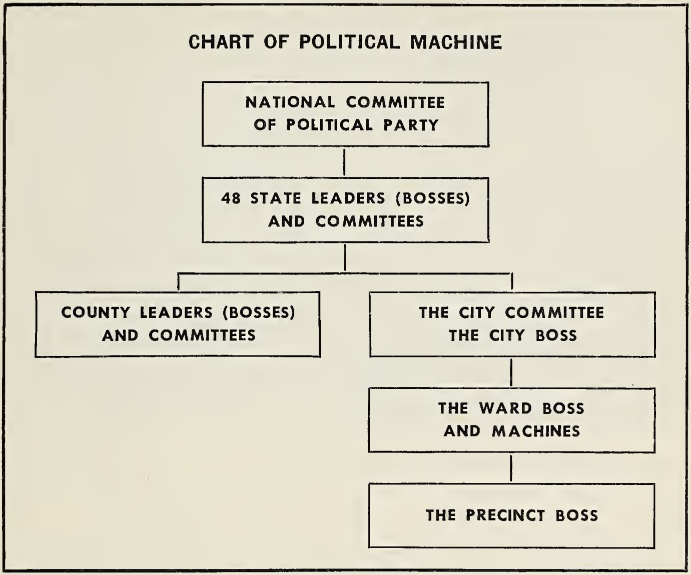


CHART OF POLITICAL MACHINE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF POLITICAL PARTY
48 STATE LEADERS (BOSSES) AND COMMITTEES
COUNTY LEADERS (BOSSES) AND COMMITTEES
THE CITY COMMITTEE THE CITY BOSS
THE WARD BOSS AND MACHINES
THE PRECINCT BOSS

Fig. 126

"I don't know my precinct leader!" you may say.

That does not matter; he knows you and your family. He connects you with the machine. You are on his record. He knows where you live, how old you are, what your father does, whether or not your parents vote in the primary as well as in the general elections.

His very job depends upon knowing your father and mother and the other 598 voters in his precinct. His main task is to see that the machine candidate wins in the primary election, because only if he does win in the primary will he become a candidate in the final election. If the precinct leader can get about a tenth of the voters to vote for the machine candidate in the primaries, he is fairly sure that the person's name will appear on the final ticket at the general election.

How the Leader Gets the Votes. But how does the precinct leader get the necessary tenth of the votes? Let us assume that he and his relatives will poll five votes for the party. The relatives of the two judges and the clerk of elections will swell the number to twenty. The leader has various means of securing the rest. With the money he gets from the ward leaders for election expenses he hires at least two workers and messengers. The votes of their families may put the total up to 35. In addition there are probably officeholders living in the precinct who belong to his party. They may also vote for the machine candidate.

Thus in one way or another the precinct boss gets enough votes so that his candidate can win. Sixty-five votes to a precinct are estimated to be the least number that is safe. Multiply that by the number of precincts in a city, and you have a good idea of the fighting strength of the smallest part of the machine—the precinct organization.

Precinct leaders may be small officeholders or young lawyers eager to break into politics, or they may be owners of small stores in the neighborhood. The leader is in politics for what he hopes to get out of it—generally, a more powerful political job.

The precinct leader works among the mass of the people. He does little favors for them and is repaid by their voting for his candidate.

Precinct leaders are appointed by the ward leader, who is the next highest boss.

2. The ward leader

Since the average ward contains from fourteen to thirty precincts, with a total of from 8400 to 18,000 voters, the ward leader has real power in the city. To keep control of his ward the typical ward leader must be sure of about 1300 votes. He expects 1100 votes from his eighteen precincts, and works to get 200 himself—through family connections or political influence. When he does not control this many, he counts on the failure of other people to vote, as does the precinct leader. He and his precinct leaders see to it that their voters always register and always go to the polls.

Even in the wards where the wealthy people of the city live there are votes that the machine can get in the primary election. For example, there are chauffeurs, maids, cooks, watchmen, ele-

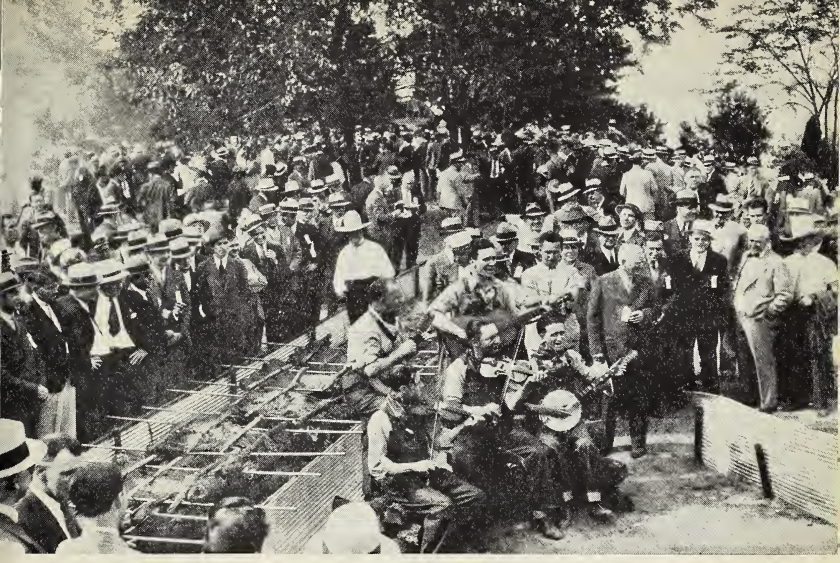
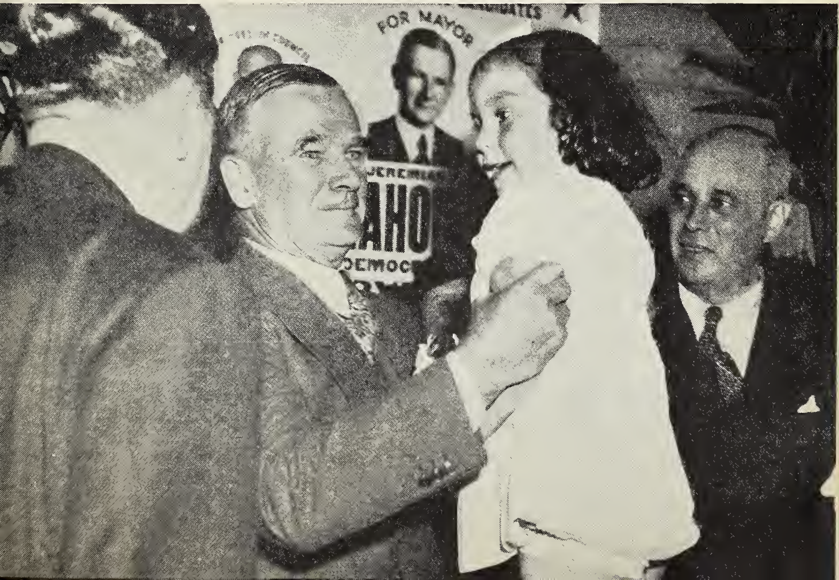


Fig. 127. Many ways of entertaining the voters are used in every political campaign

* * *

Fig. 128. A candidate puts the "personal touch" into his appeal for votes

Acme


FOR MAYOR
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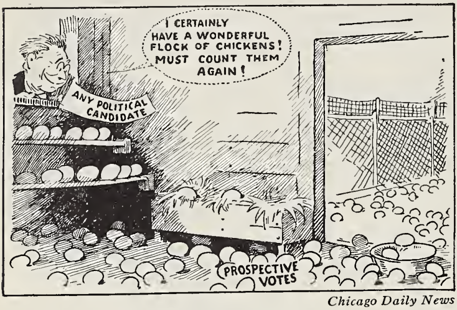
vator operators, superintendents, and the like. Many of these people get their jobs because ward or precinct leaders recommended them as good workers. Such people can be depended upon to vote as desired.


I CERTAINLY HAVE A WONDERFUL FLOCK OF CHICKENS! MUST COUNT THEM AGAIN!
ANY POLITICAL CANDIDATE
PROSPECTIVE VOTES

Chicago Daily News

FIG. 129. The ward leader can usually "count his chickens before they are hatched"

The Ward Club. In every ward in the larger cities and in many of the smaller ones the political machine has a headquarters club. Independent party members as well as those of the machine belong to these clubs. They have on an average from 400 to 600 members.

The clubs are social as well as political organizations. There are rooms for reading and other recreations and a large room for political meetings and balls. Here the ward boss meets the precinct leaders and his other helpers. Here also he provides entertainment for the people of the neighborhood—dances, lectures, games, and the like. In this way the ward leader uses the club to get acquainted with people and to influence their votes.

The Ward Leader's Power to Select Candidates. Candidates to the city council, to the state legislature, and to Congressional-district offices are selected from the wards as well as from the larger political divisions. The ward leader has great power in the selection of candidates. Here is how it is done. The ward leader picks his man and takes him to the office of the city boss to be introduced. About all that takes place there is a little handshaking. The man announces himself to be a candidate for office, the ward supports him, and the machine swings into action behind him. There is then little doubt that he will be elected.

What the Ward Leader Gets. The ward leaders naturally get more than the precinct leaders. Their responsibility and their services are greater. Many hold political jobs of one sort or another with salaries that range from $2000 to $8000 a year. If they happen to be in businesses of their own, their political influence frequently helps them sell their goods or get contracts from the city. Also, they are given more money than the precinct leaders for election expenses. What they do not spend they may keep, and no questions are asked.

On Election Day. The ward leader rushes from one precinct to another, helping the weaker districts, checking up on the voters, and watching for signs of disloyalty in the workers. If the fight is hard he is doubly busy, for supporters must be brought to the polls somehow.

3. The city boss

At the head of the political machine of the community is the city boss. It is to him that the ward bosses report and from him that they take orders. He is generally the most influential person in the government of the community. When special groups want privileges from the city goverment they must go to him. Persons wanting to run for important offices must go to him. Of course he has power only so long as he and his ward leaders and precinct leaders can command a majority of the votes cast on election days. Public opinion when aroused can overthrow him as well as keep him in office. But because of his machine and its close contact with the people of the city, he is truly a boss.

How the City Boss Rises to Power. The strongest boss is the one who fights his way up from the bottom of the ladder. One student has thus summed up the rise of the city boss:

> Briefly, these are the stages through which the typical city boss of the professional kind goes on his way up:
>
> From runner or messenger (assisting the precinct leader) to judge or clerk in the precinct.
> From judge or clerk to a small city job.
> From the small city job to precinct leader and a better job.
> From precinct leader to ward leader, real political power, and an influential and well-paid city job.

From ward leader he "spreads out" to a district leader, with strength in a number of wards besides his own.

From district leader he becomes the right-hand man of the boss, with his chance to make much money and exercise big influence as the trusted agent and heir apparent.

And the next step takes him to the final goal—the boss-ship—which he may reach in one of two ways:

First, the boss may die or retire, and he easily takes over the management as the most natural leader in sight, or,

Second, he may quarrel with the boss—usually over a division of the money—split the machine, ally himself with a temporary independent, reform, or inside revolt, and beat him in a city-wide primary fight.[1]

This, then, is the way a political worker usually rises to become the boss of a city political machine. From the outline you can see that the fight upward is a long and difficult one. Indeed, only the most powerful can reach the top.

What is it that gives the city boss his power? There are several factors, but three are most important. *First*, the political machine must have a real leader. When the members discover a leader, they give him almost complete power. *Second*, once he gets into power, the boss is accepted by the special-interest groups of the community as the most influential person in the government. These groups—the corporations and businessmen, the labor organizations, the patriotic and memorial societies, and so on—transact business with him when they wish to get their special interest represented in the community government. *Third*, owing to his position, he receives much publicity from newspapers and other sources. This adds to his prestige in the community.

There are, of course, many kinds of bosses. Some are honest, well-educated men who are sincerely interested in the business of government, and who are in the game for the love of it as well as for the sense of power which it gives. Some not only do not make money out of it, but actually put money into it.

On the other hand, there are dishonest bosses who go into politics to make money and to exercise power over other men. These persons do not hesitate to engage in dishonest practices.

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[1] Adapted from Frank R. Kent's *The Great Game of Politics*, pp. 84–85. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1930.

They make government a disgrace and communities unfit places to live in. There are cities in America today governed by such bosses.

Helping the city boss is the city committee. The members of this committee take charge of all local business pertaining to the party. They manage the elections. They raise and spend money for election campaigns. They do all they can to add to the strength of the party.

So much for the way political parties work in a city. But they do not confine themselves to cities. They elect county officials, governors and state legislatures, Congressmen, Presidents, and Vice-Presidents. As figure 126 shows, the city leaders are merely a part of an organization which reaches out over the whole nation.

II. The County Boss and the County Committee

As you know, the 48 states are divided into counties, ranging in number per state from less than 50 to over 100. Now in each of these counties the political parties are at work. They have special committees and officers; most of them have county bosses.

What has been said about the rise of the city bosses to power applies also to the rise of the county boss. In fact, the county boss is generally the party leader in the largest town or city of the county.

The county boss works with a county committee, which has the same kind of power and work to do as the city committee. Together they all try to win as many county offices for the party as they can. They arrange for campaign speeches to be given throughout the rural districts as well as in the towns and cities. Winning the election in the county generally means that the party puts into office a dozen or more of its own party members, and these persons exert an important control over the county government. With this added power the county boss is in a position to promote the appointment of many minor officials who are not elected directly by the people. In large counties this may mean hundreds, even thousands, of jobs for party members and workers in the organization. And, of course, this all helps to increase the strength of the party. Some of the relatives and personal friends of these several thousand job-holders in government will almost surely vote for party candidates at future elections.

Moreover, the county boss frequently controls the votes of all delegates from his county to state conventions. This means that he also plays a big part in deciding who runs the state government. If he is in a large city the county boss may even play an important role in national elections. So the position of the county boss and the members of the county committee is often a very strong one in the political party.

III. The State Boss, or Chairman of the Central Committee, and the State Committee

Still higher up in the party organization are the state boss and his state committee, sometimes called the chairman and the central committee. These have the real control over state politics and, if the party is in power, *over state government as well.* Many distinguished statesmen have said publicly for over a half century that very frequently the real "governor" of the state is not the person elected by the voters at all. It is, instead, the state boss! In many cases the state boss actually tells the governor what to do. Speaking of the most heavily populated state in the Union—New York—Senator Elihu Root, for 40 years one of the most distinguished leaders in national government, once said publicly:

> What is the government of this State? The government of the Constitution? Oh, no. . . . For I don't remember how many years Mr. Conkling, the state boss, was the supreme ruler of this state; the governor did not count, the legislature did not count . . . comptrollers and secretaries of state and what not did not count . . . the capital was not at Albany; it was at 49 Broadway. . . . The ruler of the state during the greater part of the forty years of my acquaintance with the state government has not been any man authorized by the constitution or the law.

IV. At the Top Is the National Committee

Finally we come to the most important central leadership in the political party; namely, the National Committee. Each major party has one, and it consists of about 100 persons—one committee-man and one committeewoman from each state and a few additional ones representing the District of Columbia and the Territories. Directing it, is an executive national chairman, who is generally chosen by the party's Presidential candidate. In most cases, however, he is really not the national party leader. That place is quite frequently held by another. The President, for example, is almost always the national leader of his party. During his term of office it is generally understood that his wishes are followed by all the lesser leaders. However, there have been times in American history when the national boss has had more influence in the party than the President in office. In some instances the President has been little more than a mouthpiece for the national boss and the national leaders. At such times, therefore, what former Secretary Root said about real government in New York State could well be said about the national government.

This, briefly, is the framework of the political party and the way the major parties—the Republicans and the Democrats—work. And every new party tries to build up the same kind of organization.

In summing up, notice three things especially about these political parties. *First*, they reach out into every little community of the entire country. There is a little boss and a little committee in practically every precinct or hamlet in the land.

Second, the party, like a business organization, is organized in a stair-steplike pyramid of power. In fact, it *is* a business organization, the business being getting votes and winning elections. Each little boss with his little committee is under, and takes orders from, some slightly bigger boss and his slightly bigger committee. These bosses and committees take orders from bigger bosses and bigger committees in charge of the vote-getting and electing officeholders in larger areas. Finally there is the biggest boss with his committee, whose power extends across the whole nation.

Third, note that although the party reaches out to the people themselves—to all the families and neighborhoods of the entire nation—it is a small group of leaders that directs or "bosses" the vote-getting and government for the entire country. Even the state bosses take orders from the biggest bosses and the biggest committee, namely, the National Committee. Seldom do they put up candidates to run against the boss's candidate, for that would mean a real fight at the polls. Instead, the lesser bosses almost always take orders from the top and do as they are told.

Thus the political machine is organized and is run very much like the modern business company or corporation. Efficiency in vote-getting is its central task.

MONEY SUPPLIES POWER TO RUN THE POLITICAL MACHINES

You are probably asking how it is possible for the machine to carry on its work. As you know, it costs large sums of money to conduct a political campaign. Many headquarters are maintained; halls, bands, and speakers are hired; a vast amount of advertising is supplied. Enormous sums are spent for radio time and newspaper advertisements. Stenographers and clerks must be hired, and traveling expenses must be paid for many workers. Banners, posters, sample ballots, and stationery must be printed. On election day huge expenses, some lawful and some not, have to be met. The result is that city political campaigns cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. In one of our large cities a political machine has raised and spent as much as $1,000,000 in a single annual election. Experts estimated that $25,000,000 was spent by the national parties in the election of 1936.

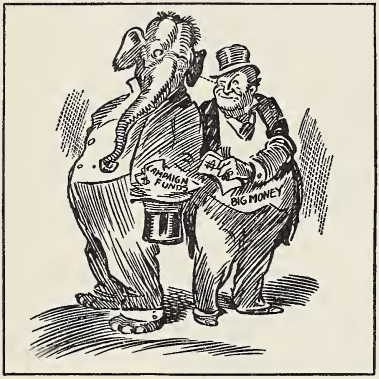

Fig. 130. A cartoon illustrating the collection of campaign funds by a political party
Courtesy of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal, Inc.*

Who supplies the money? Most of it comes from three main sources. (1) Some is given by the officeholders who have received their jobs through the machine. The customary practice is for each officeholder to contribute a certain percentage of his salary to the machine campaign fund. It is estimated that in New York City receipts from this source frequently total more than $250,000.

(2) Another share of it is contributed by the candidate himself, the amount depending upon his wealth, his liberality, and the importance of the office for which he is running. Students of the question estimate that in our larger cities the candidates for mayor contribute at least $5000. Those running for positions such as judge, clerk of the court, and the like, contribute from $500 to $2000 or $3000. (3) The third source of income of the political machine is the voluntary contributions of the special groups in the community and nation—corporations, contractors, and other business and labor groups—usually friends of the political party.

This campaign money is spent under the general direction of the bigger bosses. From them and their lieutenants it is passed down through the organization. In a city, for example, the ward leaders receive a share. They in turn distribute part of what they get to each of the precinct leaders. It is a well-known fact that as the money passes down some always remains in the pockets of individual leaders.

What have we learned about representative government and political parties?

Looking back now, what have we learned about representative government and political parties? We know, first of all, that government in a country like ours must be carried on indirectly by representatives. Only a few things can be done directly by all the people. What are those few things? Why is it impossible for our people to govern themselves directly? What reasons have you learned from this chapter? Can you think of others?

Summing up, then, let us try to answer these questions:

1. What is meant by representative government and why must Americans use it?
2. Why did political parties rise? What have been the chief stages in their development? Can you tell why we have always had only two major parties, but several minor parties?
3. Are our political parties well organized? Are they well run? How do politicians spend most of their time? To what extent are they the real "rulers" of our local, state, and national governments?
4. Do you think that political parties are necessary? Why? Or, why not? Keeping in mind our kind of civilization can you suggest a way to carry on democratic government without them?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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☆ IV ☆

American Government at Work

American Government at Work

Our study now turns from the theory of representative government to the practice of it.

In Chapter XIII we go on directly from the study of politicians and political parties to the story of how officials of government are elected.

In a real sense Chapters XII and XIII deal with a single problem, namely, "the politician" as the real director of government.

Chapters XIV to XVII, inclusive, describe the "machinery of government" in America; that is, how our officials work.

In Chapter XIV we see legislators passing laws; in Chapter XV, executives carrying them out; in Chapters XVI and XVII, judges interpreting them and police officers trying to enforce them.

But Chapters XIV to XVII do little more than describe the "machinery."

Finally in Chapter XVIII we bring our study of government to a close by seeing how the people pay for this enormous business enterprise called "democratic government."

CHAPTER XIII · Electing Officials of Government

★

So much for political parties and how they work. Let us come back now to the first practical problem of government—the election of officials.

As we begin our study let us remind ourselves of the changed conditions under which government is carried on today. Summing up briefly what was said in Unit III:

First, America is a huge country of 130,000,000 people scattered over an area almost equal to that of all Europe. The population is too great to permit them to govern themselves directly, especially since so many of them are crowded into large towns and cities.

Second, the citizens are too remote from direct problems of government. Most problems seem to be impersonal "community" matters, directly related to the interests of only a few individual citizens.

Third, the citizens are too busy with their own personal affairs to pay much attention to government.

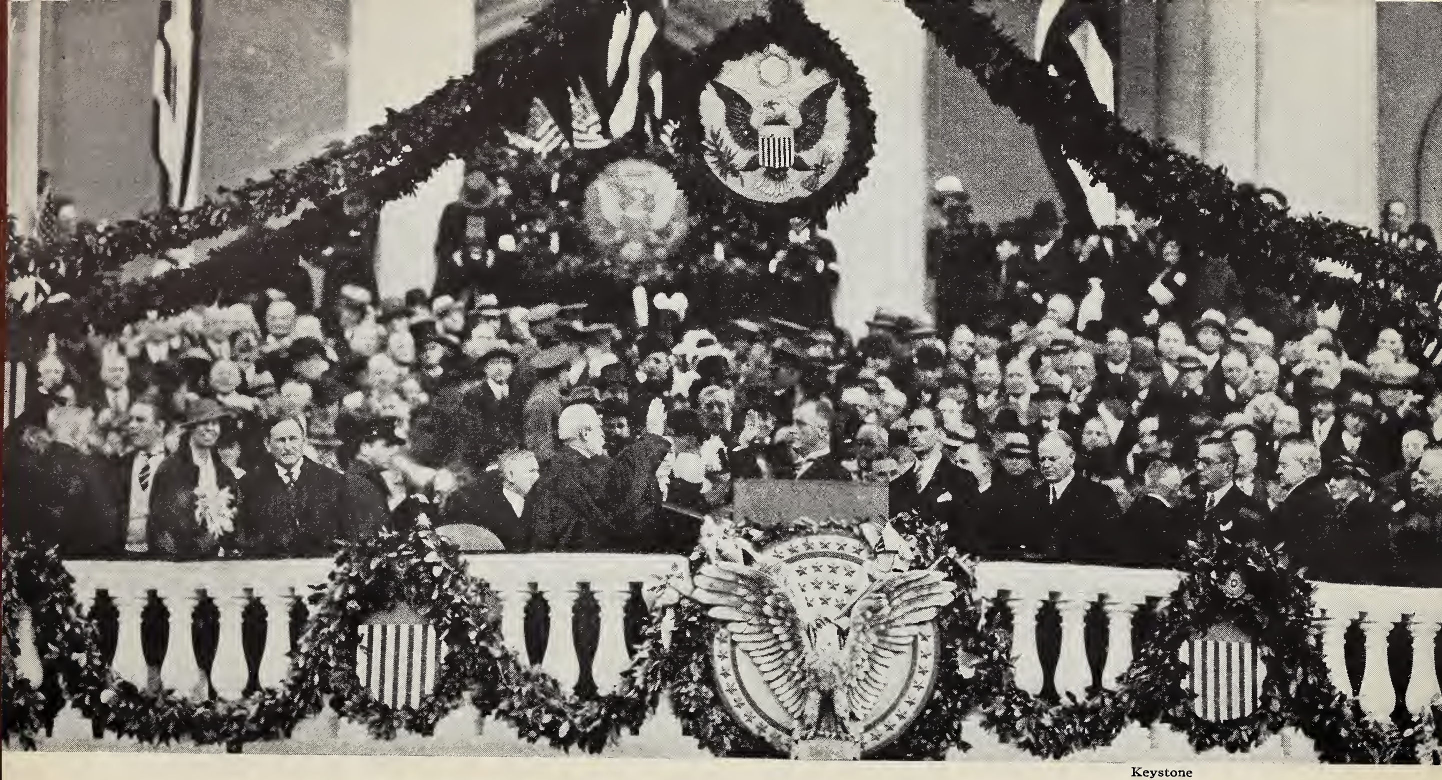
Fourth, most citizens cannot get the facts needed to enable them to govern themselves directly and wisely.

Who are the vote-getters?

How is government run under such conditions? If the population is too big, if people are too busy, if they are unable to govern directly, who does it for them?

There is only one answer, and no doubt you have already sensed it: *The Politicians!*

Yes—the politicians—the professional vote-getters and office-holders—for they are practically the only ones who devote their time and energy to it. They are almost the only group of people in our country who have interest and skill in managing elections



Keystone

Fig. 131. The inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt as President of the United States, March 4, 1933

and doing the work of government. Note that we say *almost* the only group. We must remember that, in addition, there are sincere students who work vigorously and tirelessly to guarantee good government. These include honest and intelligent officeholders such as "reform" district attorneys, mayors, aldermen, governors, senators, and representatives. Also there are some newspaper and magazine publishers and writers, some teachers, professors, ministers, and a few other prominent citizens, who are willing to give their free time to work to get rid of graft and other forms of bad government. But these people are few in number. Altogether they add up to only a very small fraction of the entire voting public. Certainly they are far less numerous than the politicians and the members and friends of their "machines."

If the politicians are so powerful in government, we should know what they do. We have already read about some of the general kinds of tasks they perform. But there is one thing they manage which stands out above all others. That is the election of officials. Let us look into this phase of government a little more closely.

THE PRINCIPAL STEPS IN ELECTING OFFICIALS

It is not difficult to understand how an election is conducted. There are six chief steps:

First, the nomination of candidates—for the offices of mayor, alderman, governor, President, and so on, by the political parties.

Second, the making of the party platform—that is, the statements of what the party's politicians and candidates say they believe and say they will do in government if elected.

Third, the political campaign—run by party politicians to elect candidates. This includes speeches, parades, radio broadcasts, "ballyhoo" in many forms, advertising, what not—all of which are used to mold public opinion . . . the public mood . . . the public mind.

Fourth, the actual casting of ballots by the voters on election day.

Fifth, the counting of ballots and the official announcement of the results of the election.

Sixth, the inauguration of the newly elected officials.

Though these are not the only steps leading to the election of government officials, they are the principal ones. Let us discuss them in greater detail.

How the politicians nominate candidates

Candidates are usually selected, or nominated, in one of three ways: by (1) the caucus; (2) the convention; or (3) the direct primary—and in each the politicians take a leading part.

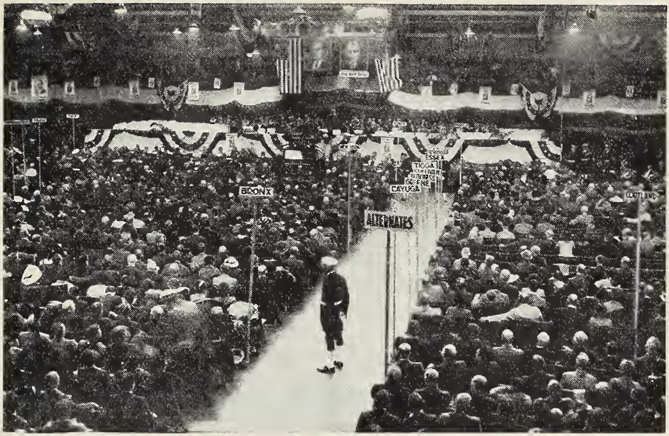
1. The caucus

This is one of the oldest and commonest ways of choosing candidates. It was used in England for centuries and in our own New England from colonial days on. The political party holds a meeting, called a "caucus," for the purpose of selecting the persons in the party who are to run for the various offices. The caucus is supposed to be open to all members of the party, but actually only a few of the leading ones attend. The whole affair is under the direction of a small committee. At the caucus persons are suggested for each office, and discussion begins. If there are differences about the persons suggested among those attending, these differences are talked out and, if possible, an agreement is reached. The full list of nominations agreed upon is called "the slate."

Each party—Republican, Democratic, Socialist, and others—has a slate. It is the names on these slates that are printed on the election ballot. (Of course, frequently individuals run "independently," not on the slate, and are also voted on at election time.)

2. Nominating conventions

The caucus method of choosing candidates can work well in small hamlets where everyone knows everyone else. The party members can meet and talk over the "best" man for each office. (In fact, under such conditions an actual election could even be carried on in a Town Meeting; no parties or nominating would be necessary at all!) But what of heavily populated towns and cities where no face-to-face discussion of party members is possible? In such centers the caucus method has proved to be unsatisfactory.



Keystone

Fig. 132. The New York State Democratic Convention in session to nominate candidates for state offices

From Chapter XII you already know that the party candidate for each city office is chosen by the city boss and his committee. Likewise the county boss and committee select those who are to run for county offices. And these candidates make up the local "slates" on election day.

In the states, and the nation as a whole, the "convention" method still remains popular. For example, delegates are chosen to go to a state convention of the party to select candidates for the more important state offices—Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Treasurer, and the like. Note how the use of party delegates in this way really carries the idea of representative government into the political parties themselves.

Or, take a national convention of a political party (Republican, Democratic, Farmer-Laborite, or any other). The various state committees, with the aid and advice of county and local committees, choose delegates who go to a national convention held once in four years, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President and to make the national party platform. Thus the representative idea works here too.

As the convention method of choosing candidates for public office spread, especially in the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's, more and more citizens criticized it. Increasingly they said what most people knew to be true: "This is not democracy. It is really not 'government of the people, by the people, for the people.' It is government of professional politicians, mostly by professional politicians, and, to a large extent, for professional politicians. It is only partly for the people. Mr. Voter is voting on candidates whom he did not help choose. Some way must be found to let the rank and file of the people in each party—not the bosses alone—choose candidates!" By 1900 a vigorous crusade was under way to "clean up politics," and to reform, among other things, the convention system.

3. Direct primaries to nominate candidates

One reform carried through in many states was the substitution of the *direct primary election* for the convention system of nominating candidates for office. According to the new method, between March and September of an election year a preliminary election, called a "primary," is held. This is exactly like any other election *except that the voting is done within parties.* That is, a Republican votes on a Republican ballot for the person he wants to be the Republican candidate in the final election—for Mayor, City Clerk, County Treasurer, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, State Treasurer, and other offices. Democrats, Socialists, and others do the same on party ballots of their own. Thus in the primary several candidates belonging to the same party can be running for a single office.

For a person to become a candidate with his name printed on the primary ballot, he must have a petition for candidacy signed by a stated number of voters belonging to his party. Moreover, if he wants to be candidate for a state office he must get the signatures of a large number of party members who live in different counties or sections of the state.

Has the primary election made the nominations of candidates more democratic?

Many students of government claim that the primary method of nominating candidates is more democratic than the caucus or convention methods, for at least three reasons:

First, in the voting any citizen can vote for any other citizen; if the name of the person a citizen wishes to vote for is not on the printed ballot he may write it in.

Second, in most places where primary elections are held the person who receives the *largest number of the party's votes that are cast for a particular office* (this is a plurality, not a majority) becomes the party's one candidate for that office in the final election. In a few states a person must receive *an actual majority*—that is, *more than half of all votes cast.* Frequently, when several candidates are running and the vote is close, no one candidate gets an actual majority. Then a second primary election is held to choose final party candidates.

Third, to make sure that people vote only for their own party candidates in primary elections some states require the voters to register their party membership a stated number of months in advance, and will not permit them to change their membership until after that election. This makes it impossible for Republicans, or Democrats, or Socialists, or members of any other party to interfere with the choice of another party's candidates.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the primary election has made it possible for citizens to take a slightly more direct part in the election of their officials. Also, when two or more rival political groups have formed *within* a party, the voters actually get the opportunity to show their preferences. But has the primary idea really taken the control over officeholding away from the professional politician?

To answer our question definitely, we must recall the conditions under which voting is done:

1. Cities and states are large and populous.
2. The offices to be filled are many in number.
3. The "best" candidates of a party cannot possibly be personally known to many voters.
4. The law requires candidates to have petitions which are legally signed by many party members. To get these costs money; indeed, it usually costs more money than most individuals have to spend.
5. To advertise a candidate sufficiently to get him elected usually requires a great deal of money.
6. To get the "best people" into office requires careful attention and interest on the part of the public to matters of government.

Now back to our question: Has the professional politician been forced from control over office-getting?

Under the conditions we have just stated, it is clear that to be elected to office a primary candidate must have strong financial backing and publicity—especially in a large community, a county, or a state. How many candidates do you suppose can supply these themselves? Certainly very few.

Generally speaking, the candidate must have the backing of the political party, for it alone has the money and publicity organization required. As a result, the political machine actually still continues to make up the slate of candidates. It gets candidates' petitions signed and thus succeeds in placing their names on the printed ballots. It "gets out the vote" for these persons on election day. And in nine tenths or more of the elections the candidates that the leaders of the party prefer in the primary become the candidates in the final election.

Nevertheless, it can be said that the direct primary does make the election of officials a little more democratic. Whenever real opposition develops to a political machine, or whenever rival groups develop within a machine, the primary does give the voters a chance to choose.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE PARTY

Although we have spoken about the national conventions of political parties in Chapter XII, it seems wise to say more about them here, for it is in the national convention that we see best what the rule of the political bosses means. Here we see the political party really working as a well-oiled machine works. A machine does not think for itself. It simply moves in certain ways at the command of the one directing it. The operator pulls or pushes a lever and the machine moves. So with the political party at a national convention. Gathered together are all the leaders from the biggest bosses down to the city and county or district party delegates. The national committee at the top makes decisions and gives commands, and the leaders in order pass them on and on, down and down, through committee after committee. Except at times when there are splits within the party, the whole organization "hums." It is well named "a machine."

As we have said before, in every presidential election year each party has one of these national conventions.[1] It is held in a large city and is attended by 1000 or more official delegates and many thousands of onlookers. Lasting several days, it is an occasion for gaiety and the reunion of old friends as well as for serious business concerning the party and its work.

Who are the delegates?

Ninety-odd per cent of the official delegates are professional politicians. They are the party's experts in vote-getting. Many are officeholders—governors, senators, representatives, and the like; many are former officeholders. A few outstanding statesmen, an occasional university president, students of and writers about government, can be seen in attendance. But practically all are part of the national political machine, for this is the one time in four years when the entire national army of political leaders actually comes together in the same room. A thousand Republican leaders . . . a thousand Democratic leaders—gathered to see and feel their own strength, to hear personal reports from distant parts of the country, to organize themselves for the coming political battle.

What does the convention do? Three chief things:

1. It puts all parts of its national machine into as perfect order as possible for the strenuous campaign of vote-getting ahead.
2. It nominates two candidates—one for the Presidency, the other for the Vice-Presidency; and these are the two that the leaders think will have the best chance of being elected, will be the best vote-getters.
3. It writes a statement of its "principles," called the "party platform." This declares what the leaders will "stand on," what they say they believe about various matters of national life, and what they say they will do if their candidates are elected. It is a statement of faith and a promise of action.

What is the procedure followed at the convention?

First, the delegates listen to a "Keynote Speech" given by a nationally prominent orator of the party. It is intended to "set

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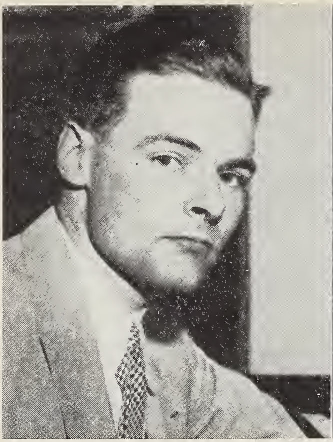
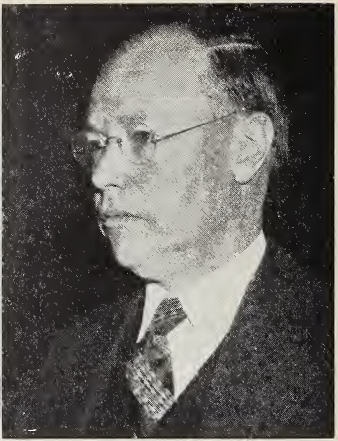
[1] Tradition has established the custom that the Republicans shall meet in June, the Democrats always a little later, and the other parties at still other times during the summer.



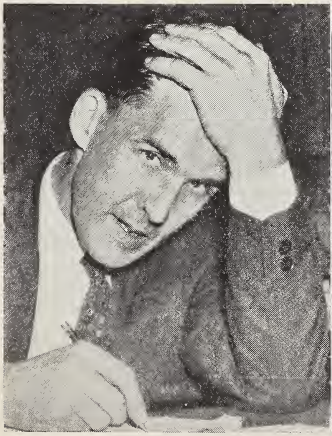
Keystone

HENRY CABOT LODGE
Senator from Massachusetts

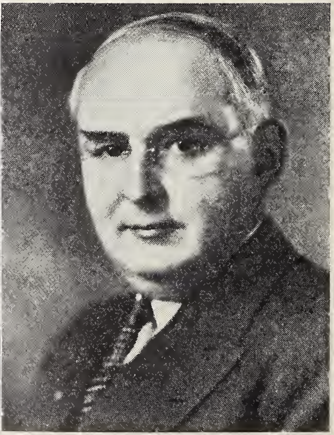


Acme

ROBERT TAFT
Senator from Ohio



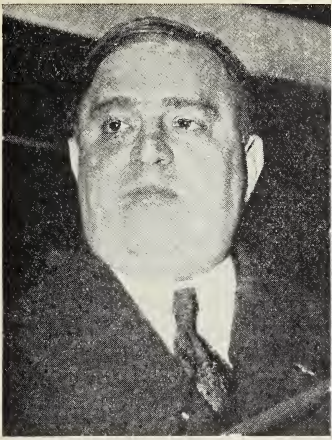
H. JERRY VOORHIS
Representative from California



Keystone

ARTHUR VANDENBERG
Senator from Michigan

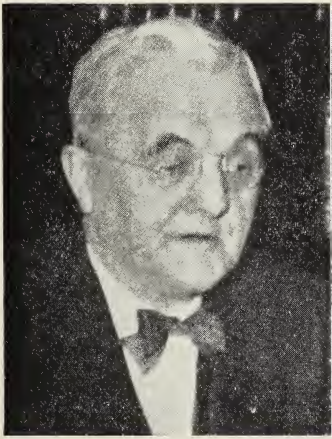
Fig. 133. Eight men whose names and faces are famili



FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA
Mayor of New York

Acme

THOMAS E. DEWEY
District Attorney of New York



Keystone

GEORGE W. NORRIS
Senator from Nebraska

Acme

THOMAS V. SMITH
Representative from Illinois

most Americans who are interested in national affairs the tone" of the convention, to state the chief themes or points around which the delegates should build their local and state campaigns. Usually it starts the convention off on a high pitch of enthusiasm.

Four committees are formed, made up of one delegate from each of the states: (*a*) the Committee on Rules; (*b*) the Committee on Permanent Organization; (*c*) the Committee on Credentials; and (*d*) the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

The Credentials Committee has the important task of trying to settle whatever differences have developed between rival groups in state political controversies. Often there are no such differences. But sometimes two rival and about equally strong factions have developed within the party in a state. And each sends delegates to the convention, asking to be accepted as the official organization. It is the difficult task of the Credentials Committee to study the claims of the two rivals and then to recommend one of the delegations to be accepted as official. Since its recommendation is generally approved by the convention, you can see that the Credentials Committee has great power in the party machine.

THE PARTY PLATFORM

Who makes it?

The work of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions plays an extremely important part in the campaign and election and we should study it very carefully. It is perhaps the busiest committee of all. In the midst of a terrific hubbub it sits day after day and well into the nights with delegations and individuals from various states who offer "planks" to be fitted into the platform. Each plank is a special plea for a certain action to be approved or taken by government. Drafts of resolutions are offered concerning an endless number of matters. Frequently they are utterly opposed to one another in point of view. No consistent platform could possibly include them. But the committee must not offend the promoters of any one of them—so, in spite of the turmoil, it listens to them all.

Actually, most of the planks of the final platform have been written by a small group of leaders long before the meeting of the convention. If the President in office at the time is to be renominated by the convention, he himself writes the platform and a personal representative brings it to the Platform Committee. With few changes it is adopted by the committee and later is read to the convention. Amidst great cheers it is also adopted by the delegates. It is said that President Roosevelt wrote the Democratic party platform before the convention met in 1936.

And so we have the answer to the question: Who makes the party platform? Sometimes it is the Presidential candidate, but always the few real national leaders of the party. Put differently, we can say: The party platforms are made by persons who are, first and foremost, experts in vote-getting. They may or may not be experts in good government but they are permitted to write the platform because they are accepted by the lesser party leaders as experts on electing candidates to office.

What is the purpose of a platform?

As the very word suggests, a platform is what the party's candidates for office will stand on, what they will do, if elected. It is really a vote-getting device. During campaigns voters hear candidates and their orators say over the radio, in the newspapers, at street meetings, and other political rallies: "I stand on this plank of our great platform, namely, . . ." And on they go to cite some particular statement in it. The platform is printed in pamphlet form and distributed to many centers over the country. Sometimes it is condensed, and sometimes printed in full in newspapers and magazines. It is quoted over and over again—on the radio and in the newsreels. It is referred to in discussion clubs and neighborhood gatherings in thousands of communities. Citizens everywhere can be heard saying: "The Republicans say so and so." . . . "The Democrats have promised to repeal that law." . . . "The Socialists would change all that." . . .

What do the platforms say?

In Appendixes C and D we have reprinted the Democratic and Republican platforms for 1936. In Appendix E are printed digests of the Republican, Democratic, Union, Socialist, and Communist platforms for 1936. In Appendix F you will find digests of the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist platforms for 1932. Study the platforms and digests for these critical election years of 1932 and 1936. Compare the statements in the platforms and digests to see how the parties dealt with the same matters. Compare what the parties said they believed at each election time.

Collect some national platforms of other election years and study them carefully.

First, note the length of the platforms. In 1932 the Republican platform had 8900 words, covering some 30 pages. The Democratic platform had only 1500 words. That of the Socialist party had 2400 words. After reading the Democratic and Republican platforms for 1936, ask yourself which one seems to contain the clearer and stronger statements of policies—the longer or the shorter one?

Second, note how much space is given to various matters. Compute the percentage of words in each platform which are devoted to praise of the party, and the percentage of words devoted to the statement of policy.

Third, note especially whether the platforms recommend specific laws and definite action. Are some of them filled with vague general statements or suggestions? Decide whether the really important problems of the nation have been treated in the platforms. See whether some parties are altogether silent concerning important issues. For example, in 1936 the Republican platform made no suggestion at all for reform in the structure of the government, and the Democratic platform was vague concerning this question, but the minor parties made very many definite recommendations for change. Similarly, note that some platforms entirely ignored such questions as social insurance, race relations, taxation, and child labor, while others suggested specific programs for the solution or treatment of these problems.

In Appendix G you will find a very interesting "Independent Party Platform," which was made by a group of American high-school students. This was the prize-winner of the *Scholastic* [Magazine] Political Platform Contest held in 1932. Compare this platform with the platforms the major political parties made in 1932. Contrast the definiteness and clearness of the former with the vagueness of all the latter. For example, note the students' recommendation that governmental departments be reorganized, that the Electoral College be abolished, that the Constitution be amended to provide more efficient government, that machinery be created for the national planning of industry and agriculture. Note their definite recommendations for reducing unemployment, their plea that the United States join the League of Nations and the World Court. See how they treated the question of disarmament, and other problems.

Try especially to see why there are such differences between the "ideal" platform made by the high-school students and the platforms made and used in the actual campaign by the party leaders themselves.

After days and nights of hard work in the midst of heated political discussions, marching bands, and cheering and jeering delegates, the Committee completes the final draft of the Platform. Its adoption by the convention is the signal for more marching, more noisy bands, more shouting, more cheering.

NOMINATION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

Then comes the most important event of the convention, the event for which the delegates have come together. This is the nomination of the party's candidate for the Presidency. If the party in power wishes to renominate the President, the voting is over in a short time. This is true also when the party not in power nominates only one man—as in the Republican convention of 1936, when the only man named was Alfred M. Landon. But almost always there is a race for the nomination, and the final choice of a candidate takes days. The name of a candidate is put before the convention, and a speech is made about him. At its conclusion his supporters stage a tremendous demonstration. They cheer and sing and stamp; while bands play they march around the auditorium. They try to prolong the demonstration and make it as noisy as possible—in the hope that the rest of the convention will see their great strength and be persuaded to join in support of their candidate. All this happens each time a new candidate is nominated.

Finally the delegates are ready to cast their ballots.

The Democrats allow each state double the number of delegates that it has Senators and Representatives in Congress. Since 1936 a majority vote of the delegates has been required for the choice of a candidate at the Democratic convention; formerly a two-thirds vote was required. And in the Democratic convention the states vote as a unit; that is, all the votes of a particular state go to the one candidate agreed upon by the majority of the delegates of that state.

Before 1928 the Republicans gave each state the same number of delegates as it had members in Congress. Now, however, they allow additional delegates to certain states, usually those which have especially large numbers of Republican voters.

At both conventions the Territories of the United States are also represented.

The delegates begin to cast their ballots, and this is done by states in alphabetical order. If the result of the first ballot of all the states shows that one candidate has received a majority of the votes, he is declared the candidate of the party. But if the race is close and there are several candidates, a second ballot, a third ballot, a thirty-fifth ballot, and so on, may be needed before a candidate gets a majority. Sometimes several delegations join together to prevent a certain popular man from getting the nomination. Sometimes the leaders of rival groups talk things over in their hotel rooms, and agree on a hitherto almost unknown man—a "dark horse"—who is accepted as a "compromise candidate." Delegates may then switch their votes to this "dark horse" and so give him a majority. Several times in American history the country has been shocked to read in the papers of the nomination of an almost unknown politician and have later seen a man become President of the United States who had never shown that he was qualified to hold that great office. See if you can find examples of this.

Long demonstrations, accompanied by shouting, singing, band-playing, parades, and the like, follow this final choice of a candidate.

Once the excitement has died down over the successful nomination of a candidate, the delegates choose a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. This naturally is much less exciting than the race for the Presidency; indeed frequently there is almost no contest at all. But it should be noted that the candidate for Vice-

President is also chosen with a view to getting votes for the party's ticket. For example, if the Presidential candidate is from the North or East, the man chosen for the Vice-Presidency may be from the South or West. Or, if one comes from a manufacturing state, the other might be from a farming state.

This then is a very short story of what happens at the national conventions of the political parties, particularly those of the major parties. During the days of hard work and reunion the scattered members of each party have been united and reorganized, a new platform has been written, and a standard-bearer named. Everyone goes home filled with enthusiasm to carry on a successful campaign of vote-getting.

THE CAMPAIGN "BALLYHOO" TO CAPTURE PUBLIC OPINION

During the months between convention time and election day (the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November) the American people are bombarded by political ballyhoo. You may not find the word "ballyhoo" in your dictionary; nevertheless it is widely used. Mr. Silas Bent once wrote a book entitled *Ballyhoo*. Opposite the title page he printed a letter from the managing editor of the New Standard Dictionary, saying that "ballyhoo" has about the same meaning as "barker," in the slang sense of the word. A "barker," as you probably know, is the man who stands outside the entrance of a circus side-show attracting an audience with exaggerated claims of the novelties inside the tent. Perhaps you have heard barkers shout such things as "Walk in, ladies and gentlemen, and see a live lion stuffed with straw!"

Ballyhoo is a good name to describe much of what goes on in a political campaign. The orators of one party extravagantly praise their own candidates and ridicule and denounce those of other parties. The cartoon of figure 214 is a good example of the kind of political propaganda that fills the newspapers and magazines. Just before election time campaign speeches can be heard with every turn of the radio dial. Ears are bombarded at one moment by seething denunciations and, at another, by exaggerated praise. The "sins of omission" of each political party are shouted with great vigor. The billboards in the towns and cities and along highways are covered with pictures of candidates and catchy slogans advertising them and the glorious achievements of their party. Almost every town boasts headquarters for at least the two major parties. Campaign banners stretch across the main streets. Posters fill the store windows. Even backs of automobiles advertise the special political preferences of their owners.

Everything that is said, written, printed, or sung is done for one purpose—to mold public opinion, to get votes on election day. Huge sums of money ($5,000,000 to $10,000,000 for a single party) are raised by the parties to finance the great political battle. Millions of buttons, showing candidates' pictures and names, are printed and distributed. Advertising space in magazines and newspapers is bought to spread news about party candidates. Thousands of dollars are spent for radio time. National and state party leaders cover the country in well-publicized speaking trips.

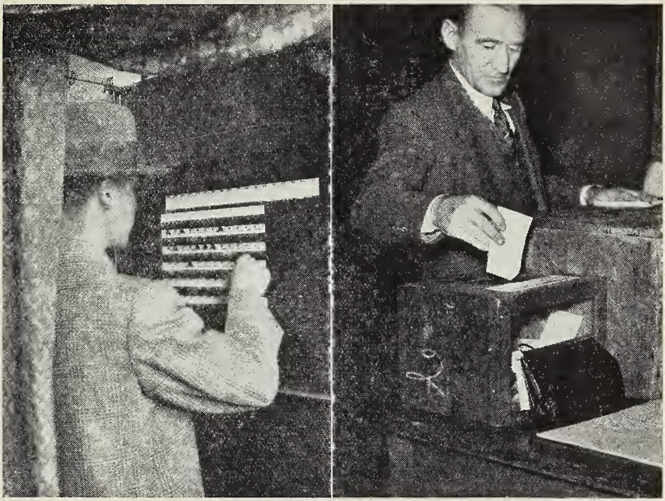
Finally the night before election arrives, and the last-minute "whoop-it-up" attempt to persuade voters is made. Thousands of rallies are held in towns and cities and villages. Millions of voters listen to the broadcasts of the Presidential candidates. Special "Extras" every hour are rushed to the streets by the metropolitan newspapers. Each party headquarters is confident of victory. Each issues predictions: "Our candidate will win by a huge plurality!" "It will be a landslide!" . . . "We can't lose!"

ELECTION DAY

On the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November tens of millions of American citizens go to the polls and vote.

Who can vote? Any person who has passed certain tests. He must be 21 years of age. He must be a citizen of the United States. He must have been a resident for a certain length of time of the state, county, and voting district in which he votes. Other tests also must be passed, but these vary among the different states. They include such things as the ability to read and write, the payment of a certain amount of yearly taxes, and so on.

There are tens of thousands of polling places. Rooms in schoolhouses and other public buildings, churches, and stores are used. Sometimes temporary buildings are set up on city streets. From seven or eight o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening



Ewing Galloway

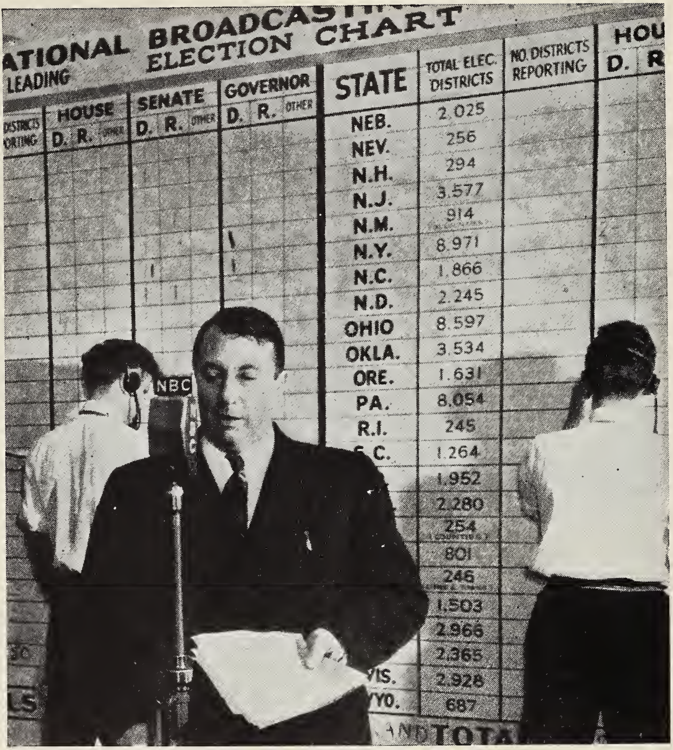
Fig. 134. Two methods of voting—by machine and by hand

steady streams of citizens flow in and out of these places. Each voter identifies himself, receives a blank ballot from an election clerk, and goes into a curtained booth.

He can vote in several different ways. He can vote a straight ticket, that is, vote for every candidate of one party. To do this, he marks an X in the circle beside the name of the party on his ballot. If voting machines are used, he sets the main lever at a certain point and pulls it down.

He can split his ticket, that is, he can vote for candidates of one party for certain offices and for candidates of other parties for other offices. On his ballot he marks an X opposite the name of each candidate he wants elected; or, if machines are used he pulls down the levers opposite the names.

When finished, the ballot voter folds his ballot carefully so that his votes will not be seen by anyone around. He himself puts it through the slot of a box at the election officials' table (see figure 134). This completes his voting. If he has been using a voting machine his votes are automatically recorded as he opens the curtain and leaves the booth.


ATIONAL BROADCAS
ELECTION CHART
LEADING
HOUSE D. R. OTHER
SENATE D. R. OTHER
GOVERNOR D. R. OTHER
STATE
TOTAL ELEC. DISTRICTS
NO. DISTRICTS REPORTING
HOU D. R
NEB. 2,025
NEV. 256
N.H. 294
N.J. 3,577
N.M. 914
N.Y. 8,971
N.C. 1,866
N.D. 2,245
OHIO 8,597
OKLA. 3,534
ORE. 1,631
PA. 8,054
R.I. 245
C. 1,264
1,952
2,280
254
801
246
1,503
2,966
2,365
IS. 2,928
YO. 687
NBC

Keystone

Fig. 135. Unofficial tabulation and broadcast of votes. The chart behind the announcer serves as a guide for the staff of political experts

Between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 American citizens go through these steps during the hours of election day. Evening finally comes, and the polls close. The American democracy has voted once more.

UNOFFICIAL COUNTS INFORM THE COUNTRY

During the evening of election day the nation seethes with excitement. Clerks are busily counting and tabulating the votes in the separate polling places. The totals are sent to central election offices in towns, cities, counties, and states.

Except in extremely rare cases, the nation as a whole knows the name of the new President before dawn of Wednesday morning. By the time the morning newspapers arrive very complete information on most of the country's voting is available.

How can this be done in a huge country like ours? It is done unofficially by several interested groups. First, the great news agencies make unofficial counts, using the telegraph, telephone, and radio to collect the figures and spread the news all over the nation. Second, the leaders of each political party and their candidates make their own unofficial counts and estimates. So experienced are these groups at estimating probable totals from the "early returns" of communities that they can predict the way the voting is going over a whole state or even over the nation. On election evenings you will frequently hear over the radio or read in a very late edition of the newspapers such words as these: "Mr. Blank's manager concedes that his opponent has won, and is now sending him congratulations."

The official process of making an exact count, however, is very slow and careful. In the case of a national election several weeks may pass before the actual full count of the nation's votes is complete.

The President officially elected by the Electoral College

It is important to remember, however, that the voters of the United States do not vote strictly and directly for their President. The makers of the United States Constitution provided a different method for electing the head of our country. They felt that it was unsafe to allow the voters to elect the President directly. It would be better, they said, for a body of electors—intelligent and well-informed men of good judgment—to make the selection. Accordingly they wrote Article II of the Constitution, which provides: "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress."

Each state, therefore, is entitled to as many electors as it has members in Congress. That is, a state with thirteen representatives and two senators is entitled to fifteen electors. It is for these

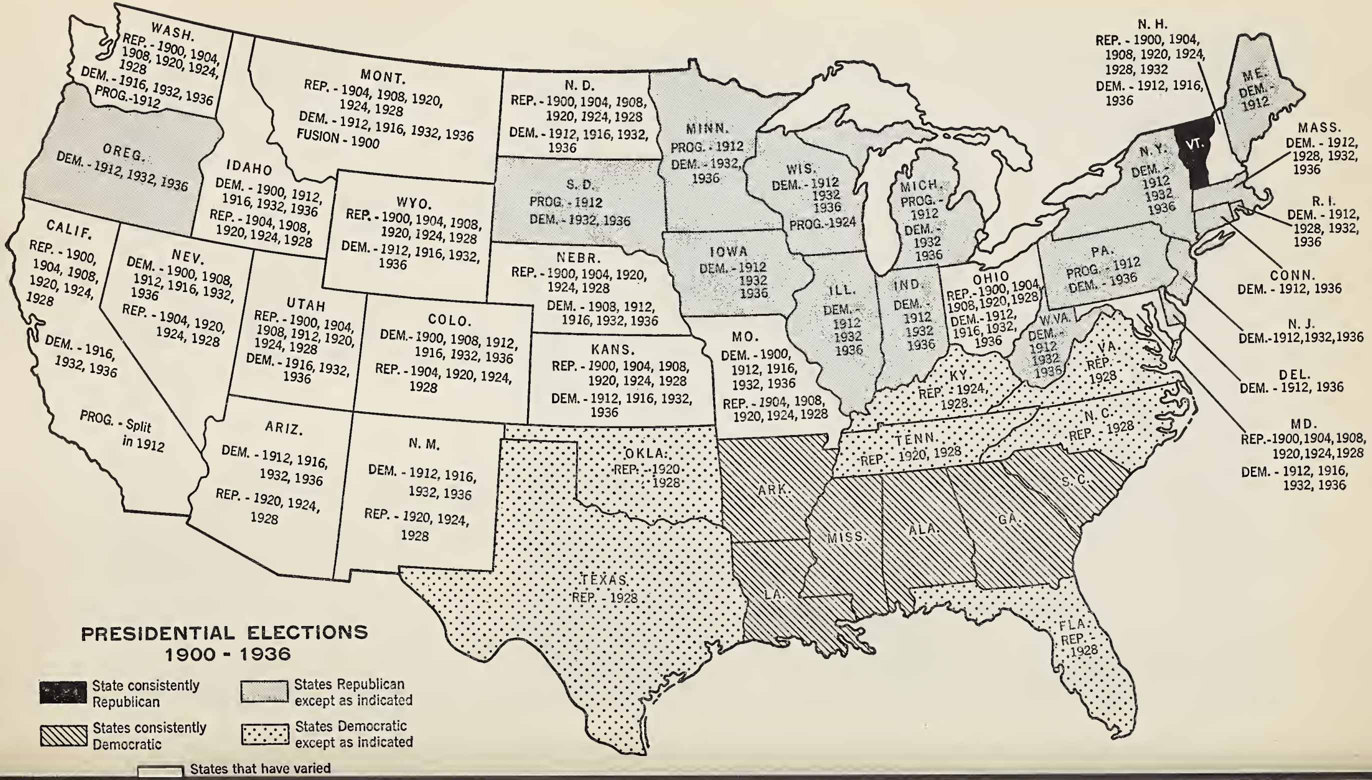

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
1900 - 1936
State consistently Republican
States consistently Democratic
States Republican except as indicated
States Democratic except as indicated
States that have varied
WASH. REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1916, 1932, 1936 PROG.-1912
OREG. DEM. - 1912, 1932, 1936
CALIF. REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1916, 1932, 1936 PROG. - Split in 1912
MONT. REP. - 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936 FUSION - 1900
IDAHO DEM. - 1900, 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936 REP. - 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928
NEV. DEM. - 1900, 1908, 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936 REP. - 1904, 1920, 1924, 1928
WYO. REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936
UTAH REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1916, 1932, 1936
COLO. DEM.- 1900, 1908, 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936 REP. - 1904, 1920, 1924, 1928
ARIZ. DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936 REP. - 1920, 1924, 1928
N. M. DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936 REP. - 1920, 1924, 1928
N. D. REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936
S. D. PROG. - 1912 DEM. - 1932, 1936
NEBR. REP. - 1900, 1904, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1908, 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936
KANS. REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928 DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936
OKLA. REP. - 1920 1928
TEXAS. REP. - 1928
MINN. PROG. - 1912 DEM. - 1932, 1936
IOWA DEM. - 1912 1932 1936
MO. DEM. - 1900, 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936 REP. - 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928
ARK.
LA.
WIS. DEM. - 1912 1932 1936 PROG.-1924
ILL. DEM. - 1912 1932 1936
MICH. PROG. - 1912 DEM. - 1932 1936
IND. DEM. - 1912 1932 1936
OHIO REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1928 DEM.- 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936
KY. REP. - 1924, 1928.
TENN. REP. - 1920, 1928
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
S. C.
FLA. REP. - 1928
N. C. REP. - 1928
VA. REP. - 1928
W. VA. DEM. - 1912 1932 1936
PA. PROG. - 1912 DEM. - 1936
N. Y. DEM. - 1912 1932 1936
VT.
N. H. REP. - 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1932 DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1936
ME. DEM. - 1912
MASS. DEM. - 1912, 1928, 1932, 1936
R. I. DEM. - 1912, 1928, 1932, 1936
CONN. DEM. - 1912, 1936
N. J. DEM.-1912,1932,1936
DEL. DEM. - 1912, 1936
MD. REP.-1900,1904,1908, 1920,1924,1928 DEM. - 1912, 1916, 1932, 1936

FIG. 136. National elections, 1900–1936, shown by states

electors that the people vote on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each Presidential election year. Each party has on its ballot a list of candidates for these electors. A voter who is in favor of the election of the Republican candidate for President therefore casts his vote for the list of electors nominated by the Republican party. The Democratic party, and each other party, has its own list of nominated electors.

Now the political party in each state which gets more votes than any other party at the November election is entitled to cast *all* the electoral votes of that state for the President and Vice-President.

Today there are 531 electoral votes in all; and the electors make up what is called the "Electoral College." Therefore the party which elects a majority of the 531 electors is certain to have its candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency elected, because every such elector can be counted on always to vote for the candidates of his party.

What happens is that on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December the electors chosen by each state meet at the state capitol and cast their votes for the candidates of the party which they represent. The report of this balloting is sent to various officials, including the presiding officer of the United States Senate in Washington, D.C.

On the sixth day of January, the United States Senate and the House of Representatives meet in the hall of the House to hear the official counting of the electoral votes for President and Vice-President. (You would think that by this time the world would have been amply informed, would you not? But the official routine must be carried through!) The presiding officer of the Senate opens the electoral votes state by state, reads them, has them totaled, and finally informs Congress that a new President has been officially elected—two months after the people of America had gone to the polls! [1]

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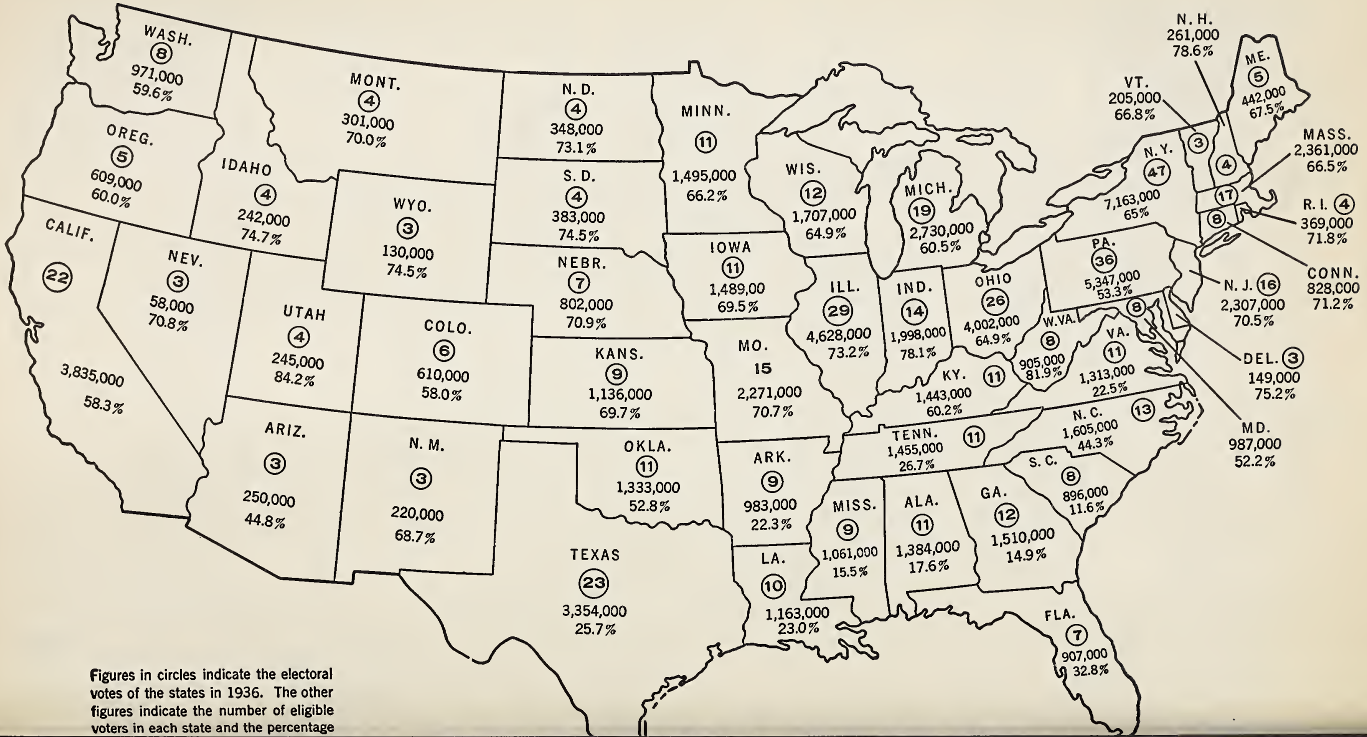
[1] Perhaps you are wondering what happens if no candidate is able to get a majority of all the electoral votes. That has happened on occasions—for example, in 1800 and 1824. In such cases, the House of Representatives is required to elect a President. If no candidate gets a majority of all the electoral votes for the Vice-Presidency, the Senate is required to elect a Vice-President.


WASH.
⑧
971,000
59.6%
OREG.
⑤
609,000
60.0%
CALIF.
㉒
3,835,000
58.3%
IDAHO
④
242,000
74.7%
NEV.
③
58,000
70.8%
MONT.
④
301,000
70.0%
WYO.
③
130,000
74.5%
UTAH
④
245,000
84.2%
ARIZ.
③
250,000
44.8%
COLO.
⑥
610,000
58.0%
N. M.
③
220,000
68.7%
N. D.
④
348,000
73.1%
S. D.
④
383,000
74.5%
NEBR.
⑦
802,000
70.9%
KANS.
⑨
1,136,000
69.7%
OKLA.
⑪
1,333,000
52.8%
TEXAS
㉓
3,354,000
25.7%
MINN.
⑪
1,495,000
66.2%
IOWA
⑪
1,489,00
69.5%
MO.
15
2,271,000
70.7%
ARK.
⑨
983,000
22.3%
LA.
⑩
1,163,000
23.0%
WIS.
⑫
1,707,000
64.9%
ILL.
㉙
4,628,000
73.2%
MISS.
⑨
1,061,000
15.5%
MICH.
⑲
2,730,000
60.5%
IND.
⑭
1,998,000
78.1%
KY.
⑪
1,443,000
60.2%
TENN.
⑪
1,455,000
26.7%
ALA.
⑪
1,384,000
17.6%
OHIO
㉖
4,002,000
64.9%
W.VA.
⑧
905,000
81.9%
GA.
⑫
1,510,000
14.9%
FLA.
⑦
907,000
32.8%
VA.
⑪
1,313,000
22.5%
N. C.
⑬
1,605,000
44.3%
S. C.
⑧
896,000
11.6%
PA.
㊱
5,347,000
53.3%
N. Y.
㊼
7,163,000
65%
VT.
205,000
66.8%
③
N. H.
261,000
78.6%
④
ME.
⑤
442,000
67.5%
MASS.
2,361,000
66.5%
⑰
R. I. ④
369,000
71.8%
CONN.
828,000
71.2%
⑧
N. J. ⑯
2,307,000
70.5%
DEL. ③
149,000
75.2%
MD.
987,000
52.2%
⑧

Figures in circles indicate the electoral votes of the states in 1936. The other figures indicate the number of eligible voters in each state and the percentage

The President inaugurated

On the twentieth day of January the newly elected President and Vice-President are inaugurated on the portico of the capitol building in Washington, D.C. (figure 131). This has come to be one of the nation's great ceremonies. The retiring President (if the President has not been re-elected) stands beside the new President while he takes the oath of office before the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Hundreds of distinguished people are clustered about them, and tens of thousands of other people stand in the great plaza before the Capitol.

After the ceremony the ex-President and the new President ride down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House together. The old cry "The King is dead! Long live the King!" might well be reworded for America: "The President has retired! The people have chosen a President!"

THE ELECTION OF CONGRESSMEN AND OTHER OFFICIALS

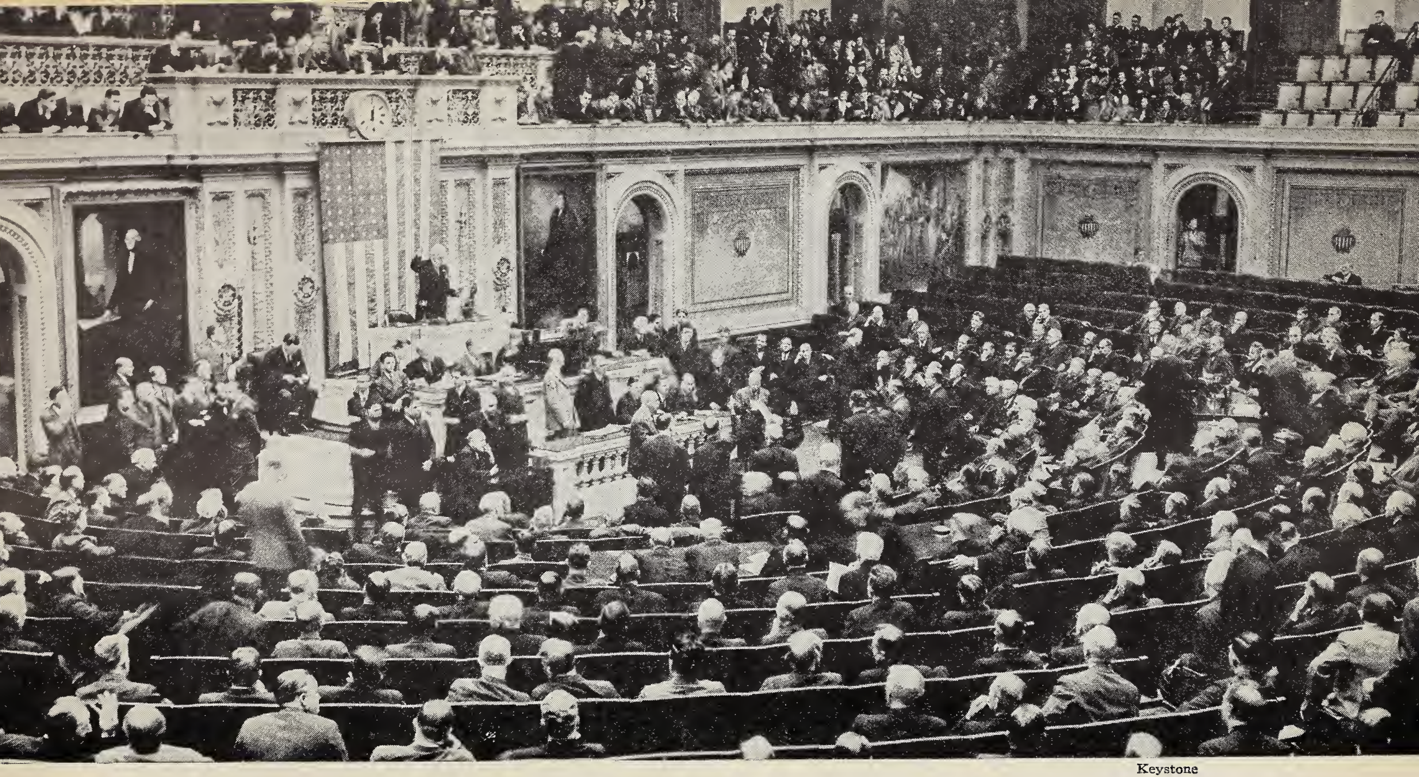
Naturally, during a presidential election the people talk most about the candidate for President. But at the same time the politicians are extremely interested in electing senators and representatives, governors, and other state officials. The leaders of each party know that our government is one of "checks and balances," that Congress is just as important in carrying on our national life as is the President. After all, they say, it is the Congress that passes the laws.

So the political parties spend vast amounts of energy and money on the election of legislators and other officials. Every two years the entire membership of the House of Representatives is elected and one third of that of the Senate. (Senators serve for six-year terms and Representatives for two years.)

This, then, is a brief picture of how the officials in our democracy are elected by the people.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed at the close of Chapter XII.



Keystone

Fig. 138. The Speaker of the House of Representatives administering the oath of office to the new members

CHAPTER XIV · The Federal and State Governments at Work: How Laws Are Passed

★

A glance at figure 117 will remind you of the three big divisions of our government: (1) the legislative department; (2) the executive department; (3) the judicial department. Let us turn now to the study of how each of these departments works.

Events which lead to public demand for new laws

The passing of a new law may be brought about in many different ways. A great tragedy on land or on sea—for example, a flood or a shipwreck—may call the attention of the whole country to the fact that a special new law is needed. Accidents—the caving in of coal mines, injuries caused by the breaking down of machinery in factories, deaths from airplane crashes, railroad or automobile wrecks—may arouse large numbers of people to ask for laws which will regulate mining or manufacturing or transportation. Even a single tragic crime may start a public demand for a new law. The latter happened when Colonel Charles Lindbergh's little boy was kidnaped and murdered in 1932. Though this was only one of several kidnapings to which the newspapers, the radio, and the newsreels had given much publicity, the murder of Lindbergh's son caused the whole country to seethe with anger. A nation-wide demand arose for more and better laws against kidnaping. Most of the states had some kidnaping laws, but their officials were handicapped in not being able to follow kidnapers across state borders. So, up went the cry of Americans for a Federal, a national, law against such a horrible crime. The result was that within a very short time Congress had passed a new law (called the Lindbergh Law) and the President had signed it.

Actually thousands of new laws are suggested each year. Most of them, however, never get considered in Congress. Many of them are of little or no importance to the general public. Many are requested by individuals or small groups of citizens. But a few are so important to the people generally that they become part of the law of the land.

It is impossible, of course, for us to tell the story of the making of many laws that have been passed by Congress—beginning with the original demand for them and following through to their final enactment. But we should know the main steps by which all laws are made. For convenience, let us take the story of one important one—the income-tax law. From it we shall learn a good deal about the history of the others.

AN EXAMPLE: HOW THE INCOME-TAX LAW WAS PASSED

Each year several million Americans pay an income tax in accordance with the requirements of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, special national laws, and the regulations of the Federal Treasury Department. Although there is considerable grumbling about it, the need for taxing incomes is now accepted generally. At any rate, the fear of fines and imprisonment leads most people to pay the tax.

Let us study the steps which led to the passage of this law.

First. Public discussion

The first income-tax law was passed by Congress and signed by President Abraham Lincoln during the crisis of the Civil War when the need for raising more money for war purposes was recognized by most people. And because the attention of most people was centered on winning the war, there was little opposition to this way of collecting money. Even for some years after the war the people paid income taxes. Then in the 1870's one citizen refused to pay the tax, declaring that the law was unconstitutional. The case was finally taken to the United States Supreme Court and the justices decided that the law was constitutional. Thus the law was confirmed, but only a few people continued to pay income taxes, for the government had no legal way of enforcing the collection of the tax.

In the 1880's, however, the collection of larger revenues by means of income taxes was again discussed. Many of the farmers and city workingmen of the country began to demand a tax that would make a larger number of people contribute to the expense of government. Many of the political leaders of the poorer Southern states and Western farming states wanted a new income-tax law because, they said, it would put more of the burden of taxation where it belonged—on the richer people of the Northeastern industrial towns and cities. Year after year more and more of the people raised their voices, and Congressmen heard them. Some Congressmen had agreed from the beginning, and slowly others were persuaded by the citizens of their communities. Thus years of public discussion of the need for a new income-tax law went by.

By 1892 enough sentiment had been expressed for it to cause a new income-tax law to be proposed in Congress. In the following year the law was passed.

Let us pause a moment to state in more detail the steps by which this law was enacted. This will also include the story of how an actual amendment (the Sixteenth) was added to the Constitution.

Second. A "bill" is introduced in Congress

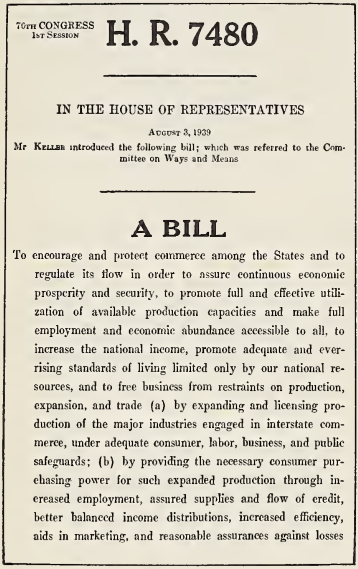
A typewritten copy of the proposed income-tax law was introduced in the House of Representatives. (All bills that deal with the raising of money must start in the House. A great many others, however, can be introduced in the Senate first.) This statement of the proposed law was dropped into "the hopper," a box on the clerk's table.

Third. First reading and reference to committee

The bill was then read to the members of the House by the clerk. It was also sent to the Government Printing Office to be printed. Then it went to the committee in charge of taxation. You probably know that all members of each branch of Congress serve on committees; most of them belong to several. These committees have great power over lawmaking. To be chairman or a member of certain ones is an honor greatly sought after. Generally the chairmanship of such committees goes only to senior members—that is, those who have been in Congress for a long time.

Fourth. What the committee does

The committee reads the bill and decides whether it is important enough to be considered in the Congress itself. Do you see how much power committees have? This appears to be necessary, however, because of the huge number of bills that are introduced at each session of Congress. In 1932, for example, 18,000 bills were introduced, but only 500, or about 3 per cent of them, were passed in the months that Congress was in session. In single recent sessions of Congress as many as 30,000 bills have been introduced—bills on every imaginable topic. There are thousands of trivial bills, bills of very minor importance; only a few bills are of very great importance to the people. Nevertheless "democracy at work," government of the people, requires that all citizens have a chance to be heard. So members of Congress introduce all bills demanded seriously by the voters in their districts.



70th CONGRESS
1st Session
H. R. 7480

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

August 3, 1939

Mr Keller introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

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A BILL

To encourage and protect commerce among the States and to regulate its flow in order to assure continuous economic prosperity and security, to promote full and effective utilization of available production capacities and make full employment and economic abundance accessible to all, to increase the national income, promote adequate and ever-rising standards of living limited only by our national resources, and to free business from restraints on production, expansion, and trade (a) by expanding and licensing production of the major industries engaged in interstate commerce, under adequate consumer, labor, business, and public safeguards; (b) by providing the necessary consumer purchasing power for such expanded production through increased employment, assured supplies and flow of credit, better balanced income distributions, increased efficiency, aids in marketing, and reasonable assurances against losses

Fig. 139. The title page of a bill introduced in the House of Representatives

To pass a single important bill requires days, sometimes weeks, of discussion. It would be utterly impossible, of course, for Congress to discuss the tens of thousands of bills that are introduced. That is why committees read the bills first and decide whether they should be considered by Congress itself.

Perhaps you are thinking: "But this is not democracy. It gives committees consisting of but a few Congressmen great power over lawmaking." It is true that in some cases committees have "killed" bills that should have come before Congress, but some provision has been made to guard against this practice. If a committee "pigeonholes" a bill, that is, ignores it or otherwise refuses to report it, the member who introduced it or another member can demand that it be reported. If the House or Senate agrees, the committee must report the bill. Thus the democratic way is safeguarded.

When the members of the committee decide that the bill should come before Congress, they can report it to Congress in one of several ways. They can send it back exactly as it came to them. They can change the bill as they see fit. They can make an entirely new bill and report that. Most bills that committees recommend are made into law by Congress. It frequently happens, however, that Congress either votes down recommended bills or changes them in many ways before they become laws.

Fifth. Public hearings and lobbies

How does the committee decide whether a bill should be discussed? No doubt they must know a great many facts to make a good decision. Can the committee get those facts? Generally the committee members themselves and their paid employees either know or can find out the facts necessary to decide what should be done with a bill. When very important bills are being considered committees generally use various methods of getting needed information. They also try to sound out the general temper of the country about the proposed law. Is this not an example of the American democratic way—to get as many of the people as possible to take part in making public policies? Although representatives and senators have been elected in their districts and states to act for their people, they try to get the opinions of as many of the people as possible, especially when any very important action is to be taken.

Holding public hearings on a proposed law is a good example of this practice. The committee announces special meetings, and asks certain competent persons or experts to speak before it on the bill. Other interested persons are also allowed to speak.

When the income-tax bill was being considered the Secretary of the Treasury and experts from the Treasury Department, especially those familiar with tax problems, were among those consulted. Officers of the national government who knew most about prob-

Keystone

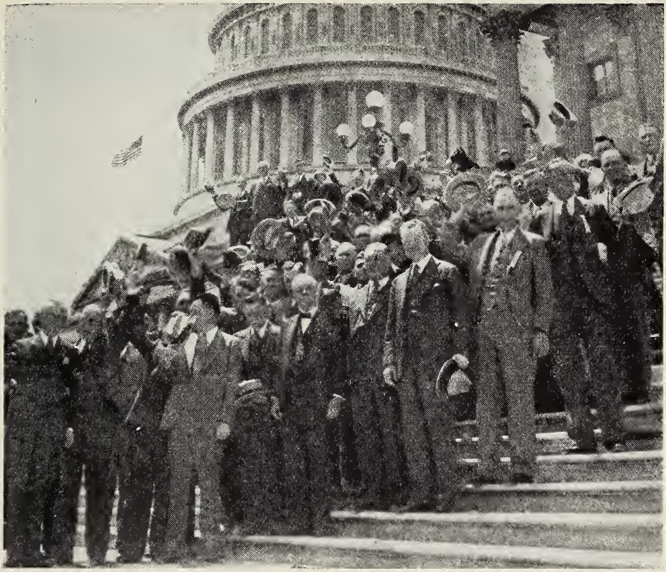
Fig. 140. A rare occurrence: Justices of the Supreme Court giving testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Their expert opinion was sought on a bill affecting injunctions

lems of government revenues and expenditures were also called in. In addition, many private citizens who were well informed on public finance were permitted to speak.

Thus the Congressional committee used public hearings to try to find out, first, whether the experts thought there should be an income-tax law and, second, whether the American people really wanted one. The public-hearing practice is a very important phase of our democratic way of government.

Interested "Pressure" Groups "Lobby" For or Against Legislation. The use of the public hearing on proposed bills also reveals another important aspect of lawmaking. This is the work of "lobbies." As you know, community government is really carried on by groups of interested citizens. Many groups exert pressure on the officials to get laws passed, to have certain persons appointed to jobs, or to get other special favors. Using pressure for or against the passage of laws is called lobbying. In small towns it is done on a small scale and in cities and great metropolises, on a big scale; but in the state capitols and in Washington it is done on an enormous scale.

For example, merchants and manufacturers often want tariffs placed upon certain goods being imported from other countries.



Keystone

FIG. 141. An example of interested pressure groups: Nebraska farmers with their representatives and senators in Washington in the interest of certain farm legislation (see also figure 147)

They are a very interested group. So they send their lobbyists to Washington to try to persuade Congressmen to introduce and pass laws creating such tariffs.

In the same way, peace societies and other groups who want America to belong to the League of Nations, the World Court, and other international organizations send lobbyists to the capitol to try to influence the government lawmakers. Educational associations, religious groups, temperance organizations, and many others, try in the same way to secure the legislation they desire. Scores of trade associations besiege Congress, each demanding its law.

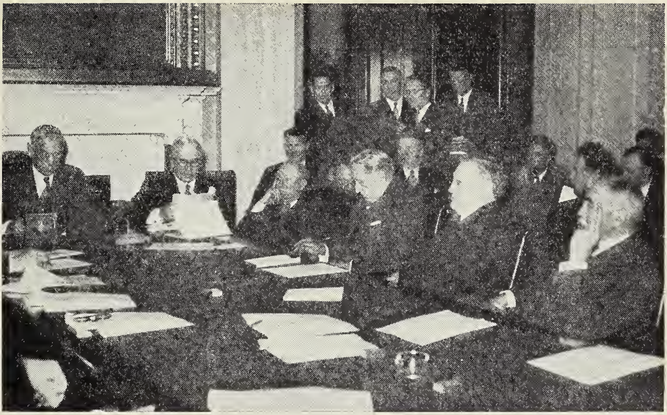
In a democracy, laws are made and government is carried on by groups. And all groups want something. Some want laws for the good of their own special members; others want laws which they believe will be good for all the people. Each group strives to control the public mind through propaganda and censorship. By propaganda is meant the "distorting of facts so as to create certain attitudes." By censorship is meant the "holding back of certain facts from the public."

Some of these pressure groups have great power, both in numbers and in influence. The more powerful ones have nation-wide organizations. For example, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States has a membership of some 860,000 corporations, firms, and individuals. "When it speaks," a former Secretary of Commerce once said, "Congress listens. Today its touch is constant with Congress and the departments." The American Farm Bureau Federation represents 7500 organizations. When certain laws favoring the farmer come up before Congress thousands of telegrams pour into Washington at one time. The American Federation of Labor, with over 3,000,000 members, and the American Legion, with nearly 1,000,000, make their influence powerfully felt on matters of special interest to them.

Public-utility corporations exert their influence in the same way —through newspapers, magazines, in the schools, over the radio, in the movies. In a single year, 10,000 speeches were made on public platforms by their representatives. It is not difficult to understand how attitudes favorable to such groups are formed by this method. Those advocating the public ownership of utilities—for example, the Public Ownership League of America and the National Popular Government League—use the same methods. Such organizations distribute monthly magazines, pamphlets, bulletins, and letters.

Taken all together these many pressure groups make up what is sometimes called "the invisible government." And the few random examples we have given illustrate the danger that the public mind may be controlled by groups which own and operate the chief agencies of communication—those which supply the citizens with facts, which mold their opinions, which form their attitudes and beliefs.

Some students regard this invisible kind of government as a desirable one for expressing public opinion. Some insist that it must be understood and used properly for the advancement of democratic government. One expert said of it: "These groups rose in answer to certain needs. . . . They are part of our representative system. . . . They must be welcomed for what they are."



Keystone

FIG. 142. A meeting of the Senate Finance Committee at which many of the nation's industrial leaders appeared in response to requests for their opinions and advice

Do you see, then, what we mean when we say that public hearings are held, and that interested groups lobby for and against legislation? Both happen when the members of Congressional committees are trying to make up their minds whether they should report bills for the consideration of Congress itself.

Sixth. The bill is put on the "calendar"

When a bill is reported back to the clerk of the House (or of the Senate), he puts it on the "calendar." This is a list of bills arranged in the order in which they are to be discussed. Generally speaking, bills take their turn; some, however, may be given special preference. For example, with the consent of the House (or Senate) a certain bill can be taken up before its scheduled time on the calendar.

Seventh. Second reading, discussion, and revision

Then comes one of the most time-consuming tasks of lawmaking—the second reading of the bill and the discussion of it on the floor of the House (or Senate). The bill is read section by section, and each section is discussed. Some members vigorously defend the entire bill. Other members object to parts of it, and amendments are proposed. Some of these are accepted, some are rejected. Often opponents "kill" a bill by amending it so much that even the person who originally introduced it will refuse to accept it. These long discussions—sometimes occupying weeks of time—generally take place in public. Every word spoken is taken down by stenographers and is printed in the *Congressional Record*, the daily publication of Congress. Any citizen can secure copies. Is not the open discussion of proposed laws another example of American democracy at work?

When the bill has been thoroughly discussed and amendments to it decided upon, the House (or Senate) votes to have the bill "engrossed [copied] and read a third time." The Clerk has it printed again in the exact amended form.

Eighth. Third reading and final vote

The third reading consists of merely stating the title of the bill and calling for a final vote upon the bill itself. If a majority of those voting favor it, the bill is said to have passed. It is then signed by the presiding officer.

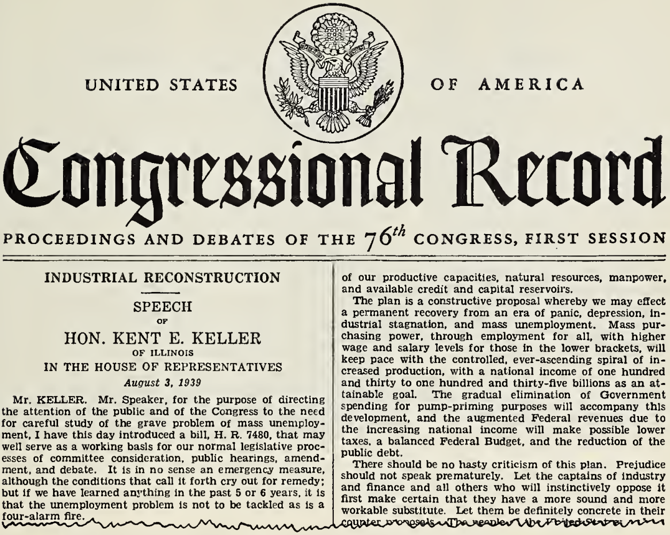
Ninth. The bill is sent to the other house of Congress

Once the bill passes in one house of Congress it is sent to the other house to go through the same procedure. *No bill can become a law of the nation unless both the House of Representatives and the Senate have passed it in exactly the same form.*

But the second house almost always wants some changes made too, and so it proposes amendments. What happens then? The bill now is in two forms.

Tenth. The work of the joint conference committee

A conference committee made up of several members of both houses discusses the two forms until they agree upon one that both will accept. This process is one of give and take. Each side compromises. Some middle ground between the two is agreed upon.



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

SPEECH
OF
HON. KENT E. KELLER
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
August 3, 1939

Mr. KELLER. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of directing the attention of the public and of the Congress to the need for careful study of the grave problem of mass unemployment, I have this day introduced a bill, H. R. 7480, that may well serve as a working basis for our normal legislative processes of committee consideration, public hearings, amendment, and debate. It is in no sense an emergency measure, although the conditions that call it forth cry out for remedy; but if we have learned anything in the past 5 or 6 years, it is that the unemployment problem is not to be tackled as is a four-alarm fire.

of our productive capacities, natural resources, manpower, and available credit and capital reservoirs.

The plan is a constructive proposal whereby we may effect a permanent recovery from an era of panic, depression, industrial stagnation, and mass unemployment. Mass purchasing power, through employment for all, with higher wage and salary levels for those in the lower brackets, will keep pace with the controlled, ever-ascending spiral of increased production, with a national income of one hundred and thirty to one hundred and thirty-five billions as an attainable goal. The gradual elimination of Government spending for pump-priming purposes will accompany this development, and the augmented Federal revenues due to the increasing national income will make possible lower taxes, a balanced Federal Budget, and the reduction of the public debt.

There should be no hasty criticism of this plan. Prejudice should not speak prematurely. Let the captains of industry and finance and all others who will instinctively oppose it first make certain that they have a more sound and more workable substitute. Let them be definitely concrete in their counter proposals.

FIG. 143. The title page of the *Congressional Record*, which presents the speech introducing the bill shown in figure 139

Eleventh. Final vote in each house

At last the final step is taken. The bill is in one form only, and both houses of Congress are ready to vote on it. If a majority of each house votes "aye," the bill is said to have "passed Congress."

Twelfth. The signature of the President

The bill is then sent to the President for his signature. If he signs, it becomes a law of the United States. But the President can refuse to sign it, for he has the power of veto, or disapproval of a bill. There are two ways he can veto a bill: (1) by the direct veto and (2) by the pocket veto.

The Direct Veto. The President can return the bill to Congress with his written refusal to approve it. This has been done many times in our history. In some cases the President sends with the rejected bill a full statement of his objections to it, urging Congress to pass it with his suggested changes.

Keyston

Fig. 144. The President signs a bill which has passed both Houses of Congress and s makes it a law of our country

* * *

Fig. 145. Governor Lehman of New York signs a bill which has passed the state legislature, thus making it a law of the state

Ewing Gallowa

The Pocket Veto. If Congress adjourns its session within ten days after the passage of a bill, the President can veto it by simply ignoring it.

Thirteenth. A bill can be passed without the President's signature

If the President does not sign a bill within ten days after the date of its passage in Congress and Congress is still in session, it becomes a law without his signature.

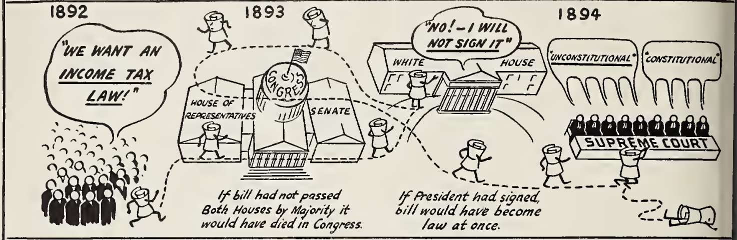
Also Congress can pass a bill over the President's veto. One condition is necessary, however. As you know, before a bill goes to the President, it needs the votes of only a majority (more than half) of the members present at the time the voting is done. If a bill has been vetoed, however, *two thirds* of the votes of the members present are necessary. If the required number is obtained, the bill becomes a law without the President's signature.

President Cleveland vetoed the Income-Tax Bill of 1893 and returned it to Congress. But the demand for an income-tax law was so great that the vetoed bill was again introduced into Congress. Voting was held, and the bill received more than two thirds of the votes of the members present in each house. Thus the bill became a law.

Fourteenth. Administering the law

It is the task of officials of appropriate Federal government departments to put new laws into practice. The income-tax law came under the duties of the Treasury Department, although other departments also became involved. (The Department of Justice, for example, co-operates with the Treasury Department in administering and enforcing it.) First, however, the law was published and Treasury Department offices all over the country began to collect taxes on incomes in accordance with its provisions. Practically all people paid, for they knew that if they refused, the government could penalize them. They might be made to pay additional money, they might be fined, or even sent to a Federal prison.

HOW A BILL MAY BECOME A LAW AND BE VOIDED


1892
"WE WANT AN INCOME TAX LAW!"
1893
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
CONGRE
SENATE
If bill had not passed Both Houses by Majority it would have died in Congress.
"NO!—I WILL NOT SIGN IT"
WHITE HOUSE
If President had signed, bill would have become law at once.
1894
"UNCONSTITUTIONAL"
"CONSTITUTIONAL"
SUPREME COURT

Popular demand for income-tax law	Bill passed by majority of both houses	President vetoed bill	Bill repassed in both houses became law over veto	Law killed in test cas before Supreme Cour by 5 to 4 decision

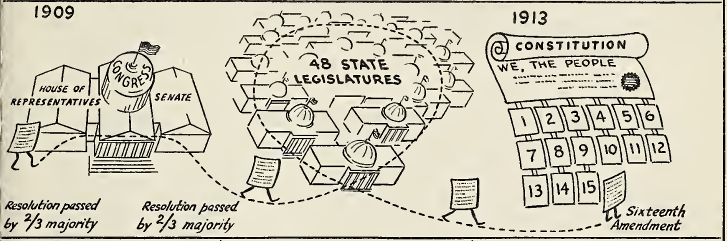
Fig. 146. The stor

Fifteenth. The Federal courts have to decide its constitutionality

But suppose a citizen refuses to obey a law, saying that it is "against the Constitution." How can it be decided whether he is correct or not? If the citizen wishes to, he can bring action in the Federal courts. He begins first in a lower, or district, court. If that court decides against him, he can appeal to a circuit court. If he loses the decision there too, he can still appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court. This is the highest court in the land. Its decision is final.

This is exactly what happened in the case of the income-tax law of 1893. Within a year after the law was passed a taxpayer refused to pay the tax levied on his income. The law is unconstitutional, he said, so he took the case through the lower courts, and in 1895 it was argued in the United States Supreme Court. By a 5 to 4 vote of its nine members this court declared that the income-tax law was unconstitutional. (Note that only a majority of the members of the Supreme Court is needed for a decision.) At once the entire income-tax machinery of the United States government had to stop its work.

HOW AN AMENDMENT IS ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTION


1909
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
CONGRESS
SENATE
Resolution passed by 2/3 majority
Resolution passed by 2/3 majority
48 STATE LEGISLATURES
1913
CONSTITUTION
WE, THE PEOPLE
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15
Sixteenth Amendment

esolution to propose to the ates an amendment to the Constitution	Repassed by more than three fourths of legislatures needed	Became a part of the Constitution

Building America

me-tax legislation

Sixteenth. Getting a constitutional amendment

This decision of the Supreme Court caused great discussion all over the country. Year after year more and more people wanted an income-tax law. Editors, lecturers, writers, political leaders, demanded one. "Give us an amendment to the Constitution!" they said. "Then the Supreme Court cannot decide that the collection of income taxes is unconstitutional!" Almost fifteen years passed. The leaders of reform kept working, introducing one constitutional amendment after another into Congress. At last, in 1909, they succeeded. An income-tax amendment to the United States Constitution was passed in both the House of Representatives and the Senate by more than the necessary two-thirds vote.

But the battle for reform was not yet won; the Amendment had to be discussed and voted on by the legislatures of the 48 states. One by one the state lawmaking bodies ratified it. But four years passed before the approval of the required 36 states (three fourths of all) was obtained. In 1913 the Sixteenth Amendment was added to the American Constitution. Here it is, just three lines after decades of discussion:

Income Tax. ARTICLE XVI. The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

But this amendment did what the people desired—at last it was legal for the national government to collect income taxes. And unless the Sixteenth Amendment is repealed in the future no Federal court will be able to declare the income tax unconstitutional.

HOW LAWMAKING ILLUSTRATES THE AMERICAN WAY OF GOVERNMENT

Thus no fewer than sixteen steps must be taken in passing a law and adding an amendment to the Constitution. "What a slow and meandering process!" perhaps you are thinking. "A half century to get a real change made in the supreme law of the country!"

1. Under normal conditions government is slow to change

Yes, most of the time lawmaking is a very slow process. And the chief reason for this is that we have a government of "checks and balances." The Founding Fathers of the Constitution set out to make that kind of government, and history has proved that they succeeded. Today, as in the 1790's, it takes time, a good deal of time, to get a law passed. Some of the people want one kind of law; others want another kind. Thus they disagree among themselves.

All over the country they discuss, argue, and, in general, talk things out. And this takes time, lots of time. But it is the democratic way, and Americans really believe in it. They want *the people* to make the policies, for it is these policies that get written down into the laws they must obey. Once laws are passed, the people leave the enforcement of them to trained and experienced workers and executives. Thus government "of the people, by the people, for the people" in a vast country like ours *must* be a slow-changing government if the people generally are to take an active part in managing their national affairs.

The three great tasks of government

We can say, then, that the jobs of government are threefold:

1. *Policy-making.* This is done by the people generally. Through nation-wide discussion they form opinions on governmental mat-

ters, and these opinions determine the national policies that are followed. Laws are passed by representatives of all the people, and the people themselves share directly in their government by voting.

2. *Making Plans for Carrying On the Work of Government.* Students and experts in many fields and professions do this planning. These are people who have spent years getting experience and training to equip them to do special kinds of work. For example, expert engineers are hired to design great dams and aqueducts, river and harbor improvements, canals, naval ships, and land fortifications. The planning of courts and police systems is done by well-trained lawyers and students of law enforcement.

3. *Carrying On the Everyday Services of Government.* Millions of workers are needed for this—bookkeepers and accountants, teachers of youth and children, surveyors and draftsmen, postmen, automobile drivers and repairmen, skilled and unskilled workers in hundreds of trades. Each one of these jobs demands a certain amount of special knowledge, ability, and skill.

Of these three great divisions of work, note again that the first and *basic* one—policy-making—is left to the people themselves. The American way says "leave policy-making to the judgment of the mass of the people." And because ours is a governmental system of "checks and balances" it is difficult—in the long run, impossible—to have policies or pass laws that a large proportion of the nation's population does not want.

2. But in emergencies our government is quick to move

Though we do have this government of "checks and balances" which generally works very slowly, there are times when new laws have been passed or old ones changed with great speed. When a majority of the people really want action they can get it. This generally happens in times of crisis or emergency.

Take, for example, the rapid lawmaking work of Congress in the spring of 1933. Our people were living through a terrifying national business panic. After the inauguration of President

Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 4, 1933, Congress acted swiftly to give the new administration vast powers to straighten things out. In two and a half months fourteen laws of very great importance were passed by Congress, signed by the President, and put into effect. These included the famous NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act), the AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Act), the act creating the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority), and others. The speed with which all this was done was breath-taking.

Or, recall the troubled world conditions of 1939 when there was constant fear of another World War. Events in Europe forced the American people to confront the possibility of once more becoming involved in armed conflict. And what happened? The United States Congress was called into special session in September of that year to deal with the problem of "keeping America out of war." Debates were held for and against new legislation. The American people through their representatives took action.

These are two examples which show very clearly that the American government can act very quickly when real need for action is felt by the people.

3. Government by majority

Imagine that your class or club is meeting to discuss plans for a hike or picnic. Without doubt there will be disagreement among you—concerning the place, the time of starting or returning, the food to be taken along, and many other things. Suppose that on some points you just cannot agree; the differences are too great. Decisions must be reached—but how?

It is not at all unusual for people to disagree. No two persons are alike, or think alike, or want exactly the same things. But how are they to settle their differences? Is it best for one person, a single leader, to decide all matters of controversy? No, for that is the dictatorial way, the autocratic way. Should some small group of persons, perhaps the cleverest, be allowed to decide? No, for that would be the oligarchic way. Whose judgment, then, is to prevail?

Perhaps you would answer: "That of all the people." But, what if this is impossible—the people just cannot agree.

In the settlement of controversies or disagreements in governmental matters the people of America, England, France, and certain other countries follow what is called the democratic way. They say: "The majority of the people shall rule." How many are needed to make a majority? The dictionary says: the greater number or part; more than half; the number by which the votes on one side are more than those on another.

But let us see what "majority" really means in government. If 100 people vote on a question, how many votes are needed to have a majority?

"That's simple," you say. "You need 51, because that is more than half."

Yes, but 52, or 64, or 87, or 99, or any number between 50 and 100 is also more than half. Which number, then, shall be taken to stand for the majority—51 or 99 or some other number in between?

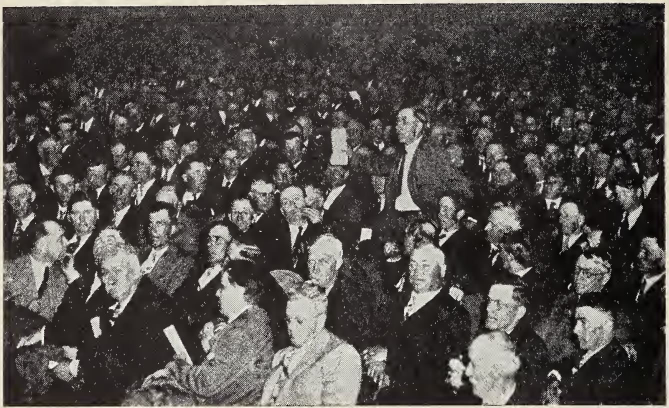
That is a question which, for a long time, has bothered people who plan governments, and different answers have been given to it.

According to one definition in the dictionary, 51 is the majority of 100; 501 is the majority of 1000; 10,001 is the majority of 20,000; and so on—because each of these is more than half. In most governments today—in other democratic countries as well as in our own—a law can be passed by this proportion. When, therefore, the United States Senate votes on a bill, if all 96 senators are present at least 49 of them must vote for it to have it pass.

Now perhaps you are saying: "But 49 to 47 is a very close vote; almost as many are against the bill as are for it. It is practically a 'tie,' certainly not a clear-cut decision of the people. The people have really not made up their minds. To pass an important law, to elect an official, or to decide a court case, at least two thirds or even three fourths of the voters should vote the same way."

Many students of government believe this to be so. Some, for example, object to letting the nine members of the United States Supreme Court decide cases on a 5 to 4 vote. They point to the times in the past century when the Court has decided against a case by a 5 to 4 vote and has later decided for it—because one Justice "changed his mind." They insist that all decisions should be by a 6 to 3 vote, that is, a two-thirds vote of the Court.

Sometimes in government two thirds or three fourths *is* used in place of just "more than half." Our Federal Constitution requires a two-thirds or even a three-fourths vote in certain instances. For



Keystone

Fig. 147. A public hearing on proposed legislation is attended by more than 1000 interested men in the New York Assembly Chamber. Democratic procedure is the same in state or Federal problems

example: to pass a bill over the President's veto the votes of two thirds of the members of each house of Congress must vote for it —two thirds, or $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, not merely 51 per cent. And before an amendment can become part of the Constitution three fourths, or 75 per cent, of the state legislatures must ratify (accept) it. Our Constitution-makers said: "If three out of four of the state lawmaking bodies accept a proposed amendment after Congress has passed it, we can be sure most of the people really favor it."

So much then for government by majority—which says: "A Policy is established when any proportion of the people more than half are in favor of it." The question of which proportion of the people voting together really represents the will of the people is a difficult one, and we shall study it carefully as we continue in the high school.

4. Constitutional government

The fourth thing we have learned about our government is that it is controlled by a Constitution. This is the supreme law of the land. No law need be obeyed that contains any clause contrary to the provisions stated in its 7 articles and 21 amendments. No action of an official can be upheld that is contrary to the Constitution. And the Federal courts, with the United States Supreme Court as "the court of last resort," have been given the great power of making the final decisions in all such instances.

HOW LAWS ARE MADE AND ENFORCED IN THE 48 STATES

We have discussed the making of a law by the national government, and little need be said about how laws are made in the separate states. The whole process, of course, is limited by the restrictions imposed on the states by the national Constitution. Turn back to Chapter XI; also to Appendix A. Review what is said about the powers of the state and national governments. Remember that the United States Constitution gives certain powers—over matters dealing with the whole country—to the Federal government. These include the power to issue money, to make treaties, to provide for national defense, to regulate trade *among* the states, and so on. And no state government can take over these powers. Nor can any state do anything forbidden by the Federal Constitution. Moreover, the general nature of each state government is prescribed by the Federal Constitution: each must be of the "republican" form.

But the Constitution also definitely assigns certain powers to the states—the control over education, the handling of property, the carrying on of industry and trade within their borders.

State constitutions and how they are made

Each of the 48 states has a constitution; indeed practically all of them have had more than one since 1776. These documents vary greatly in length. One, New Hampshire's, has only 600 words. Another, Louisiana's, has 50,000. Most state constitutions are made on the pattern of the Federal Constitution and by the method developed by Massachusetts in 1780.

They state a "bill of rights," prescribe the general form and powers of state government, and tell how the constitution can be amended. Like the Federal government they have a threefold arrangement of departments—legislative, executive, and judicial.

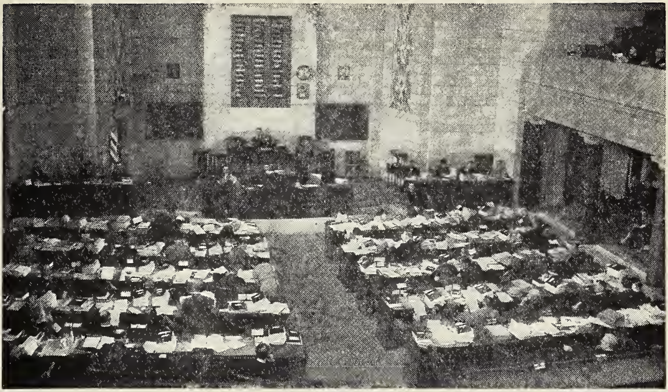
As in the case of the Federal government there also comes a need, as social conditions change, to make changes in the constitution or even to make a new one. When a new one is made, the steps generally taken are these:

1. There is state-wide discussion of the fact that "times have changed" and that "the constitution is getting out of date." Many comments are made about it—in the newspapers, in churches and schools, in public lectures and open forums. Many demands are made for its revision. However, years often pass before action is taken to make the requested changes.
2. Finally the legislature of the state officially proposes revision.
3. At a state election the eligible voters vote for it and elect delegates to a Constitutional Convention.
4. Widespread discussion continues throughout the state, and this serves to indicate to the elected delegates what the people want.
5. The convention meets and makes a new constitution which is submitted to the study and decision of all the voters of the state.
6. There is more discussion in newspapers, pamphlets, on lecture platforms, in public gatherings.
7. Finally, the people vote to accept it.

This is the way most state constitutions are made today. The people themselves are given the chance to decide whether they want proposed changes. If they know enough about their needs and the new conditions under which they are living, they can make wise decisions.

Legislatures and lawmaking

Each state legislature (except Nebraska's) has two houses, generally a senate and a house of representatives, or assembly. The number of members in them varies. The houses, or assemblies, have from 35 to over 400 members; the senates, from 16 to 67. In most states members of the house are elected for two years; senators, for four years. Because their work is supposed to take only a small part of the year their pay is small. Salaries range from $500 to $3000 a year. You can see, therefore, that lawmaking in the states is not considered a professional or full-time job as it is in the national Congress. United States Senators and Representatives get $10,000 a year.



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 148. The state of Nebraska has only one legislative house. It meets in this chamber

The members of the state legislatures are elected by the people of small districts—one Representative to every so many people, and one Senator to every so many people. Thus state government is representative government. In many districts the legislators are farmers or small-town businessmen. In city districts they are businessmen, manufacturers, or lawyers. Sometimes they are labor leaders, engineers, doctors, and members of other professions. There are more lawyers, however, than any of these others.

Laws are passed by the state legislatures in much the same manner as they are in the United States Congress. Bills are introduced and then referred to committees which do most of the work. Committees decide which bills shall come up. Bills go through two or three readings and must be passed by both houses. They can be vetoed by the chief executive, the governor. They can be declared constitutional or unconstitutional by the state courts. Thus, much that has been said about the national Congress as to the way representative government works in America applies also to the legislatures of the 48 states.

Summing up

Look back now over your study and gather together the chief facts you have learned about the passing of laws. Try especially to answer these questions:

1. To what extent does it illustrate the idea of a government of "checks and balances"? How does it do that? Why, under normal conditions, is government slow to change?
2. Is this wise, in your judgment? Why or why not?
3. What are the three outstanding "jobs of government"? Which of these are left to the rank and file of the people? How wise is this?
4. Are there any kinds of problems concerning which you would not let the people generally decide things? What kinds? Why?
5. Does our government ever move quickly? Under what conditions?
6. Sum up, then, what you think of our government of "checks and balances."

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Bates, Ernest S. The Story of Congress. Harper & Brothers, New York. The struggle between the United States Congress and the courts.

Dill, Clarence C. How Congress Makes Laws. Ransdell, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Haskin, Frederic J. The American Government Today. Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., New York. See Chapters XXIV and XXV on how Congress is organized and how bills are passed.

Houghton, Neal Doyle. Realities of American Government. The Macmillan Company, New York. Read Chapters VII–X, which deal with Congress and the making of national laws.

Lapp, John A., and Ross, A. Franklin. Economic Citizenship. D. C. Heath and Company, Boston.

Lapp, John A., and Weaver, Robert B. The Citizen and His Government. Silver, Burdett & Company, New York.

Munro, William B. Social Civics. The Macmillan Company, New York. Chapter XV tells how Federal laws are made and enforced.

Young, Jeremiah, and Barton, Edwin M. Growing in Citizenship. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. See Chapters XIII and XIV on lawmaking.

Zane, John M. The Story of the Law. Ives Washburn, Inc., New York.

Society for Curriculum Study, New York. Building America, Vol. II, No. 1 (October, 1936), "Our Constitution" (Columbia University Press, New York); also Vol. III, No. 5 (February, 1938), "Our Federal Government" (E. M. Hale and Company, Milwaukee).

CHAPTER XV · The Federal and State Governments at Work: How Laws Are Administered

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Government, we said, does three things:

1. It makes laws—the work of the legislative department.
2. It administers laws—the work of the executive department.
3. It interprets laws—the work of the judicial department.

The task of this chapter is to describe the ways in which laws are administered. By administered we mean "carried out" . . . "carried into effect" . . . "applied" . . . "put at the service of the people."

To administer all the public services of the American national government requires a huge organization of people. It consists of more than 130 separate divisions. Ten of these are the executive departments of the United States government: the Departments of State, Treasury, War, Navy, Interior, Post Office, Justice, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. These are the most important and include most of our government's workers. The others are various boards, public corporations, commissions, and such. All are under the President of the United States.

The chart of figure 117 sums up the whole huge enterprise. Huge it certainly is, for *nearly 1,000,000 employees are required to carry on the services of the national government.*

I. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL EXECUTIVES

First of all, notice the central and powerful role given to the President (figure 149). In spite of the fact that our government is one of the world's greatest governments "of the people," the President has tremendous powers. He is the chief executive over several hundred thousand government workers. He appoints the heads of the ten great departments of the national government and

The Constitution—All powers come from this, the supreme law of our nation

CONGRESS — THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	THE PRESIDENT	THE SUPREME COURT
1. Makes and passes laws; money-raising bills first introduced in the House.	1. Carries out laws passed by Congress.	Interprets the Constitution, deciding whether Federal and state laws are constitutional.
2. Passes laws by majority vote in both Houses; can repass bills over President's veto by two-thirds majority.	2. Recommends bills to Congress; can sign or veto bills passed by Congress.	
3. Proposes to the states resolutions amending the Constitution.	3. Appoints Justices of the Supreme Court, with approval of the Senate.	Decides disputes between states, and between states and the nation.
4. Levies taxes and pays national debts.	4. Controls the national budget.	
5. Coins and prints money.	5. Appoints cabinet officers and heads of departments.	
6. Regulates commerce between the states, and between the United States and foreign nations; fixes tariffs.	6. Appoints ambassadors and envoys to foreign nations.	Decides law disputes between United States and foreign nations.
7. Provides for army, navy and militia.	7. Is Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy.	
8. Declares war, Senate alone approving Presidential treaties.	8. Makes treaties with foreign nations; recognizes foreign governments.	Tries cases involving ambassadors to foreign nations.

Building America

FIG. 149. Main Powers of the three branches of the Federal Government

constantly reviews their work. He can remove them from office if he thinks such action is advisable. He is one of the most powerful executives in the world—much more powerful than the King of Great Britain, the King of Sweden, the Queen of Holland, the Emperor of Italy, or the Emperor of Japan.

Let us outline briefly the chief facts about our President.

First, his election. We know now how he is elected by his political party in November of every fourth year and inaugurated on the twentieth day of the following January.

Second, the succession to the Presidency. If a President dies, or resigns, or is removed from office, the Vice-President automatically becomes President. (The Vice-President can also serve temporarily as President if the President is unable to serve for one reason or another.)

Under a law passed in 1886, if the Vice-Presidency is also vacant Congress names the Secretary of State as President. If there is no Secretary of State, other Secretaries are eligible for the Presidency in the following order: Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General, Postmaster General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior. The other departments were not in existence when the law of 1886 was passed.

Third, term of office. The President is elected for a four-year term. He can be re-elected any number of times. Thus far no President has ever served more than two terms (eight years). Washington and Jefferson set the example of declining a third term, and every President since their time has followed it. Because so many people believe that no one man should be President for more than eight years, it would certainly be very difficult to re-elect one for a third time.

Fourth, salary. The President is paid $75,000 a year—really a very small salary compared to that paid to most of the monarchs of the world. He is also allowed an expense account up to $25,000 a year. In addition, he has free use of the White House and all its furnishings and equipment. To maintain these, separate Federal funds are provided.

Fifth, his powers. The President has a great many powers. He can initiate as well as veto acts passed by Congress, and it is difficult, although not impossible, to pass laws "over his head." He manages the foreign relations of the United States. With the Senate's ap-

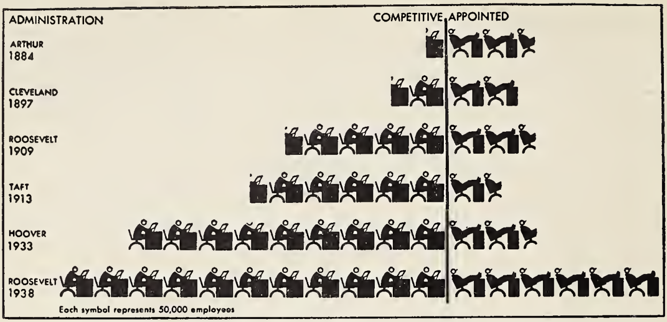

Fig. 150.[1] The increase in civil service in 54 years

proval he appoints judges and government officials whose appointments are not otherwise provided for in the Constitution. He is commander in chief of the army and navy.

Sixth, the President's influence. There is no doubt that the man who holds the office of President of the United States has enormous influence on the people of America. In the first place, because he has won the election his followers regard him as the head of his political party, and his wishes are more important than those of any other single person in the party organization. At least so long as he is President he remains "The Leader" of his party. For a while he can command the support of more followers than any other man in the country.

His influence is great for another reason—he has power to appoint thousands of officeholders. This is sometimes called "dispensing patronage." Because of the fact, however, that for decades this power was shamefully abused by every political party in office an enormous number of the less important officers in government are now being appointed through a merit system called Civil Service.

Because of the immense wealth and size and power of our country, the President has great influence with the people of the outside world also.

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[1] From H. U. Faulkner and Tyler Kepner's *America: Its History and People*, Harper & Brothers.

II. THE CABINET: HEADS OF THE TEN DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT

What is "the Cabinet"?

The executive branch of our government is divided into ten departments (see figure 116). Over them all the President is the chief authority. The heads, or Secretaries, of these departments make up the President's Cabinet. Figure 112 shows a meeting of President Roosevelt and his Cabinet. They are appointed by the President, but their appointment must be approved and confirmed by the Senate. They can be removed from office by the President.

It is interesting to note that the offices of the Cabinet members were not actually provided for in the Constitution, though Article II, Section 2, does state that the President may "require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices." We can say, therefore, that the appointment of Cabinet members is another example of "interpretation" of the Constitution.

The custom of having Cabinet members was started by Washington and has continued to the present day. However, the President can carry on his work at any time without the Cabinet, or he can call it together whenever he wants to.

The ten Secretaries not only direct all the country's work in their departments, they also report directly to the President and advise him on public questions. Once or twice in most of the weeks of the year the President meets with them to hear reports of the work of their departments, and to discuss national problems. Many of the most important political issues of the day are discussed in these meetings and government policies are established here.

Naturally the President appoints persons whose general political beliefs tend to agree with his own; therefore they are generally members of the same political party. But though they hold the same general views as the President about government policies the Cabinet members frequently disagree among themselves and with him on the details of lawmaking and administration. This serves to bring about thorough discussion and exchange of views among them concerning current problems.

III. THE WORK OF THE TEN ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

In 150 years the work of the national government has increased so much and become so complicated that now almost 1,000,000 "public servants" are needed to do it. In June, 1938, the Civil Service Commission announced that there were 925,260 Federal employees. In addition, of course, there are about 300,000 soldiers and sailors ready to defend our country. Great numbers of workers, therefore, are required to do what the Constitution called "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed." You say: "Some business, this business of government!"

When the government agencies were established, 1789–1940

The "Time Line of National Government" (figure 151) shows how the work of government has expanded. On it are shown the dates when the ten departments and the fourteen special commissions and boards were established. Glance first over the whole time line. Notice one very important fact. Most of the vast expansion of government work has come in the past 60 or 70 years.

When George Washington was made President of the United States and the first Congress met in 1789, only three departments[1] were created to carry on all the work:

The Department of State
The Department of Treasury
The Department of War

In 1794 a Post Office Bureau was established, but it was not until 1829 that the department was considered of sufficient importance for the Postmaster General to become a member of the President's Cabinet and not until 1874 that it became an independent department.

For nine years the work of the Navy Department was combined with that of the War Department. From the beginning of National Government, however, the navy officials demanded a separate Navy Department, and this was established by Congress in 1798.

For 50 years—a full half century—not another department was

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[1] The Attorney General was a member of the Cabinet but had no department (see page 359).

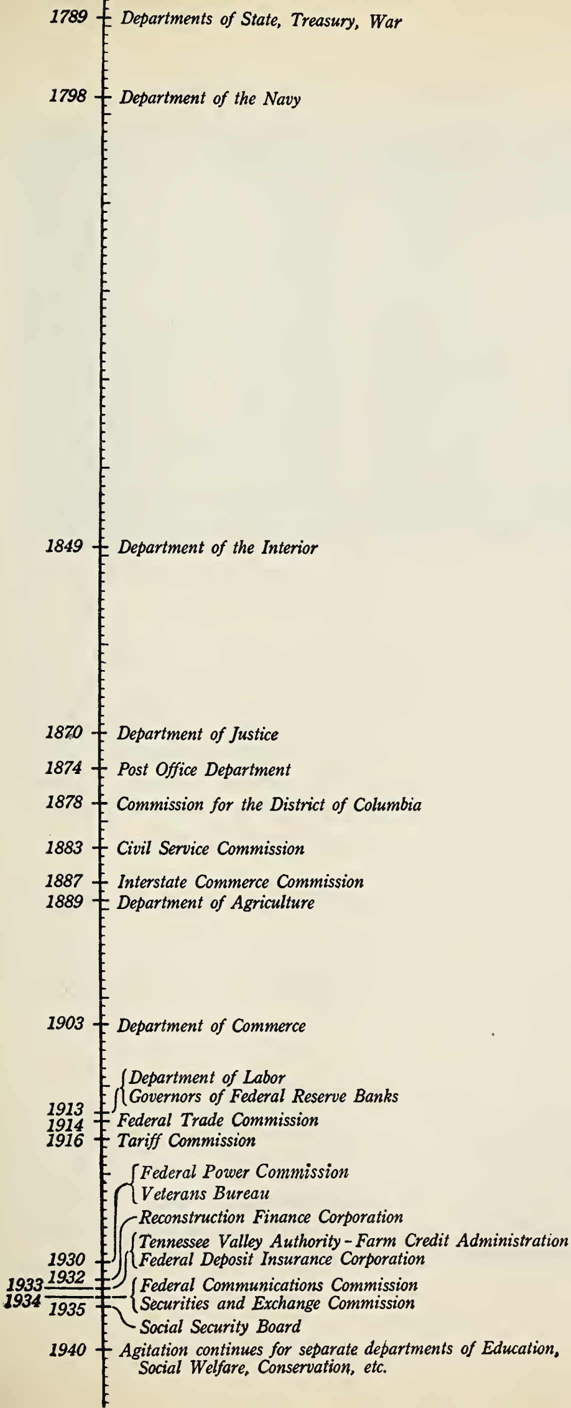


Fig. 151. Time Line of National Government

added. But the work of the government dealing with the domestic problems of the country—that is, those confined within our own national boundaries—increased swiftly. So in 1849 a Department of the Interior was set up.

Twenty-one years more passed before another department was made. Then in 1870, a Department of Justice, with the Attorney General at its head, was established. This made six departments.

Steadily Congress was urged to establish other departments, especially by three groups of citizens. These were the farmers, the businessmen, and the skilled workers of the country. Several million people belonged to each of these groups. They organized themselves and put on vigorous lobbying campaigns in Congress. One by one, over a period of a quarter of a century, they got what they wanted. In 1889 the Department of Agriculture was established and in 1903 the Department of Commerce and Labor. In 1913 the Department of Labor became a separate department.

Since that time no new departments have been added. This does not mean that many groups have not tried to get Congress to create some. The educators of the country have asked Congress year after year for a special Department of Education. The social-welfare leaders have asked for a Department of Social Welfare. And there have been even more far-reaching proposals. Perhaps the most important one has been President Roosevelt's proposed "Reorganization of the national government" sent to Congress in January, 1937. This is discussed on pages 367–368.

So much for a brief outline of the setting up of the agencies through which the work of government is carried on. Next let us see a little more in detail what each one does, beginning with the one that has the greatest recognition in the world—the Department of State.

1. The Department of State, 1789

The first government department established by the first national Congress in 1789 was the State Department. A Secretary of State was appointed whose importance is illustrated by the fact that in the event that both the Presidency and Vice-Presidency are vacant he is appointed President by Congress.

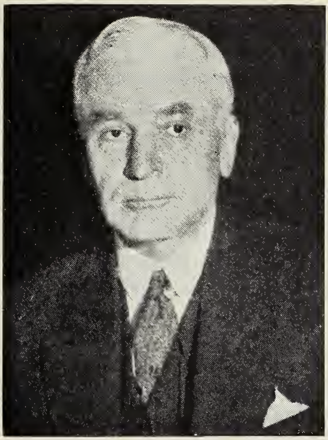


Fig. 152. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State

Keystone

Fig. 153. Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury

It is through the Department of State that our national government deals with all the other countries and peoples of the world. It does this through two chief services: (1) the diplomatic service and (2) the consular service.

In the *diplomatic service* are included (*a*) the *ambassadors*, who represent the United States in all the larger and more important countries, and (*b*) the *ministers*, who represent us in the smaller countries. For example, we send ambassadors to such countries as Great Britain, France, and Argentina, and ministers to such countries as Denmark, Sweden, and Bolivia.

Whenever our government deals with another government it does so through the ambassador or minister to that country, or through the corresponding ambassador or minister of that country stationed in Washington, D.C. All treaties and other agreements are made through the State Department, working under the President. The diplomatic service is the more *political* branch of the State Department. To carry on its work in Washington, D.C. and other cities, and in the foreign capitals of the world it has a staff of more than 5000 employees.

The *consular service* is the more *economic* branch of the State Department. It deals primarily with the business relations that the American people have with people of foreign countries. An office of an American consul can be found in every important business city of the world. These offices are both the scouts and watchdogs of American businessmen all over the earth. They study business conditions in foreign countries and at frequent intervals report to the Secretary of State on the opportunities for American businessmen to buy and sell goods. The State Department passes on this information to corporations and individual businessmen all over the United States. In addition the consuls are requested to make special inquiries into the conditions in particular industries. They also do many routine services, such as:

1. Collect income taxes of Americans living in other countries.
2. Examine immigrants to the United States.
3. Approve passports of foreigners coming to the United States.
4. Aid American citizens traveling in foreign lands.
5. Examine and certify consignments of goods to be imported into the United States.
6. Inspect ships sailing to the United States and certify as to their sanitary conditions.

This, then, is a brief picture of the Department of State. As you can see, its work reaches around the entire world, into every foreign land.

2. The Department of the Treasury, 1789

One of the three oldest Departments, and the second largest one, is the Treasury. Its Secretary is generally a man of banking or other important financial experience. Many of the 60,000 workers employed in the Treasury Department are stationed at the capital in Washington, but large numbers are located in offices scattered over the whole country.

What does "Treasury" mean to you? Something to do with money, does it not? True, and the principal work of the department is taking care of the nation's money and doing its financial work. It:

1. Collects taxes (except postal fees).
2. Stores government money in vaults in Washington and other selected places, and in various Federal Reserve banks throughout the country.

3. Coins metal money and prints paper money.
4. Protects the people against counterfeit money.
5. Handles all problems in connection with "the gold standard" and our national supply of gold.
6. Handles all questions concerning the budget, receipts and disbursements, the national debt, and the like.

Until 1939 the Treasury Department carried on a great variety of services in addition to these; there were many that had nothing to do with money or finance. For example, it administered the Public Health Service. It superintended the erection of all public buildings through its Procurement Division. Through the Coast Guard it protected the lives of citizens on the seas along our coasts. It had charge of the supervision of narcotic drugs through the Bureau of Narcotics. But since the passage of the Government Reorganization Act of 1939, the Treasury does chiefly what its name suggests—handles most of the financial matters affecting the national government.

3. The Department of War, 1789

The War Department is the third of the original departments established by the first Congress in 1789. It is directed by the Secretary of War, who is generally a civilian. This department takes care of the enlistment and training of persons connected with the defense of our country, excluding, of course, the Navy, which has a separate department. The War Department has charge of the United States Army, the Coast Defense, the Army's Air Service, chemical warfare, the Signal Corps, the Medical Corps, the Panama Canal, the United States Possessions, the Military Academy, and the Army War College. Although the Secretary is generally not a military man, all the work of the department is done by professionally trained persons.

If compared to the professional armies of the large European powers the United States cannot be said to have a large "standing army." In 1938 the standing army was made up as follows:

1. *Regular army.* 170,150 enlisted men and 13,300 officers in training throughout the year.
2. *National Guard.* Approximately 200,000 men and officers also trained throughout the year. This training is carried on partly by the

states and partly by the national government. It is directed toward providing in time of peace a force that the states can use to meet emergencies within the country, and the United States can send on limited missions. In time of war it is subject to the President's orders.

3. *Reserve Forces.* A body of nearly 117,000 trained men of whom more than 113,000 were officers. In the event of war most of the army's officers would come from the Reserve Forces. An especially important division is the Officers' Reserve Corps.

4. The Department of the Navy, 1798

For nine years after the first Congress met in 1789 the naval forces of the United States were handled by the War Department. But from the beginning naval officials demanded a separate department. This was granted to them in 1798, when there appeared to be some danger of a war with France.

This department is directed by the Secretary of the Navy, also generally a civilian. The department has charge of the United States Navy and the Reserve Force, the Marine Corps, the Navy Air Service, the Navy yards and docks, the Construction and repair of ships, Navy medical service, the Naval Observatory, the Naval Academy, and the Naval War College.

In 1938 the United States Navy consisted of

1. *Regular navy.* 105,000 enlisted men and over 10,100 officers. The regular navy is in training throughout the year.
2. *Naval Reserve Force.* 50,000 men and 12,600 officers.

5. The Department of the Interior, 1849

For many years after the formation of the first departments citizens sought the establishment of a Home Affairs Department to take charge of the domestic affairs of the national government. But Congress refused to create one, being satisfied that the vast range of domestic services was being handled well enough by the State, Treasury, and War Departments. Finally, in 1849, Congress recognized that the burden of managing so many kinds of work was too great for these departments and established a Department of the Interior, with a Secretary of the Interior in charge.

As years passed this department became a "catchall" for a great number of miscellaneous services. For example, at one time it included such departments as: the Patent Office and Bureau of Census (transferred later to the Commerce Department), Bureau of Pensions, National Park Service, and Bureau (now Office) of Education. But as new departments were created some of these and other services were transferred to them.

At the present time the Department of the Interior has many divisions, including the General Land Office, Bureau of Reclamation, Bureau of Mines, Geological Survey, Bureau of Pensions, Office of Education, Office of Indian Affairs, Division of Territories and Insular Possessions, and others. It has charge of oil conservation, national parks, buildings, and reservations.

6. The Department of Justice, 1870

For 80 years after our government was established there was no "full-time" Attorney General or Department of Justice. You will probably be astonished to hear that the leaders of our country actually believed they could get along with a "part-time" Attorney General who also had a private law practice in the national capital. Eventually it was discovered, however,that no person could be part public official and part private citizen and do the work efficiently.

Though there has always been an Attorney General in the President's Cabinet, for over three quarters of a century he was not made head of a separate department in the government. It was not until 1870 that the Department of Justice was created by Congress.

What is the work of the Department of Justice? Through its Federal district attorneys it handles the trials of all persons accused of crimes against Federal laws. It manages the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Bureau of Prisons. It has a Tax Division, a Claims Division, a Criminal Division, an Antitrust Division, a Lands Division, a Customs Division. But keep closely in mind that the Department of Justice does not control the work of the Federal courts. They, as you will see in the next chapter, operate as separate bodies. The Department of Justice, however, cooperates very closely with those courts and tries its cases in them.

7. The Post Office Department, 1874

For many years the delivery of the mails was managed by a postal bureau which had been established in 1794 as a part of the Treasury Department. But as the work of this bureau became heavier and heavier, need for a separate department to carry it on grew, and, in 1874, Congress created a Post Office Department. At the head of the department is a Postmaster General. Today it is by far the largest department of the national government, employing 300,000 workers (nearly as many as in all the other civil departments combined). It delivers mail through 45,000 post offices to 130,000,000 people, including 25,000,000 on rural routes. In a recent year it handled 20,000,000,000 pieces of mail. Its gross revenue in 1937, for example, was over $726,000,000. It operates some 8000 postal savings banks with more than 2,000,000 depositors. At the close of 1937 the total postal savings on deposit amounted to over $1,267,600,000.

8. The Department of Agriculture, 1889

We have seen how seven departments of the national government serve the people generally. Three more were added, but these three serve certain large groups of the people more particularly. One of them is the Department of Agriculture, which Congress established in 1889. For many years the farmers of the country were asking for a national Department of Agriculture to help them build up their farms. But exactly 100 years passed from the beginning of the national government before Congress satisfied them.

The chart of figure 117 sums up very briefly what this department does. In general, it is charged with the work of "informing and aiding farmers," and of promoting agriculture in its broadest sense. But in how many different ways it does this! Figure 117 sums up the principal bureaus and divisions now in the department: Animal Husbandry, Dairying, Plant Industry, Chemistry and Soils, Biological Survey, Entomology and Plant Quarantine, Agricultural Engineering, Agricultural Economics, Public Roads, Forest Service, Food and Drug Administration, Home Economics, Extension Service, Experiment Stations, Grain Futures Administration, and the Weather Bureau. Each of these has an elaborate organization. Under the Secretary there are six "directors" in charge of all the important branches of the department.

To carry on the work of these bureaus and divisions requires more than 100,000 employees and millions of dollars every year. If you are thinking that this is a very large sum of money to "inform and aid farmers," note some of the things the department has done for the 6,000,000 farm households of America.

It has searched the entire earth for the plants that will grow best in our soils and under the various climate and land conditions in the country. For example, it brought the seedless orange here from Brazil and helped to experiment with the growing of new varieties, with the result that each year the seedless-orange crop is now worth tens of millions of dollars. In a single year the department collected more than 150 kinds of sugar cane from the tropical islands in the Pacific and experimented to find out which ones would grow in America. Agricultural experts have been hired to teach American farmers how to raise Chinese soybeans profitably. From Asia have come new kinds of grasses which have proved to be extremely beneficial to the wornout soils of the Tennessee Valley and other regions. These are only a few of the many ways in which the department has discovered and developed new plants for American farms.

The story of the scientific work of the department in discovering plant and animal pests is already becoming a heroic chapter in modern history. For example, its scientists discovered how to breed certain kinds of sugar-beet plants that will grow in our particular soil and climate. They have reduced the destruction of crops by plant lice, thus saving crops worth millions of dollars. For years the annual loss to wheat farmers caused by wheat rust was over 50,000,000 bushels. Because of the work of the Department of Agriculture, the loss has already been cut to 10,000,000 bushels. Equally important is the department's work in the selective breeding of cattle, poultry, and other animals, which has increased the value of American dairy industry tens of millions of dollars.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics is a great center of information for farmers. Through its own agents, daily radio broadcasts, and in other ways it gathers many facts about the prices of farm products, about marketing, about better ways of using land, about standards for various grades of meat, cotton, grain, and many other crops. Then it sends out this information in regular bulletins.

The Bureau of Agricultural Engineering gives the farmers the same kinds of service concerning building construction, the use of power, and the like.

The Bureau of Biological Survey makes scientific studies of game animals and birds, and advises farmers how to deal with them. Through this Bureau the farmer learns which ones should be protected because they are useful to mankind.

There are 156 national forests scattered over 33 states of the country, and the Forest Service, another division of the Department of Agriculture, does the kind of scientific and practical work in protecting these that other bureaus do for crops and animals.

These few statements can give no more than a mere hint of the many ways the national government aids farmers. At various times in the past century it has given them a protective tariff. That is, it has placed a tax on certain farm products coming into the country from abroad, thus protecting those of our farmers who are raising such crops against foreign competition. The government has built great storage reservoirs for the farmers' products. A nation-wide system of credit to farm-owners has been built up. The national government helps the county governments of the country to send county agents out regularly to advise farmers and their wives about such things as plant and animal diseases, best uses of soils, rotation of crops, fertilizers, preserving and canning of vegetables and fruits, even about home and social problems of rural community life.

9. The Department of Commerce, 1903

The businessmen of the country long wanted a department in the national government devoted to their interests. The American Federation of Labor and other organizations had also been clamoring for a special Department of Labor. Fourteen years passed after the farmers succeeded in getting a Department of Agriculture before Congress established the Department of Commerce and Labor (1903). This did not completely satisfy either the businessmen or the labor leaders, however, for each group wanted its own department and its own representative in the President's Cabinet. Their fight for separate departments went on for ten years, until Congress finally established a separate Department of Labor in 1913.

What does the Department of Commerce do? Its tasks are many, as the chart of figure 117 shows. Notice its many divisions. Here are a few:

1. A Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, like the economic branch of the Consular Service in the Department of State, collects facts about world business. It has these printed and sends them to American businessmen.
2. The Patent Office issues tens of thousands of patents each year to protect the new inventions of individuals and corporations. In one year (1936) 40,125 were granted.
3. The Bureau of Lighthouses provides lighthouses and lightships, radio warnings, fog signals, and the like, to guide the ships coming in and going out of our harbors. It takes care of a great many services that aid shipping along our coasts.
4. The Bureau of Air Commerce helps, protects, and regulates aviation in America.
5. The Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation has much control over navigation laws and practices. It provides for the inspection of American vessels in foreign trade, to make sure that they are safe and sanitary.
6. The Coast and Geodetic Survey prepares maps of the lands and coasts of our country. These are great aids to sailors in our waters.
7. The Bureau of Standards carries on elaborate tests and experiments with new materials, chemical processes, and methods of manufacturing. The information gathered from these investigations is very helpful to individuals and to manufacturing and business concerns.

10. The Department of Labor, 1913

The latest of the national executive departments to be created—the Department of Labor—was established in 1913. In the years that have passed since that time many requests for new and separate departments have been made, but in each case Congress has refused to act. Indeed there probably would still be no Department of Labor if organized workers and leaders had not been so insistent in their demands.

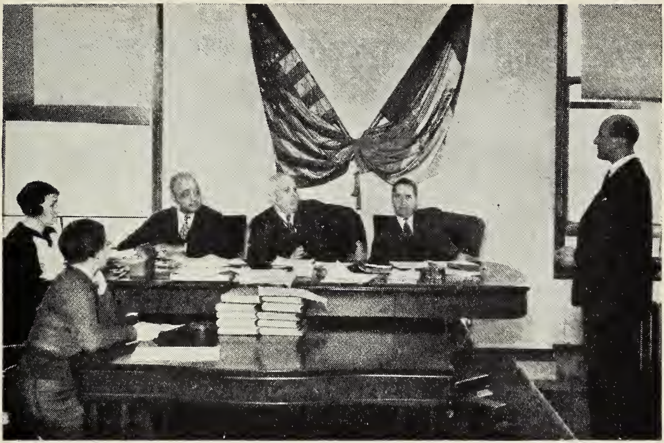
What does the Department of Labor do? The law that established it said that it was "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunity for profitable employment." To carry on this work the department has provided the half-dozen principal services shown in the chart of figure 117. Through the United States Employment Service a nation-wide system of offices is being built up to help unemployed people find work, to "bring the job and the worker together." It co-operates with both the state employment exchanges and those of many communities in trying to find jobs for the unemployed.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics collects and publishes (especially through its manufacturing magazine, *Labor Review*) enormously valuable information about wages, prices, costs of living, and many legal matters affecting the worker.

Although there seems to be no special reason why the Department of Labor should manage immigration and naturalization, it has a Bureau in charge of that work. Formerly, especially from 1900 to 1914, the problems involved in immigration were tremendous. Each year more than 1,000,000 people were entering our country to live, and the qualification of each one had to be checked carefully, because in the 1880's Congress made restrictions which barred certain classes of people—for example, criminals, paupers, persons with certain diseases, insane people, anarchists, and "contract laborers."

All this work was taken over by the Department of Labor. After the World War, however, the tasks of this bureau became lighter. In 1921 and 1924 Congress passed new laws establishing "quotas" (maximum numbers) of persons allowed to enter America from certain foreign countries in any one year.

For more than a decade, the total annual number of immigrants from Europe has been set at about 154,000. This is how the number is divided among the northern European countries: Great Britain and Northern Ireland, 65,721; Germany, 25,957; Eire, 17,853; Poland, 6524; France, 3086; Sweden, 3314; Norway, 2377. All Orientals except certain professional people who come for a limited time or for the purpose of study are barred. As you can see, the work of checking up on immigrants has been greatly reduced.



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 154. Candidate taking an oral examination before a Civil Service Commission

11. There are 120 other agencies of the national government

These ten executive departments of our Federal government are the most important divisions of the national government machinery and employ 90-odd per cent of all our Federal workers. But we must not forget that Congress has from time to time created additional commissions, boards, authorities, and the like, which are independent of these ten. And though Congress created them they report directly to the President and are supervised by him. Some of these have played an important part in our history and are worth knowing and remembering. Most of them, however, we shall not take the time to study now. The Time Line of figure 151 lists a few important ones:

1. *The Civil Service Commission, 1883.* About 600 employees, working under three commissioners, have charge of recruiting by competitive examination all employees of the national government now under Civil Service.

2. *The Interstate Commerce Commission (I.C.C.), 1887.* This commission employs about 2400 workers, under eleven commissioners who serve for seven years. Some of its tasks are supervising railroad, truck, and bus lines, shipping lines, and express and other companies engaged

in interstate commerce. It has power to "fix rates" which it regards as "just and reasonable" both to the persons shipping goods and to the transportation companies carrying them.

3. *Board of Governors of Federal Reserve Banks, 1913.* In 1913 Congress created a system of twelve Federal Reserve Banks to deal with the privately owned national banks of the country, to make loans to banks in serious need of money, to issue paper money, and the like. The twelve banks are located in twelve principal cities scattered over the country. There are seven board members who serve a single term of fourteen years. One retires every two years.

4. *The Federal Trade Commission, 1914.* Belonging to this commission are five members (serving seven-year terms), and about 600 employees. It has the power to investigate, report upon, and forbid any "objectionable and illegal" practices by individuals or corporations engaged in interstate trade (not within the scope of power of the Interstate Commerce Commission). Included are such practices as "unfair competition," false and misleading advertising, adulteration of goods, bribery of employees of competitors, false statements about competitors' goods, and the like. The commission also advises persons and corporations concerning the legality of proposed activities.

5. *The Tariff Commission, 1916.* The six members of this commission, not all of the same political party, serve for six years. There is a staff of about 300 employees. Its work includes making investigations of commodities and giving to the President and Congress data on which to set customs duties to be charged on various foreign goods brought into this country.

6. *The Federal Communications Commission, 1934.* There are seven members of this commission, each serving a seven-year term. It has taken over from the overworked Interstate Commerce Commission the task of supervising interstate telephone, telegraph, and radio service. This commission also has power to establish "just and reasonable rates."

7. *The Federal Power Commission, 1930.* This commission, at the head of which are five members, studies and recommends legislation, and enforces laws dealing with power production in navigable rivers and public lands.

8. *The Veterans' Administration, 1930.* This has charge of caring for all soldiers of past wars who are entitled to government aid. A vast organization of some 30,000 employees is needed to carry on its work. It operates 80 hospitals and manages a large pension system.

9. *Many Boards, Commissions, Corporations, Administrations, and the Like, Established during the Great Depression, since 1930.* Both under the Republican Administration of President Herbert Hoover and under

the Democratic "New Deal" of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, new independent commissions have been created. While some of these have already gone out of existence, others probably will become permanent additions to our national government. These include the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 1932 . . . the Farm Credit Administration, 1933 . . . the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 1933 . . . the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933 . . . the Securities and Exchange Commission, 1934 . . . the Social Security Board, 1935.

Although this outline barely hints at the huge number of independent government agencies, we cannot study them further. Bear in mind that there are 100 other agencies used by the President and his associates to carry on the work of our national government.

Do you wonder that we call it "Big Business"?

Do you wonder that in a recent year the national government alone spent $13,000,000,000?

Present attempts to reorganize the government

The most systematic plan for improving the work of the national government has come from a President himself. In 1937 President Roosevelt proposed to Congress a law which would reorganize the national government. The chief purpose he had in mind was to increase the efficiency of government. So many new services have been taken over by the national government in recent years that today the President has over 100 departments, commissions, boards, authorities, reporting to him. This, he and others believed, is by far too large a number for a President to supervise.

Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers drew up the reorganization plan to eliminate many of these scattered agencies, to combine others, to transfer some from one department to another, and otherwise make the work go along more smoothly. The plan provided for two new departments—the Department of Social Welfare (including education, social security, public health, penal institutions, and so forth) and the Department of Public Works. Many services formerly carried on in the Department of the Interior were to be transferred to other departments, including the new ones. The Bureau of the Budget (one of the most important recent additions to the national government), the National Resources Board, and the Civil Service Board were to be separate from all departments and directly under the President. The new plan proposed to reduce the number of separate agencies under the President from 130 to 15.

In March, 1939, Congress—after two years of debate and discussion—passed the Government Reorganization Act. The Act in its final form ignored the proposal to create new departments but did make it possible to combine and reorganize 60 of the 130 separated agencies. Three new large agencies combine 21 former separated ones. They are:

1. A new Federal Security Agency—including the United States Employment Service (from the Labor Department); the Office of Education (from the Interior Department); Public Health Service (from the Treasury Department); the National Youth Administration (from WPA); Social Security Board (an independent agency); the Civilian Conservation Corps (an independent agency).
2. A new Federal Works Agency—including the WPA and PWA (both independent agencies); the Bureau of Public Roads (from the Department of Agriculture); the public buildings branch of the Treasury Department; part of National Park Service (from the Interior Department); the United States Housing Authority (from the Interior Department).
3. A new Federal Loan Agency—including these independent agencies: the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Electric Home and Farm Authority, the Disaster Loan Corporation, the RFC Mortgage Company, the Federal National Mortgage Association, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Export-Import Bank of Washington.

In addition, the Treasury's Bureau of the Budget, which makes up the nation's "housekeeping" budget each fiscal year, is transferred to the President. Two statistical agencies, which collect governmental data, and the National Resources Planning Board, formerly the National Resources Committee, are shifted to the Budget Bureau. The Department of Agriculture is given control over the Farm Credit Administration, the Farm Mortgage Corporation, and the Commodity Credit Corporation (formerly independent agencies).

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Agar, Herbert. The People's Choice. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Hoover, Irwin H. (Ike). Forty-two Years in the White House. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Intimate stories about Presidents of the United States.

Houghton, Neal Doyle. Realities of American Government. The Macmillan Company, New York. Chapters XII–XIV deal with the executive branch of our national government.

Keohane, R. E., Keohane, M. P., and McGoldrick, J. D. Government in Action. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. Chapter VI discusses the enforcement of state and local laws.

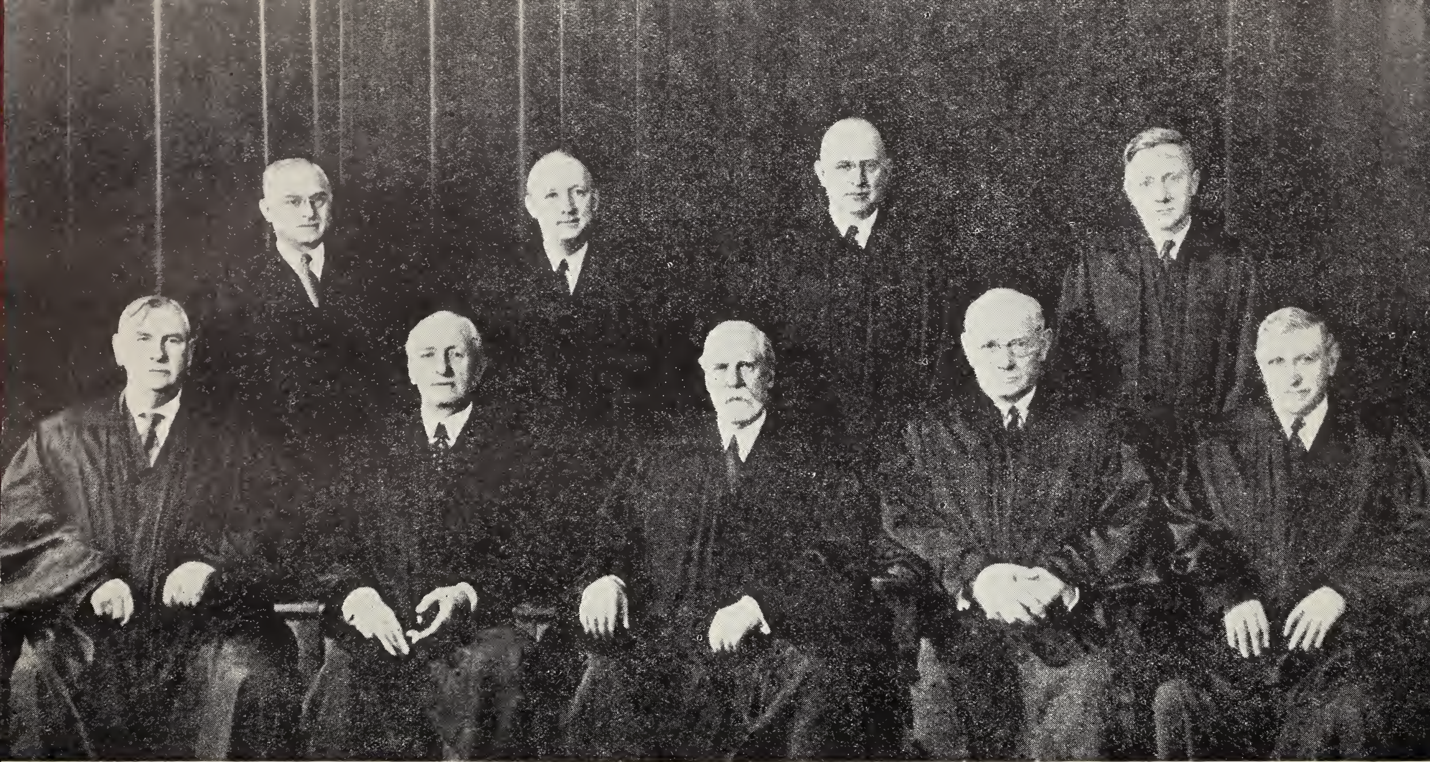
McFee, Inez N. How Our Government Is Run. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Magruder, Frank A. American Government. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

Ogg, Frederic A., and Ray, P. Orman. Introduction to American Government. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York.

Young, Jeremiah, and Barton, Edwin M. Growing in Citizenship. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. See Chapters XV and XVI.

See also readings listed at the close of Chapter XIV.



Acme

Fig. 155. The United States Supreme Court, 1939

Front row (left to right): Associate Justices Harland Fiske Stone, James Clark McReynolds, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, Associate Justices Pierce Butler (died in November, 1939) and Owen J. Roberts.

CHAPTER XVI · How Government Works: Law and the Courts

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We have seen how laws are passed by legislators and administered by executives and officials. Now we must see how they are enforced by departments of justice and by the courts.

WHERE DID OUR PRESENT SYSTEM OF LAW AND ORDER COME FROM?

The history of the system of lawmaking and law enforcement that is used in the United States goes back more than 1000 years. Our system is based partly upon the English system, but it is also partly the result of the conditions which developed in America after 1600.

Generally speaking, laws grow out of custom. What is custom? It is merely the general practices of a people. For example, in America we have the custom of saying "How do you do?" when being introduced to people, and "Hello" or "Good-by" when we see or leave our friends. We walk on the right side of the sidewalk. Men take off their hats in the house, in church, and in restaurants. When such practices become very general among the people, they are called customs.

Many of our laws have grown out of common practices, or customs. Let us consider some examples.

An example of how laws grew out of the common practices of the people

An interesting example of the way some laws developed in America is that of the mining law, which followed the discovery of gold in 1848. Recall from your study of American history how thousands of people rushed into the unsettled lands of California and the neighboring mountain regions. As the miners poured into the territory, each staked out his claim according to the laws to which he had been accustomed at home. As a result, many different practices grew up quickly. Since the territory in this case was not yet a part of the United States, there were no national or state laws to regulate the taking of land, the exchange of goods, the making of contracts, and other matters. There were no courts to decide disputes.

Gradually the miners began to follow uniform practices, however, and these soon developed into fairly well-established customs. And these customs came to be known as the Miners' Common Law.

In 1850 the state of California joined the Union. A legislature was elected and many laws were passed regulating the ways of living of both the miners and the other people of the new state. Some of these were simply written statements based upon the accepted common law or customs. Others were new rules of conduct. In the meantime, as mining developed through other Western states, the United States Congress passed Federal laws to govern many mining practices.

This example illustrates how many of the customs of the people become law. It also illustrates how, as legal governments are set up and lawmaking bodies are established, written "statutes" passed by lawmaking bodies take the place of custom.

Another example—laws governing "probation"

Today, every state but Wyoming has laws providing for the release of youthful prisoners "on probation." This means giving them their freedom, but setting up certain conditions that they must meet—such as reporting to officials at regular intervals. Private citizens first built up the custom of freeing prisoners in this way. Finally the custom became the law. Let us see how the custom developed.

As the story goes, one day in 1849 John Augustus, a kind Boston cobbler, appeared before a judge in that city and asked that a youth who was charged with drunkenness be released on bail, with the understanding that for a short time the boy would be under his guardianship and direction. This was permitted, and, according to the diary of John Augustus, the first probationer was not only saved from the evils of imprisonment but he improved in his habits as well. "At the expiration of his period of probation, I accompanied him to the courtroom," said John Augustus. "His whole appearance was changed and no one . . . could believe that he was the same person who less than a month before had stood trembling on the prisoner's stand. The boy continued industrious and sober and without doubt has been from this treatment saved from a drunkard's death." So encouraged was John Augustus by his success in this boy's case that he began to do the same for others. In six months he had bailed seventeen persons and taken them under his care. During the next fifteen years hundreds of men and boys and women and girls were watched over and assisted by him.[1]

Others in Massachusetts followed John Augustus' example until finally the releasing of prisoners on probation became a custom. It was not until 1878, however, that the Massachusetts legislature passed laws making the probation system legal. Even as late as 1899 this state was the only one with such laws. But after that, state after state adopted the plan. Today, 47 states have statute laws which provide for probation for young offenders.

The Miners' Common Law and the probation law, then, are two good illustrations of how practices become customs, and customs become laws.

AMERICAN LAW WAS FIRST BASED UPON ENGLISH COMMON LAW

Until the time of the American Revolution the people living in the thirteen colonies were officially and legally subjects of Great Britain. Hence their courts decided disputes according to the laws of England. To understand the basis of American law, therefore, we must know about English law.

Think back to the England of, say, the year 1100. The community life of those days was very simple. Government was simple also. On the manors the dealings among people were largely regulated by custom. But, of course, there were occasions when disputes arose. Sometimes these were settled by force, the stronger man winning because of his strength. Gradually the custom developed of having the person of greatest authority in the community act as judge. By 1100 there was a well-organized system of royal

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[1] Adapted from Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts*, pp. 159–160. Courtesy of Minton, Balch & Company, publishers, New York, 1930.

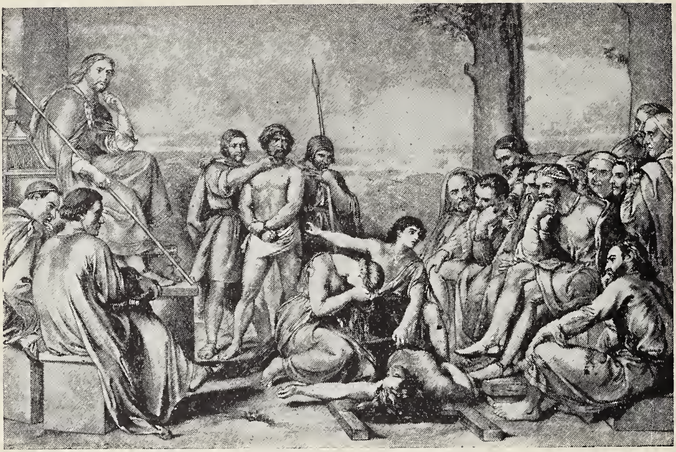

Fig. 156. An imaginary picture of the first trial by jury. Twelve respected Saxons are listening to the evidence on a murder. The accused stands guarded and bound, watching the effect of the evidence upon the jury

courts in which the "king's justices" decided matters of controversy. Their task was to make decisions in the fairest way they could, according to the customs of the region. These medieval justices were really lawmakers; that is, they interpreted customs and declared what should be the rules of conduct in the land.

Sometimes the justices engaged the services of other prominent citizens of the community to help them. That is, they drew juries of twelve "good and true men." After 1166 this practice became part of the law system of England. Here was really the beginning of the jury system.

Gradually, also, the decisions of the justices were written down and preserved. It frequently happened that new disputes which arose were similar to others which had been settled earlier. In such cases the justices tended to turn to the decisions made earlier for guidance. Little by little, the practice grew up among them of "following precedent," that is, of deciding cases in accordance with previous rulings on similar disputes. In many instances, of course, the justices refused to follow the earlier decisions and worked out new rules for new cases.

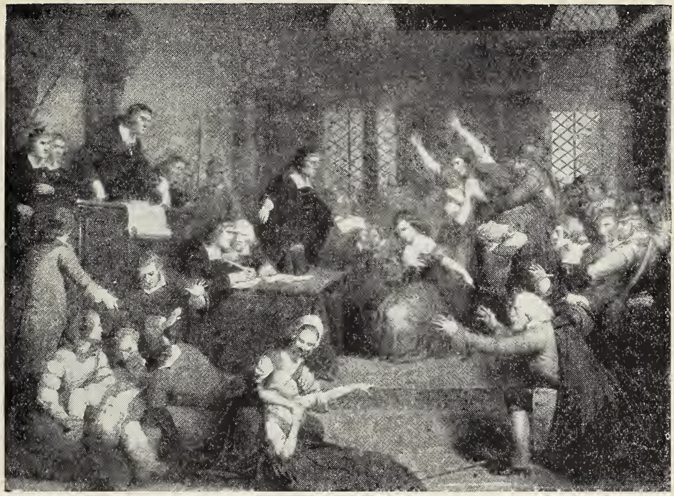

FIG. 157. A painting of a trial for witchcraft in Massachusetts near the close of the 1600's. Compare this scene with that shown in figure 159

From a painting by T. H. Mattison. Courtesy of the Essex Institute, Salem

Thus it was that *from the justices' interpretations of the customs of the people there developed what is called the "common law of England.*" This, as you can see, was mainly the accumulated decisions of justices covering many kinds of controversies.

When the thirteen colonies became the United States of America in 1783, therefore, the English customs and laws under which the colonists had lived for a century and a half had already been made the basis of the American common law. They continued for some time to be the basis of the decisions of the American courts.

Gradually, however, other laws were passed by state legislatures or the Federal Congress. (These are known as statute laws.) In some cases they were based on the common law; in other cases they were entirely new. Throughout our national history the law of the land has continued to be in part the common law and in part the statute law.

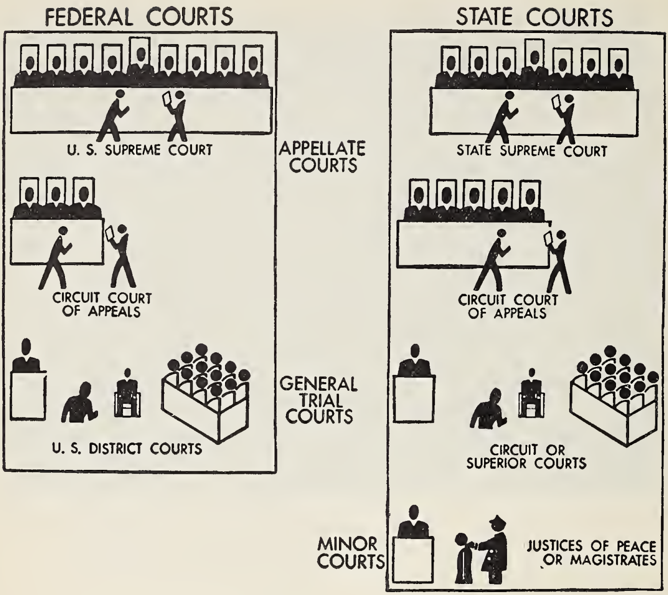
FEDERAL COURTS
STATE COURTS
U. S. SUPREME COURT
APPELLATE COURTS
STATE SUPREME COURT
CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS
CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS
GENERAL TRIAL COURTS
U. S. DISTRICT COURTS
CIRCUIT OR SUPERIOR COURTS
MINOR COURTS
JUSTICES OF PEACE OR MAGISTRATES

Fig. 158. The Organization of our courts[1]

TWO SYSTEMS OF AMERICAN COURTS

Study figure 158 to see the kinds of courts there are and how they are organized. Note that there are two separate systems: (1) the state courts; (2) the Federal courts. Each of these has authority over certain kinds of cases. Let us see first how the state courts work.

How the state courts work

At the base of the whole system of American courts are the small and local ones called courts of justices of the peace, police courts, or magistrates' courts. There are tens of thousands of these presided over by justices of the peace, aldermen, squires, or magistrates, many of whom are not trained lawyers. Every community has one or more. They decide petty cases such as automobile-speeding and other violations of motor-traffic laws.

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[1] From Keohane, Keohane and McGoldrick, *Government in Action*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.

Higher in the scale and more important than these minor courts are (1) the circuit, or superior, courts, which try cases of any size or importance that come under the jurisdiction (power) of the state; (2) the Circuit Court of Appeals, to which a person or corporation who has lost a case in a lower court, can appeal for another trial; (3) the Supreme Court of the state—the "court of last resort" in the state.

TWO KINDS OF STATE-COURT CASES

There are two kinds of cases which come before our courts: (1) criminal cases; (2) civil cases. Perhaps the simplest way to illustrate how laws work is to tell the story of two typical kinds of cases which come before our courts every day—first, a criminal offense; second, a civil action.

1. The story of a criminal offense

It is mid-afternoon on a hot summer day in a great city. People are lazily strolling up and down the avenue. Nothing disturbs the quiet of the afternoon. A car, with its engine still running, is parked at a corner. Halfway down the block is a jewelry store, its shades pulled down, apparently to cut off the glare of the sun. Suddenly a shot is heard, and a man carrying a satchel is seen dashing through the door of the jewelry shop. He runs down the street and disappears around the corner. Another man staggers out of the store, calling, "Stop!" But his cries are feeble. He takes a few steps and collapses on the sidewalk.

Immediately the street becomes a scene of confusion. People run toward the jeweler. He moans feebly and blood pours from his forehead. The people crowd about or look around helplessly.

1. *The Arrest.* One quick-witted boy dashes up the street and shrieks out a message to the officer on the beat. He points in the direction of the thief who is now turning another corner. The policeman looks around and spies the owner of the parked automobile getting into the front seat. He runs to the car, mounts the running board, and orders the driver to follow the man with the satchel. Soon they are speeding after him. After turning two

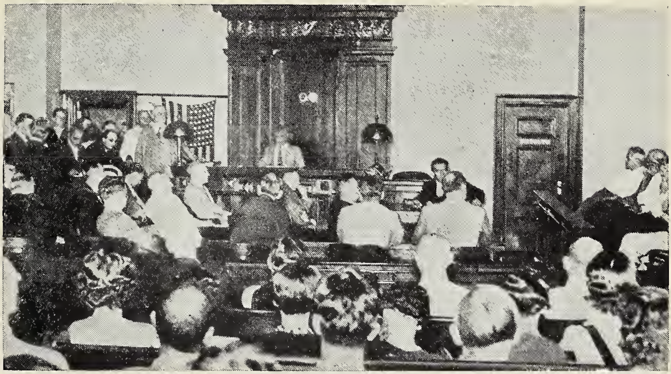
corners the automobile is nearly abreast of the man, when suddenly he darts into an alley. The policeman, revolver in hand, jumps from the running board and dashes after him. Just as the man is about to vanish through a doorway, the policeman catches him. A tussle follows, but it lasts only a short time. At the sight of the policeman's revolver, the man surrenders. The revolver he had been carrying and the satchel had been thrown away somewhere along the route.

The policeman arrests the man and takes him to the precinct station-house to be locked up. Here the policeman tells what has happened and makes a charge against the man, who gives his name as Abel Norton.

2. *The Preliminary Hearing.* At the hearing next day no one is on hand who can swear that it was Norton who ran out of the jeweler's shop. Norton declares that he is innocent and demands that the magistrate release him on bail. A professional bondsman is on hand who offers to "go bail" for him. In this case the bail is set at $5000. The bondsman promises that if Norton should run away he himself will pay the amount of money which the court demands. In other words, the bail is an assurance that Norton will appear at the court when he is to be tried. The bondsman offers as security the deed to a house he owns. This house, of course, is worth at least as much as the amount of bail demanded.

3. *The Grand-Jury Hearing.* Several weeks later Norton is notified that his case is to be heard before the grand jury. It is the duty of the grand jury to listen to the evidence which the district attorney (the prosecuting officer) presents. It must then decide whether or not the accused person should be held and brought to trial. In this case the grand jury decides that there is reason to believe that Norton is the thief who assaulted the jeweler and that he should be held and tried.

Again Norton is released on bail. Several months pass and he is finally notified that his trial is set for a certain day. Meanwhile the jeweler has fully recovered from the wound which he received when he attempted to defend his property. He is ready to appear in the court to tell what happened and to identify Norton. A woman who was close to the jewelry shop when Norton ran from



Keystone

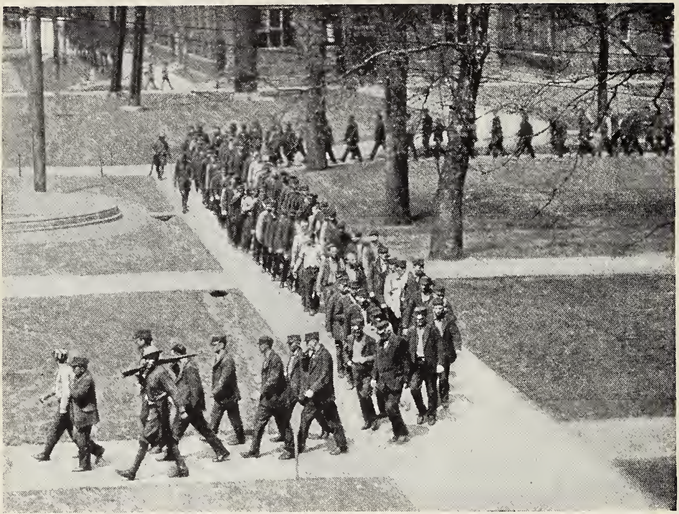
Fig. 159. A scene in a modern courtroom. The judge sits at the desk. At the extreme right of the picture is the jury. The defendants are on the far side of the counsel table

it is also able to identify him and will be asked to do so. In the meantime, Norton has secured a lawyer to defend his case.

4. *The Trial.* On the day of the trial the courtroom is crowded. Newspaper reporters are there to write the story of the trial. There are court stenographers to take down in shorthand all that is said. Various officials and spectators are also present.

This is *a criminal trial.* A crime has been committed against law and order, and it is an offense against the state. The state has a prosecuting officer to represent it. A judge presides over the court. A panel, or list of possible jurors, is chosen by lot from citizens (men and women) of the community. After being questioned by the lawyers, twelve are selected from the panel to be the jury who will listen to the evidence.

The case is tried. In brief, this is what happens at the trial. The district attorney accuses Norton of the robbery. He calls his witnesses—the jeweler and the woman—to tell their stories and to identify Norton. Then Norton's lawyer tries to show that Norton is a peaceful citizen who, seeing himself pursued by a policeman with a gun, ran in fear. But the prosecuting attorney is able to prove that on the day that the robbery was committed Norton bought the bag in which the stolen jewelry was found.



Wide World

FIG. 160. On the prison grounds of one of our state penitentiaries. Note the armed guards who accompany the prisoners

5. *The Verdict.* After a secret consultation in the jury room the twelve jurymen decide that Norton is guilty. Thus he stands convicted of the crime.

6. *The Sentence.* The judge then sentences him to fifteen years' imprisonment, and the trial is over. Immediately Norton is taken from the courtroom to the city jail. He is now a prisoner.

7. *The Appeal.* But Norton and his lawyer are dissatisfied with the result of the trial. So they decide to appeal the case—that is, to ask a higher court to reconsider the evidence and the verdict. Months later, after many delays, the higher court does consider the case, and it agrees with the original verdict of guilty.

Within a short time Norton leaves the city jail for the state prison. There he becomes a model prisoner. After serving eight years of his fifteen-year sentence, the warden of the prison recommends to the state parole board that Norton be released on parole. This is done; and, soon after, Norton is allowed to go free.

These, in brief, are the principal steps followed in a criminal case. In most cases there are many more steps and many more details than those described here. For example, lawyers frequently succeed in securing new trials for their convicted clients. This example, however, gives the most important steps: (1) arrest, (2) preliminary hearing, (3) grand-jury hearing, (4) trial, (5) verdict, (6) sentence, (7) appeal.

Let us now study what happens in a typical civil case.

2. The story of a civil case

Mr. A leased from Mr. Z a room to be used as an office in a large building. He signed a contract (or lease) agreeing to pay Mr. Z $50 each month for one year. Toward the end of the year, A decided that the office he had opened was too far from the center of town. However, he had not yet found a more suitable one. So he sent his clerk to ask Z if, without signing a contract for another year, he could rent the office for one month after his year's lease had expired. Z agreed to this, but the agreement was not put in writing. A kept the office for the extra month, paid the rent, and then moved.

1. *The Complaint.* Ten months later A was notified, both by a law firm and by the county court, that a suit had been entered in court against him by Z. Z claimed that A owed him $50 for each month of the second year of the contract. He based his claim upon a clause in the lease that A had signed. This clause stated that if A failed to write Z, saying that he did not wish to renew his lease for another year, he would be bound to rent the office for that year also.

2. *The Answer.* A engaged a lawyer immediately. The lawyer filed an answer stating that in the conversation between A's clerk and Z it had been thoroughly understood that A did not wish to keep the office for a second year. This verbal, or spoken, agreement, he said, was equal to an agreement in writing.

3. *The "Docket."* This answer, as well as the complaint, was then placed in the court's "docket," or list of cases to be tried later.

A's lawyer then arranged a meeting with Z and told him that, rather than ask A to waste his time in a long court trial, he had advised him to give Z $100 to settle the claim. But Z would not agree to accept less than $400. Because A and Z could not come to a settlement, the case was left in the hands of the court.

4. *The Trial.* Nothing was heard about the matter for months. Then one day, a year after A had moved from Z's building, he received a notice to appear in court. There Z's lawyer displayed the lease as evidence. A's clerk swore that Z had been told definitely that A wished the room for one month only, and that Z was satisfied with this arrangement.

5. *The Finding.* The jury accepted the clerk's declaration and decided that the agreement in words was binding and that only the cost of the trial should be paid by A. This amounted to $100.

TWO PRINCIPAL KINDS OF OFFENSES AGAINST SOCIETY

These, then, are two examples of the chief kinds of legal action. The first was a *criminal case*; the second was a *civil case*. The two kinds of offenses committed are called, respectively, crimes and torts.

A crime is an act committed or omitted in violation of a public law. A tort is "the infliction of injury for which damage may be recovered." Some torts are also crimes, but the main distinction between the two lies in the question: Has a public law been violated?

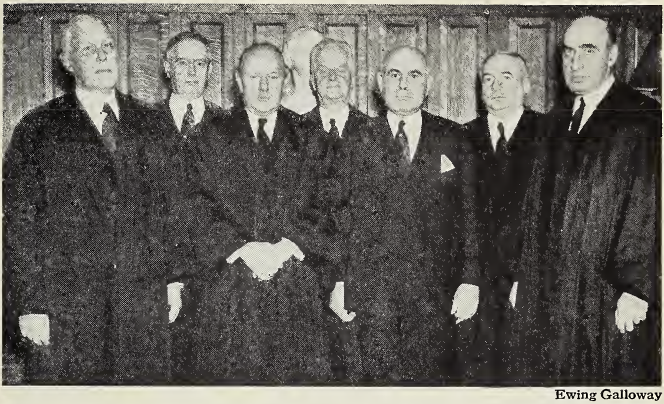
Let us illustrate each of these two kinds of offense.

1. The chief kinds of crime

There are many ways of classifying crimes. A fairly common way is as follows:

1. Crimes against public order; for example, driving vehicles on the wrong side of the street; paying no attention to a traffic light; neglecting to obey a policeman's signal; voting illegally.

2. Crimes against property; for example, robbery (theft from a person); burglary (theft from private buildings or lands); grand larceny (theft of any property above a fixed value, generally $25 to $50); arson (setting fire to buildings); other examples of malicious mischief.



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 161. The court of appeals of New York State with the governor (third from the right)

3. Crimes against persons; for example, murder (murder in the first degree is the intentional and premeditated killing of a human being; murder in the second degree is the killing of a human being without premeditation; manslaughter is the killing resulting from unintentional or careless acts); assault, rape, mayhem, and other attacks upon the body; libel or slander (libel means injuring by means of publication; slander means injuring by word of mouth).

Crimes are also divided into (1) felonies, (2) misdemeanors. A felony is the more serious offense, one that is punished by a long prison sentence or by death. Murder, manslaughter, burglary, robbery, larceny, and arson are felonies. A misdemeanor is a lesser offense, generally punished by a fine or by a short-term imprisonment in a jail or workhouse. Disturbance of the peace, spitting on the floor of a public conveyance, violating food and health laws, and exceeding the speed limit are examples of misdemeanors.

2. The chief kinds of torts

Paralleling the vast and complicated criminal law is the law that controls the action of individual citizens against one another. In brief, we can say that whenever the property, the person, or the reputation of an individual is injured by another he can sue to recover damages.

Property is divided into two classes: (1) real, (2) personal. Real property includes land and things attached to the land, such as buildings. Personal property includes all movable things and rights which are not connected with land. There are other detailed classifications of property, but we shall not consider them at this time.

The violation of any private right is called a tort. Let us note three classes of torts:

1. Torts against the person; for example, false imprisonment, assault and battery, abduction, slander, and libel.
2. Torts against property; for example, trespassing upon land, buildings, or other property—that is, the "unauthorized entry" on another's premises.
3. Torts against both person and property; for example, the conducting of a nuisance which unreasonably interferes with the peace, quiet, and enjoyment of one's property, such as unreasonable noises which disturb sleep or interfere with work.

You will notice that some offenses can be regarded as either crimes or torts. They can be prosecuted by the state as crimes, and the injured person or persons can also sue at civil law to recover damages.

There are other means of legal action under civil law. For example, many rights of the individual arise because of the making of contracts between two or more parties. A contract is complete when one party makes an offer and a second party accepts it. Thus if a man says, "I offer to sell you my automobile for $500," and the other person says, "I accept your offer," a contract has been made. If either party refuses to carry out the contract, the other party can recover damages from him by means of a lawsuit.

THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE COURTS

Perhaps enough has been said by now to illustrate how the enforcement of laws keeps order in our complicated way of life. But let us call attention to one important idea which runs throughout this discussion. Have you noticed that in every instance it is a court that settles a dispute—whether between two citizens, or between a citizen and the city, state, or Federal government? The

Keystone

FIG. 162. One of the many county courthouses scattered throughout the country. From here cases on appeal go to a higher court

courts—"the judiciary"—are an extremely important part of our government.

There are many kinds of courts, but all get their authority from either the Federal government or the state governments. For this reason we say that there are two systems of courts—state and Federal. Thus far we have been discussing state courts.

Next, let us consider the Federal courts.

OUR FEDERAL COURTS: PROTECTION FOR THE POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Although, as we shall see later, the Federal courts handle many kinds of cases, their most important job is to protect the power of the Federal government. Because of the Constitution itself and the interpretations which have been made of it, our Federal government has come to have a great deal of control over our ways of living. Likewise, it has come to play a large role in protecting our lives and our jobs. And it is the Federal courts which make the final decisions when questions of that control and protection are challenged. This does not mean that the state courts are subject to the decisions of the Federal courts in all matters.

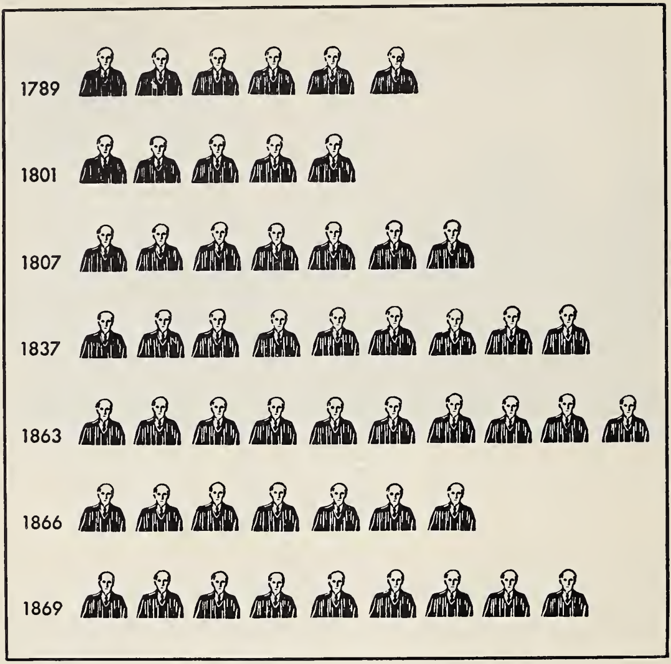


Fig. 163. The size of the Supreme Court has been changed six times[1]

HOW FEDERAL COURTS ARE ORGANIZED

The United States Supreme Court

At the top of the Federal system of courts is the United States Supreme Court. You already know that its authority is stated in the Constitution: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

Acting upon this authority Congress has, from time to time, changed the number of members of the Supreme Court. In 1789 the Court consisted of six judges. In 1797 a seventh judge was added. Forty years later (1837) the number was increased to nine. It still has nine members today.

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[1] Chart by Omar P. Goslin, from *Scholastic.*

The chief task of the Supreme Court is to pass upon the decisions of the lower Federal courts. These cases involve the following kinds of issues:

1. The meaning and constitutionality of national laws.
2. The supremacy of national laws over state laws.
3. Disputes between states.
4. Disputes between state governments and the national government.
5. Issues between citizens of different states.
6. Issues concerning foreign representatives of the United States.
7. Protection of people against illegal or unconstitutional state and Federal laws.

Here then are the seven chief kinds of problems that the United States Supreme Court is called upon to consider. In all matters concerning them its decisions are final.

The Federal circuit courts of appeal

Directly below the United States Supreme Court are the Federal circuit courts of appeal. The country is divided into ten circuits—and there is a circuit court in each, consisting of three United States judges. These courts reconsider cases which have been taken to them on appeal from decisions made in district courts—the lowest of our Federal courts.

The Federal district courts

There are some 80 Federal district courts. In these a single judge (usually with a jury) decides cases involving national laws. They may be criminal cases, such as using the mails to defraud, robbing the mails, kidnaping, and the like; or they may be civil cases—suits between citizens of different states, in bankruptcy, and so forth.

Other Federal courts

In addition to these three kinds of Federal courts there are special courts of the national government. *First*, there is the Court of Claims. Persons who believe they have a claim against the Federal government have their cases tried here. If the five judges of this court award the claim, Congress appropriates the money to pay it.

Second, there are the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals and the "Customs Court." As the names indicate, they handle cases concerning customs (tariffs) and patents.

Third, there are the Courts for the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia has its own Court of Appeals and special District Court for cases which persons desire to have tried there.

Finally there are the Territorial Courts. These take care of judicial matters in the various territories of the United States—Alaska, American Samoa, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Panama Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and other small and scattered possessions.

AN ELABORATE SYSTEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT HAS GROWN UP IN AMERICA

In a village or small community keeping order is not difficult. There are few people and few conflicts; hence few problems of law arise. One or two policemen (called constables or marshals) and a justice of the peace can take care of the minor offenses committed in the community. If serious crimes occur these are handled by courts of the county or the state.

In America today, however, more than half the people live in fairly large communities. Many of them live under the crowded conditions of great metropolitan cities. To keep order in such communities a very elaborate system of law enforcement is necessary. Steadily, throughout the past 50 years, the system of law enforcement has changed, although not rapidly enough to keep pace with the changing urban conditions. For example, as the number of automobiles on city streets has multiplied, special courts and police departments have been established. As the number of youthful offenders has increased, special children's courts have been set up. As the expanding cities have brought increasing problems among family members, separate "domestic relations" courts have been established to handle them. Similarly other departments of law enforcement have developed one by one. As a result the total system today is elaborate and costly. It includes (1) the lawmaking division which we have studied; (2) the division of police; (3) the prosecuting division; (4) the division of the courts; (5) penal institutions, parole and pardon boards, and the like.

We see, therefore, that our legal system is much more complicated than the two descriptions of how our laws work in civil and criminal cases might suggest. For example, there are laws which protect the citizen against the government as well as against other citizens. Suppose, for example, that the building inspector of a city declares that a residence is not a safe place in which to live because it lacks running water. The building is condemned by the city, that is, the officials say that it must be torn down. But if the owner of the building denies that his building is unsafe and refuses to permit anyone to tear it down, the city must go to court and prove that the building is unsafe.

People are also protected against actions of the Federal government. For example, in 1933 the Federal government passed the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). This was a law to regulate business. Many small businessmen and the officials of some large corporations did not like this law. They said it was unconstitutional, and took the question to the courts. When the case finally reached the United States Supreme Court, it was decided that Congress had had no power to pass such a law. It was, therefore, declared unconstitutional.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FOR OUR FURTHER STUDY

How does this complicated system of law enforcement work? Does it succeed in protecting property and persons? Does it guarantee "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"? To answer these far-reaching questions fully would require a volume—indeed, a library. In the next chapter we shall sketch some of the answers briefly. Our purpose will be attained, however, if you comprehend clearly the seriousness of the critical problems of law and order which the American people now confront.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Allen, Robert, and Pearson, Drew. The Nine Old Men. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York. A history of the Supreme Court and its judges.

ANGELL, ERNEST. Supreme Court Primer. Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., New York.

ARNOLD, JOSEPH I. Problems in American Life. Row, Peterson & Co., Evanston, Illinois. See Chapter XXVI for further information on the way our Federal and state courts work.

CALLENDER, CLARENCE N. American Courts. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. An excellent book on how courts are organized and how they operate.

FORMAN, S. E. The American Democracy. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York. See Chapter XXIX, "Laws," and Chapter XXX, "Justice."

FOSDICK, RAYMOND B. American Police Systems. The Century Co., New York.

HASKIN, F. J. American Government Today. Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., New York. Chapter XVI deals with the Federal and national courts.

MAGRUDER, FRANK S. American Government. Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

WELLMAN, F. L. A Day in Court. The Macmillan Company, New York.

YOUNG, JEREMIAH, and BARTON, EDWIN M. Growing in Citizenship. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York. See Chapter XVII.

ZANE, JOHN M. Story of the Law. Ives Washburn, Inc., New York.

Public Affairs Committee. The Supreme Court and the Constitution. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 8 West 40th Street, New York City. One of the Public Affairs pamphlets.

See also readings at the close of Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVII · Some Problems of Law Enforcement and Crime

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THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

Viewed in the large the American system has astonishingly fine achievements to its credit. Let us consider a few examples.

We have learned much about the interdependence of our vast country with its thousands of communities scattered over many geographic regions. Our people are made up of scores of races and nationalities, and we depend upon faraway countries of the earth to satisfy many of our needs.

Yet, most of our people carry on their daily lives in a fair degree of security. This is because the American system of law enforcement regulates and protects the production, distribution, and exchange of things upon which their lives depend. Pure and varied kinds of food are brought regularly to the tables of 30,000,000 families. Scarcely a town in the entire nation lacks a sufficient and continuous supply of pure water, probably the best water of any country in the world. Each day millions of automobiles pass, for the most part without collision, through crowded streets or along country highways. Each day millions of people carry on their work and play with little damage to their houses, furniture, clothing, or other property. All but a small fraction of them walk the streets, engage in their work, and enjoy recreation, with little interruption by crime or accident or disease.

To have produced such a degree of physical security under the startling changes of the New Industrial Revolution is, indeed, a striking achievement for America.

But, say leading authorities on law enforcement, there is another side to this picture of security. There are the startling facts of crime, of murder, robbery, and assault.

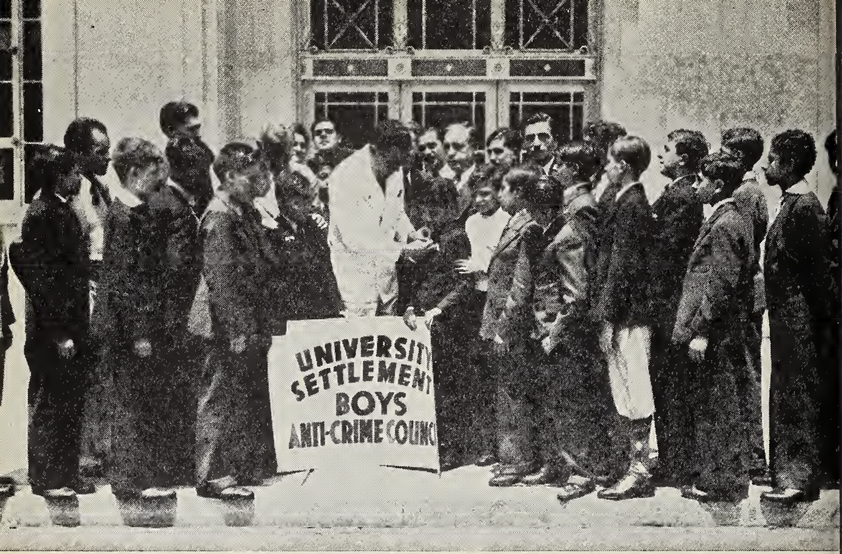
UNIVERSITY
SETTLEMENT
BOYS
ANTI-CRIME COUNC

FIG. 164. Club activities furnish many worth-while interests for boys. They are also a help in crime prevention

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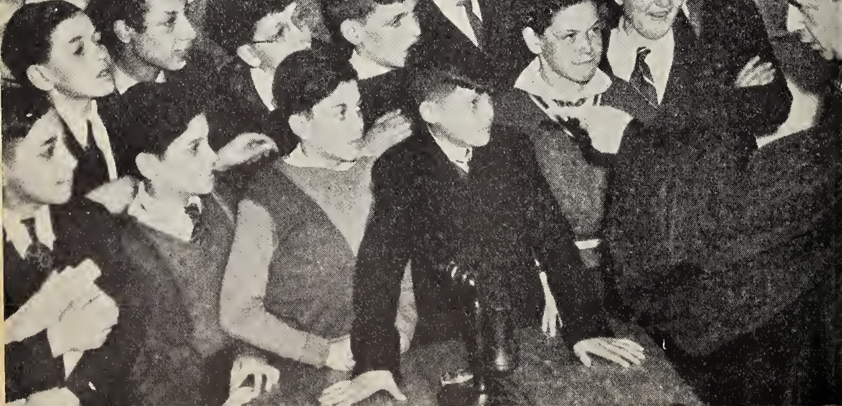
FIG. 165. A magistrate in his talk to a group of boys explains about crimes and their penalties. Education helps in crime prevention

Keystone



HOW MUCH CRIME IS THERE IN THE UNITED STATES?

Although it is impossible to answer this question fully and exactly certain facts are worth considering. At the 1938 convention of the American Bar Association it was estimated that one out of every 37 persons in the United States is a criminal. It was stated, too, that major crimes are committed at the rate of one every 22 seconds.

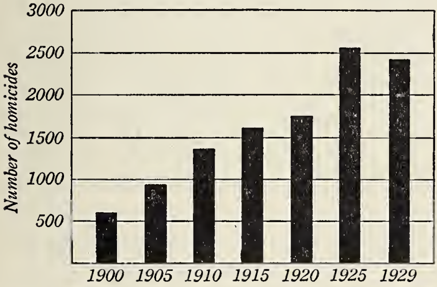


FIG. 166. Homicides in 31 cities of 100,000 or more people. In the period between 1900 and 1929 the number of people killed by others, either accidentally or intentionally, multiplied nearly four times

See also the bar graphs of figures 166 and 167. These give the number of homicides in large cities of the country for the years 1900 to 1929 and 1931 to 1937. A homicide is the killing of one human being by another. Some homicides are accidents; but by far the greater number of them are crimes—and crimes of the worst kind. In figure 166 note the startling increase in homicides for 31 cities of 100,000 or more people from 1900 to 1929. In the latter year there were four times as many as in 1900. Figure 167 shows the number of homicides committed in 73 cities of at least 100,000 population during four more recent years. During almost every year of the past decade at least 2500 persons were killed in these 73 cities.

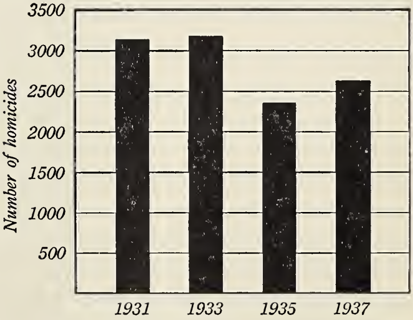


FIG. 167. Homicides in 73 cities of 100,000 or more people in four recent years. How do the figures compare with those in figure 166?

Another kind of information which will help us to understand the extent to which crimes are committed in the United States is the record of the number of prisoners in Federal and state prisons and reformatories. The average daily prison population in our country totals over 125,000. An extremely large number of persons are sent to such institutions each year. Table XVI, for example, shows the number of people who were imprisoned in 1910, 1923, 1929, 1930, 1932, and 1936. Note that the number more than doubled in 25 years.

TABLE XVI

Number of Prisoners in Federal and State Prisons and Reformatories on January 1 of the Year Indicated

1910	68,735
1923	81,959
1929	110,505
1930	120,496
1932	137,082
1936	144,180

TABLE XVII

Number of Prisoners per 100,000 Population Received from Courts during 1910, 1923, 1928, 1930, and 1936

1910	32
1923	34
1928	45
1930	56
1936	54

But the population has grown too, so we need the facts of Table XVII, which shows the rate of increase of new prisoners. Out of every 100,000 people 32 were sent to prisons in 1910, 34 in 1923, 45 in 1928, 56 in 1930, and 54 in 1936.

Do these facts really tell us how much crime there is in the United States? More than one in each 1000 of our people is in prison. But only a small number of those who actually commit crimes ever go to prison. We can only guess at the amount of crime actually committed. Many crimes are never reported to the police. People taking part in crimes such as burglaries and robberies often cannot be traced. Many investigations have been made of our police and court systems. All of them show that only a small number of the crimes committed are ever fixed upon the persons responsible. We have space for but one illustration, and that deals only with crimes for which arrests were actually made.

The diagram of figure 168 (from the report on criminal justice in Cleveland) shows that of every 100 persons arrested for serious crimes (felonies) only 37 were found guilty and sentenced. But eight of the 37 received suspended sentences, that is, upon their promise of good behavior they did not have to serve the sentence so long as the promise was kept. Seven paid fines and seven more were imprisoned for very short terms in workhouses. Only fifteen out of every 100 persons who were arrested for felonies were sent to penitentiaries or reformatories.

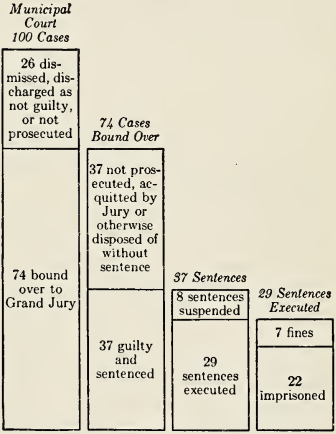

Municipal Court 100 Cases
26 dismissed, discharged as not guilty, or not prosecuted
74 bound over to Grand Jury
74 Cases Bound Over
37 not prosecuted, acquitted by Jury or otherwise disposed of without sentence
37 guilty and sentenced
37 Sentences
8 sentences suspended
29 sentences executed
29 Sentences Executed
7 fines
22 imprisoned

Fig. 168.[1] Study what happened in each 100 felony cases [2]

From investigations in other cities and states the same general conclusion can be drawn: the number of persons actually sent to penal institutions measures only a small proportion of the actual crime in the United States. We do not know whether the actual crime is six times as great, ten times as great, twenty times as great, or more; we can only guess. But that it is huge and that it means a great waste to our country in money alone can be proved by many kinds of evidence.

ESTIMATES OF THE COST OF CRIME IN AMERICA

There have been many attempts by experts to estimate the annual cost of crime and the estimates vary greatly. At an annual convention held in the summer of 1938 the law-enforcement committee of the American Bar Association estimated that the yearly cost of crime in the country is approximately $15,000,000,000, and that the cost is increasing each year.

An estimate made by Mr. M. O. Prentiss, the organizer of the National Crime Commission in 1925, gave a grand total of about

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[1] Adapted from *Criminal Justice in Cleveland.* Courtesy of the Cleveland Foundation.

[2] Of the twenty-two who were imprisoned, seven were sent to a workhouse for short terms—perhaps ten days to a month—and fifteen were imprisoned for longer terms in a penitentiary or reformatory.

$13,000,000,000. Important figures from his detailed estimates are given in Table XVIII.

But even $13,000,000,000 is only a small part of the total cost. It does not begin to cover the *real* losses to the people of America each year. As Prentiss says, it omits losses through illegal betting, gambling, graft, bribery, and the full losses in property and cost of law enforcement. If these were included, he says, the entire loss would total at least $20,000,000,000 a year! This is nearly twice as much as the United States lent to European nations during the four years of the first World War!

TABLE XVIII

The Estimated Annual Money Cost of Crime	
Losses through fraud	$1,270,000,000
Property losses through burglary, robbery, etc.	1,160,000,000
Cost of law enforcement	4,000,000,000
Waste of man power due to crime	6,503,000,000
Grand total cost of all crime	$12,933,000,000

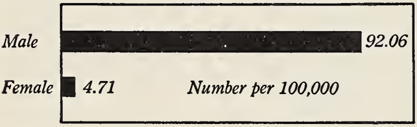


FIG. 169. Number of men and women committed to penal institutions per 100,000 of male and of female population in 1936. This graph illustrates the fact that in the United States men commit crimes with far greater frequency than do women

But to all this money loss must be added the dreadful cost in human life, in anxiety, in grief, and in physical suffering caused by murders, assaults, robberies, incendiary fires, and other violations of the public peace and security. All these, of course, cannot be estimated in terms of financial losses, and yet perhaps they make up the most important part of the cost of crime.

WHO COMMIT CRIMES?

Who are these people who break our laws? Are they mostly men or mostly women? Are they young or old? Are they white or Negro, native or foreign-born?

The following graphs and tables supply many facts which will help you to answer these questions. First, note that men, not women, commit most of the crimes (figure 169 and Table XIX). Nineteen times as many men as women were sent to institutions for punishment in 1936. These figures are typical for other years. Dr. Thrasher, a leading expert on "gangs," reported that of 1213 gangs in Chicago in the late 1920's, only five were those of girls or women.

TABLE XIX

Number of People Committed to Penal Institutions in 1936

Men	57,955
Women	2,970

Table XX gives facts concerning the ages of criminals. (See also figure 175 on page 408.) Several conclusions are clear. About one boy in 1000 under eighteen years of age is convicted and sent to a penal institution. About five to seven young men of ages eighteen to forty-five are sent.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that from 1932 to the middle of 1935 more persons nineteen years old were arrested and fingerprinted than persons of any other single age. Since then the age has risen slightly.

During 1937 there were 146,305 persons of all ages arrested for crimes against property (robbery, burglary, larceny, auto theft, embezzlement and fraud, forgery and counterfeiting, receiving stolen property, and arson). Of this number 31 per cent were less than 21 years old, and half were under 25 years of age.

TABLE XX

Ages of Prisoners in Penal Institutions per 100,000 Population (of Same Ages) in a Recent Year

Under 18 years	127
18 to 20 years	563
21 to 24 years	704
25 to 34 years	583
35 to 44 years	572
45 to 64 years	357
65 years and over	100

About 36 per cent of the total number of persons arrested in 1938 were younger than 25 years. About 54 per cent of those charged with robbery, 62 per cent of those arrested for burglary, and 49 per cent of all arrested for larceny or theft, were less than 25 years old. Of all the persons arrested for stealing automobiles 73 per cent were under 25 years of age.

Is there more crime among the colored people or among the white people of America? From figure 170 we can draw some conclusions. While 1.5 per cent of all the Negroes in the United States were arrested and fingerprinted in 1938, only .5 per cent of all the native white people were arrested and fingerprinted. The percentage of Negroes sent to penal institutions is also higher. About three times as many Negroes as whites were convicted and sent to prisons and reformatories in a recent year.

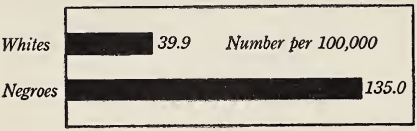


Fig. 170. Number of people committed to penal institutions per 100,000 of whites and of Negroes in 1936. This graph tells you that the proportion of crimes committed by white people is far less than that committed by Negroes

In the New England states, Negroes make up only 1.1 per cent of the population; but of all the persons sent to the prisons and reformatories of those states in a recent year (1936) 4.8 per cent were Negroes. In the South Atlantic States the Negroes make up 28 per cent of the population; there 51 per cent of all the persons sent to prisons were Negroes. From Table XXI (page 399) you can see that in a recent year the proportion of killings in Southern cities was much larger than in Northern cities. In these Southern cities the percentage of Negroes is likewise much larger.

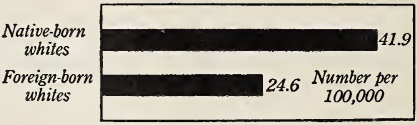


Fig. 171. Number of people committed to penal institutions per 100,000 of native-born whites and of foreign-born whites

A further word should be said, however, in explanation of this high crime rate among Negroes. It should be remembered that large numbers of the Negroes in America live in slums under the worst kind of conditions. The crime rate of whites who live in such places is also high. It must be admitted, too, that there is prejudice against the Negro, especially in the South; and that the policemen and others in charge of enforcing the law are practically all white people. It is reasonable to assume that if the opportunities for making a good living, getting an education, and the like, were increased for the Negroes the crime rate among them would become lower.

Now turn to figure 171. What about crime and the foreign-born? Is the crime rate among those of our people who were born in foreign countries higher than it is among people born in America? Investigations have proved that it is not.

In 1936 almost twice as many native-born whites were sent to prisons and reformatories to every 100,000 of their number as foreign-born whites to every 100,000 of the number of foreign-born.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation shows that for every 100,000 foreign-born white people in the country 209 were arrested and fingerprinted in 1938. For every 100,000 native white people 571 were arrested and fingerprinted in that year. So you can see that in 1938 almost three times as many native-born whites were arrested as foreign-born whites in proportion to the total number of each.

CRIMES IN THE SMALLER TOWNS AND CITIES

Investigations show that in general the crime rate in the city is greater than it is in the small town and the rural district. It cannot be said, however, that it is highest in the very largest cities. Table XXI shows that smaller cities both north and south of the Ohio River have more murders than either New York or Chicago.

TABLE XXI

Homicides in Cities of the United States in a Recent Year. People Killed per 100,000 Population

Memphis	66.2
Nashville	34.7
New Orleans	25.5
Louisville	24.4
St. Louis	21.5
Washington	13.3
Chicago	12.7
New York	5.5

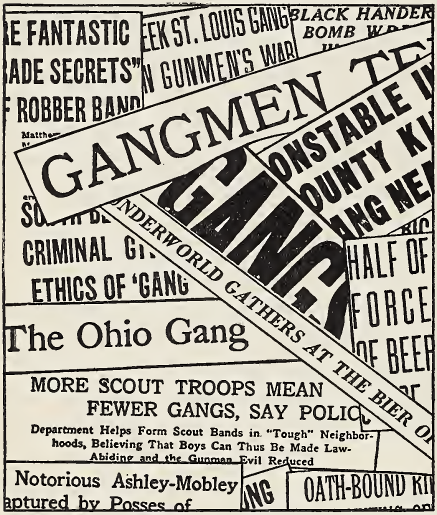
In most of the middle-sized and growing towns and cities jails and courts are crowded. The Lynds found that in "Middletown," a city of 47,000 people, 1837 arrests were made in 1934. That would average a little over five arrests a day.

In towns of less than 10,000 people about nine major crimes for each 1000 people become known to the police each year. The number increases with the size of the community. For example, in cities of from 50,000 to 100,000 people about sixteen such crimes for each 1000 people become known. In cities with 100,000 to 250,000 people almost eighteen such crimes per 1000 of the population become known to the police. In general, the larger the city, the more crime.

GANGS IN OUR CITIES

From the time of the first cities on the earth there have been "underworlds," that is, groups of criminals living in frank opposition to law. Generally they have inhabited the crowded poorer sections of the cities and have been organized into small groups called gangs.

American cities, like others around the world, have had their gangs. But it was chiefly in the years after the prohibition amendment was added to the Constitution in 1919, that gangs came to play an important part in the life of the cities and in their invisible governments. For years there were more than 800 criminal adult gangs in America with an annual income of more than $3,000,000,000 obtained from the sale of "bootleg" liquor.[2] This condition was made possible chiefly because American citizens were willing to pay $3,000,000,000 for such liquor. If they had not been willing to pay this huge amount of money, the illegal industry could not have lived.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Department Helps Form Scout Bands in "Tough" Neighborhoods, Believing That Boys Can Thus Be Made Law-Abiding and the Gunman Evil Reduced
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FIG. 172.[1] Our newspapers show the important part criminal gangs play in American town and city life today

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[1] From the jacket of Frederic Thrasher's *The Gang*. Courtesy of the University of Chicago Press.

[2] Liquor transported or sold contrary to law.

TABLE XXII[1]

Type of Gang	*Range of Ages (Years)*	*Number of Gangs*	*Per Cent of Total*
1. Childhood	6–12	18	1.48
2. Earlier adolescent .	11–17	455	37.51
3. Later adolescent . .	16–25	305	25.15
4. Adult	21–50	38	3.13
5. Mixed	Wider range	154	12.70
6. Athletic or social clubs	Late adolescent or adult [2]	243	20.03
Total		1213	100.00

The repeal of the Prohibition Amendment in 1933 meant that many gangsters could no longer make their fortunes from the sale of bootleg liquor. But it did not mean that they and their gangs stopped their criminal activities. They turned to other illegal practices. Some had already organized a profitable trade in narcotics and continued to sell these drugs. Some turned to the robbing of banks, stores, and the like. Some joined together to threaten violence to store-owners, shopkeepers, and workers of various kinds if money was not paid to them. "Rackets" and "racketeers" of every description flooded the large cities.

Vigorous attempts have been made in many places to rid the population of these lawless persons, and these have met with some success. For example, let us look into our largest city, New York, to see how rackets and "racket busting" have been carried on there.

RACKETS AND RACKET-BUSTING

"The Young David Is Sent in against the Gang Goliath" was the headline which appeared in one New York newspaper when Thomas E. Dewey was appointed in 1935 to be special prosecutor against organized crime and criminal lawlessness in New York.

With a carefully chosen and expert staff Mr. Dewey dug into the life of the underworld and discovered some of the most vicious criminals in our history. Not only that: he learned how these lawbreakers had built up a real dictatorship over rich and poor, over employers, employees, and public officials, even over public elections. He found that these criminals stopped at nothing. They "bought" members of the police force. They murdered the leaders and members of rival gangs.

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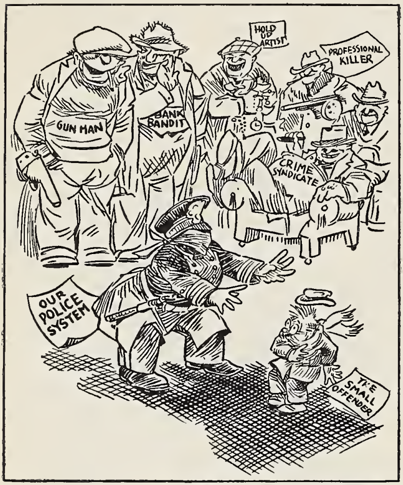
[1] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, p. 74. University Press, Chicago, 1927.

[2] Athletic and social clubs upon which more exact age figures are available have been included under types 3, 4, and 5.

Rackets and racketeering were to be the target of Mr. Dewey and his efficient assistants.

What are some of the rackets?



© 1930 New York Tribune, Inc.

Fig. 173. In this cartoon the gangsters, the police, and the small offender are playing the game of blindman's buff. Who is being caught?

The smuggling ring

For many years there was what was called "a re-entry ring" in the country. The criminals who operated this ring smuggled aliens into the country for large sums of money. Mr. Dewey helped to break this racket.

The "loan sharks"

Some success has also been made in exposing and jailing loan sharks. These are persons from whom citizens, hard pressed for money, borrow small sums at high rates of interest. For example, a man would borrow $5 from a loan shark and agree to pay him back $6 at the end of a week—the original $5 and $1 interest. This means that in five weeks, if the original $5 was not paid back, the borrower would have handed over $5 in interest charges alone—100 per cent interest on the original loan in five weeks; in one year—1040 per cent! Often if the borrower was unable to pay on time, or if he refused to pay this exorbitant amount of interest as the weeks went by, he was "beaten up" and threatened in various ways.

Mr. Dewey and his assistants made a drive against these extortioners. People unable to pay the loan sharks grew desperate and, upon assurance of legal protection, gave testimony against the criminals. In this way many were caught and convicted.

Racketeers in business

The Dewey investigations have exposed other astonishing rackets also. For example, gangsters organized "unions" in certain businesses, sometimes with the co-operation of dishonest businessmen themselves. These gangster unions prevented regular trade unions from peacefully and legally organizing employees. In some instances the gangsters forced their unions on the regular businesses by threatening both workers and owners, and by demanding huge sums of money. This happened to food merchants, owners of restaurants, and to many other honest businessmen who desired to have nothing to do with racketeering.

Many criminals engaged in these practices have been brought to justice.

The "numbers" racket

Connected with horse-racing is the numbers racket. Have you ever heard of it? It is worked this way. Hundreds of "numbers" collectors in districts of New York—like Harlem—take in the money. A player selects any number from 000 to 999 and places a bet on it. The bet can be large or small, even as small as a penny. If the number selected appears in a certain combination of the results of the day's races, the bettor wins. Actually he almost never wins. In fact, the chances are 1000 to 1 that he will lose. And even if he does win he will not be paid the full amount because of the commissions that are deducted.

It is not difficult to see how profitable this racket would be to a highly organized system of numbers racketeers. And no racket was ever more completely organized. Police officials say that there were, and still are, many bet collectors, numbers bookkeepers, bankers, and the like in the city. In the early 1930's as much as $20,000,000 were taken in annually on the numbers bets in metropolitan New York alone.

At the head of the numbers racket until his death was Dutch Schultz, a rich "bootleg beer-baron" of prohibition days. To keep the numbers racket—as well as others in his control—going, he had to have government protection. He got that, as many gangsters do, by paying policemen and politicians to co-operate with him.

Schultz was never arrested for his gangster activities in the numbers racket. Until 1935 he directed his New York mobs from New Jersey. On October 23 of that year, however, while he was sitting with some companions in a Newark tavern three men entered and riddled him and two of his friends with bullets. At the same moment, in a barbershop in New York, two other aides of his were murdered and two wounded. On the day of Schultz's funeral there were more killings, and in the next five days five racketeers were murdered and five wounded.

But the racket continued. Other gangsters lost no time in taking over the extremely profitable business.

The poolroom race-track racket

Another racket is that which has grown up about horse-race gambling. About $400,000,000 is bet at the 70-odd race tracks of the United States every year. This, however, is only a third of the betting that is done on horse races. Approximately $4,000,000 a day is bet illegally through bookmakers who are not at the race tracks at all. Before a race these bookmakers make up lists of races and horses for a given day. They have also set amounts of money that winners will collect for every dollar they bet on particular horses—and the whole thing is so arranged that the bookmaker will be sure to show a profit of anywhere from 7 to 30 per cent.

Most of the betting is done in poolrooms which are in league with the bookmakers. It is estimated that there are about 10,000 such betting places in the country. Most of the bets made range from 50 cents to $2. In one afternoon in such a poolroom a person can bet on from 40 to 70 races.

Poolroom race-betting is against the law, but still it flourishes. Why? For the most part, because there is so little effective law enforcement in the districts where these betting places are located. In some cases it has been proved that uniformed policemen and plain-clothes officers knew what was going on; but because they got a "rake-off"—that is, were paid by those who were running the racket—they chose to say nothing. It is said that about half the profit of such a poolroom goes to protection, in other words, to graft.

Dewey and his assistants in New York and other prosecuting officers in other cities have tried to break up this racket, but thus far with little success.

These are not by any means all the rackets that exist in New York and other large cities. Thousands of lawbreakers are making a dishonest living from them. And it will require diligent work on the part of the officials of law enforcement, and helpful co-operation on the part of all citizens, before our cities will be rid of the menace of racketeers and rackets.

HOW DO CRIMINAL GANGS FORM?

In large part from the youthful gangs that have grown up in the slum regions of our large cities, the "bad" neighborhoods, the areas where houses are in ruins, where families live crowded together, where the people are very poor.

These gangs of young people are found on street corners, in alleys, in empty lots, near rubbish dumps. Children, little supervised by their parents, are left free to take care of themselves. They desire an active life, which has been denied them in many schools. They get excitement from doing things which are forbidden at home, in school, in church, in the community generally. They experience the thrill of hunting and fighting, the thrill of escape, even of capture. At first they commit small offenses against the law. They get more and more daring as the years go on and commit graver offenses. Finally many of them become hardened criminals.

So it is that poor living conditions and unhappy surroundings are to a large degree responsible for the existence of many criminals. Of course it must be noted that all criminals have not come from, and do not live in, slums. Also, by no means are all the people in these neighborhoods criminal. But it is clear that in order to solve the crime problem American cities must work to get rid of slum areas, and to provide better supervision and care for young people both in and out of school.

Keystone

Fig. 174. Crap games often lead to more serious criminal activities

THE ROLE OF THE GANG IN INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

There have been times when gangs have played an important part in the government of our large cities. Often a political leader would get a youthful gang to organize a club. Sometimes the gang would take the leader's name. Many of these became athletic clubs. Once these clubs were started, the political machine paid the rent and helped the boys in various ways. In return, the boys helped the boss by carrying messages and rounding up voters on election day.

One investigation showed that with the help of such an athletic club a young politician became a member of the leading governing board of a great city. In return for this help he got police protection for the members of the club, including several who were believed to have committed murder. Investigations in various large cities have proved that gang clubs have not only promoted crime, but have also definitely allied themselves with dishonest government. Crime commissions, United States district attorneys, and judges report that such conditions prevail in many large cities.

How could the gang help the machine? There are many ways, chief among which are contributing large sums of money to campaign funds, furnishing voters who were not concerned where they voted or how often, voting illegally themselves, threatening honest voters or otherwise exerting pressure on them. As we have seen, the boss and his political machine control a large share of the votes of the city. Through the help of gangs, especially in "foreign" quarters, the ward boss—"the czar of local politics"—could get elected year after year to the city council. In some cities dishonest bosses succeeded in being re-elected regularly throughout an entire lifetime.

There are instances on record in which the political boss has been shown to have had an agreement with criminal gangs. In return for the help of criminals, politicians have been known to go against the public welfare by blocking the treatment these criminals deserve. Frequently these lawbreakers have escaped punishment for their crimes, sometimes in one way and sometimes in another, but often through political influence. Sometimes politicians have secured the help of gangs by offering them "soft jobs" or highly paid ones. They also have obtained special privileges for gangsters who have been convicted and sent to prison.

Thus there are proved cases that gangs have had close connections with the invisible political-machine government of many large cities.

INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL GRAFT

The problem of law enforcement and crime involves more than gangs, dishonest policemen, rackets, and the like. As we have said, politicians—in and out of office—often accept bribes, gifts, special favors, and contributions to campaign funds in return for government contracts and for protecting criminals and supporting illegal enterprises.

There are, for example, recent cases in which it has been proved that " political bosses" have engaged in these illegal and dishonest practices. We need refer to only two of them—the activities of Tom Pendergast, the boss of Kansas City, Missouri, and of James J. Hines, a Tammany leader in New York City. Each case illustrates the role of the political boss in crime and graft.

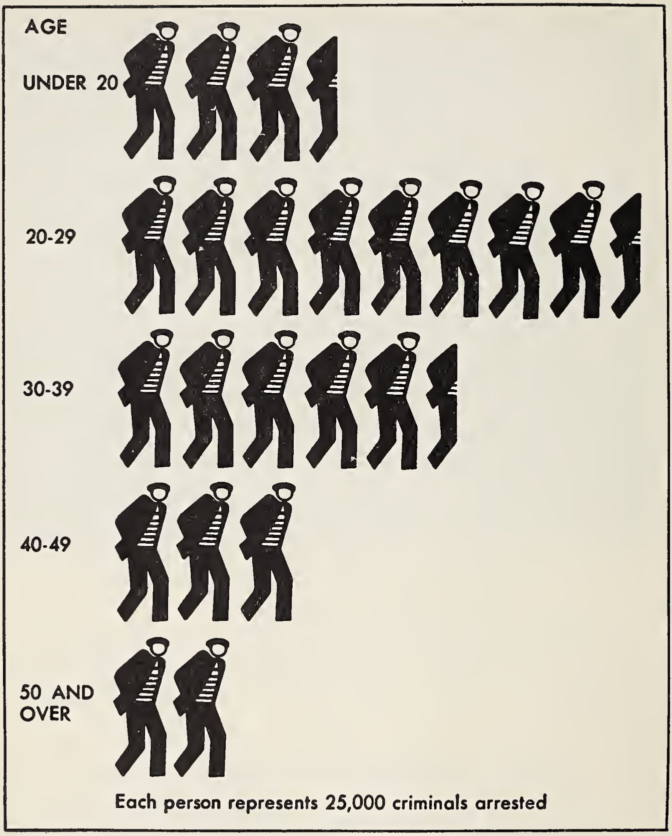


FIG. 175.[1] Are most criminals old or young?

First the case of Pendergast. For many years he had been called the political boss of the city—and even of the state. He selected candidates for office, made or approved political appointments—in short, controlled practically all state political affairs.

Among other appointive offices which he controlled was that of Superintendent of Insurance. In 1935 an important problem came

[1] From *What Makes Crime?* issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.

before this state official. Insurance companies in Missouri had raised the rates on fire and windstorm insurance. The policyholders objected and brought the case before the courts. The courts decided that the increased premiums which had been collected under the new rates—about $1,000,000—should be held under the control of the courts until the case was settled. Then the Superintendent of Insurance stepped in and settled the problem by giving 20 per cent to the policyholders and 50 per cent to the insurance companies. The remainder was to be used to pay the legal expenses.

There were some people—policyholders and Federal and state officials—who felt that there was something wrong about the settlement. Investigations—principally by Federal officials—followed. In 1939 Pendergast was brought to trial in a Federal court. It was charged that he, the Superintendent of Insurance, and a few others had been bribed to settle the case as it was settled. Pendergast was accused (1) of having taken more than $300,000 for his part in the settlement and (2) of having failed to pay a Federal income tax on it. At first he denied the charges. A month later he pleaded guilty to both charges and was sentenced to a Federal penitentiary.

Here, then, is an incident which shows how a boss used his personal influence over political officials to "fix" illegally the settlement of a public issue. The large amount of graft involved illustrates the grave danger to clean government.

The second example is that of James J. Hines of New York City. At the age of 21 he entered politics by becoming an election district captain. Within a few years he became an alderman and the chief clerk to the board of aldermen. In the course of the next quarter century he had become the absolute political ruler of his district. By 1938 he was by far the most important boss of Tammany Hall—the city political organization which for decades had ruled city and state affairs. During these years Hines's own business enterprises and those in which he was interested received many large city contracts, such as contracts for the removal of snow, garbage, and rubbish.

In 1938 the crusading District Attorney, Thomas E. Dewey, brought Hines to trial on charges of being involved in the illegal "policy," or "numbers," racket to which we have already referred. Mr. Dewey and his witnesses charged that one of his principal sources of income came from leaders of the numbers racket. They claimed that Dutch Schultz bought political protection from Hines; that the latter had nominated and elected the man who preceded Dewey as District Attorney, thereby making Schultz's protection possible. An admitted member of the Schultz gang stated that Dutch Schultz himself had ordered him to pay Hines $500 a week; that the latter sometimes received as much as $1000 in a week. Other members of the gang testified that Hines had "fixed" court cases when people were arrested. Policemen testified that when they tried to get evidence against gangsters they lost their jobs or were demoted. Mr. Dewey said that in one case a man and woman who had been sentenced to jail paid Hines several thousand dollars, and, as a result, their sentences were reduced.

In other words, it was charged that this prominent political boss was really an ally of the underworld and that his political influence had made it possible for him to protect criminals, to influence judges, even to choose and elect a district attorney. And for this he received a large and regular income from the racketeers, as large as $30,000 a year.

Hines denied the charges. The trial lasted for weeks. The jury deliberated for seven hours. Finally they found him guilty of protecting the numbers racket. The judge in sentencing him to state prison for a term of four to eight years, said: "Instead of using his political power and influence for the well-being of the city and for the promotion of law and order and good government, he used his position for the promotion of the interests of this crowd of criminals."

DIFFICULTIES WHICH PROSECUTORS AND COURTS FACE IN CONVICTING GANGSTERS AND POLITICIANS

This is another reason for the breakdown of law in many cities of the country. It is often difficult for our system of justice to convict known criminals. In every one of our larger cities murderers walk free upon the street. Moreover, the police, the prosecuting attorney, and the courts know that some of them have killed one or more persons. In less than a decade in one of our largest cities 70 leading gangsters and hundreds of others were killed in connection with gang wars over gambling, vice, and the like. Yet, a study of all the shootings reveals that in spite of hard work on the part of the police the murderers were not caught. The crimes were well planned in advance, carried out in every detail, and followed by utter silence on the part of all who were suspected of knowing about them.

Why are the police and the courts unable to catch and convict such slayers? Why were there no death penalties in a year when 77 murderers had been tried and convicted? There are many reasons. Let us review some of them rapidly.

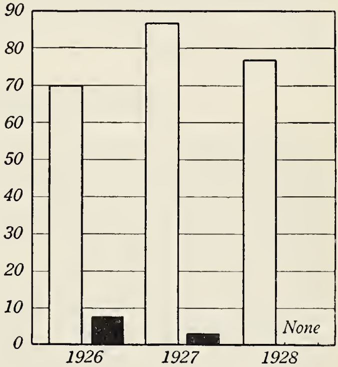


Fig. 176. Number of murderers convicted and executed in a large city in three recent years. The white bars show the number convicted; the black bars the number executed. What story do the black bars tell?

1. Witnesses and evidence are often difficult to get

Perhaps the first law of the underworld is "Don't talk." What happens in a large city when a gang murder is committed? E. H. Lavine, a leading authority on gang crime, once said:

> I have been at the scenes of homicides, a few minutes after the crime, when dozens and sometimes hundreds of people questioned by the police would not even admit hearing any shots or witnessing the occurrence. I recall one summer's evening when at least ten or twenty shots were fired on a busy thoroughfare, resulting in several deaths or mortal injuries. After the outburst of artillery had subsided, the residents went back to their chairs, stoops, or windows, absolutely oblivious to the presence of victims, police, or reporters. "I must have been inside feeding the baby," or "I thought it was the backfire of an automobile and paid no attention to the noise" was the type of excuse offered.[1]

Nobody will talk—not even the victims themselves if they still live! When faced by those whom they know committed the crimes, they refuse to testify for fear that if they recover, the gang will certainly kill them, and that if they die, the gang will harm their relatives.

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[1] E. H. Lavine, *The Third Degree*, pp. 23–24. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1930.

Loyalty to the gang, refusal to "squeal," also seals men's lips. Criminals continue to refuse to name accomplices even under the most painful torture.

2. Justice is hindered by fear of gangs

Of course, there have been, and are, many honest and courageous district attorneys and judges, and sometimes they do succeed in bringing about the arrest of leading criminals. But have they always been able to convict the criminals and send them to prison or execute them? Often they have not. Why? Because of many factors. For example, witnesses brought into court later disappear. Lawyers defending the criminals frequently insult respectable witnesses and accuse them of immoral and other acts to make the jury feel that their testimony should not be believed. Sometimes witnesses are bribed, given money to be silent. Sometimes they are threatened, kidnaped, or killed to keep them from making damaging statements.

3. Some policemen take bribes from the gangsters

Most of the members of the police force are efficient and honest. They do their duty even in the face of danger and threats of revenge. A few have even lost their lives in attempting to arrest lawbreakers.

It has been proved, however, that some of the police in our larger cities have received money from the underworld regularly. They have made agreements with criminals not to arrest or report them, not to interfere with their lawbreaking activities. In many cities these agreements have been discovered, and the guilty officers have been convicted and sent to prison. For example, in 1931 it was discovered that a New York policeman put $300 in the bank the first day he took over new duties on the vice squad. Further investigation proved that in addition to his small salary as a policeman he was piling up a yearly income of $80,000, which he was not reporting to the government and on which he was paying no income tax. This policeman was brought to trial, found guilty by the jury, and sent to prison for three years.

Sometimes policemen who catch slayers and identify them positively at the time of arrest accept money to change their identification at the time of trial. There have been many discoveries of underworld protection against the law.

4. Sometimes judges are not honest

The honesty of most judges is above suspicion. Many of them have carried on justice in spite of temptations to accept bribes and in spite of threats from gangsters. It has been proved, however, that not all judges are honest. A few accept bribes. A few dismiss charges against persons of influence. A few pay political machines large sums of money to be nominated and elected to office. Some have even been found to have definite connections with gangdom.

In a recent year a New York judge was found to have banked in three years $126,000 more than his salary. While being examined and questioned about his bank accounts, he could not give a satisfactory explanation. Finally he was not only forced to give up his position as judge but was also denied the right even to practice law.

In 1939 another judge in New York was sentenced to Federal prison for using his official position to promote his private businesses and income. Judges have been known to accept large salaries from corporations or companies while holding positions on the bench, when such connections were illegal. We need not multiply cases. They have been discovered in many large cities of the United States.

5. The overcrowded conditions of courts and their general inefficiency also place great difficulties in the way of justice

Careful surveys reveal that in a great many places difficulties in the way of justice can be traced to overcrowded court "calendars." Cases pile up until sometimes years pass before lawbreakers are brought to trial. Inefficiency is found to exist in every division of the system of justice. Read especially the descriptions of courts given by Raymond Moley[1] and in the survey *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, already referred to at the beginning of this chapter.

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[1] Dr. Moley is the author of several authoritative monographs and books on crime; for example, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution* and *Our Criminal Courts*. He took part in the investigation of crime in Illinois and wrote the "Report on the Municipal Court in Chicago," in the *Illinois Crime Survey*, Chicago, 1929.

6. The automobile and the impersonal conditions of large cities make the capture of criminals very difficult

In the little village, where everyone knows everybody else and the population is scattered, finding criminals is comparatively easy. In the larger towns it is more difficult and in the cities very difficult indeed. In cities of 1,000,000 or more people it is much easier for a person to commit a crime and disappear. Streets are crowded and tenement and apartment buildings are set close together. These and other conditions in the city hamper the arrest of criminals.

Probably the most important factor in the escape of criminals is the automobile. Gangsters going out to shoot down rivals almost always travel in automobiles. These cars are armored with bulletproof sides and windows. Often robberies of banks and stores are successful because the robbers can jump into an automobile, the engine of which has been left running, and in ten seconds can be out of sight around a corner. Thus the crowded, impersonal city and the automobile give the gangster a great advantage over the police.

7. Yellow newspapers also increase the difficulties of criminal justice

"Trial by fury!" . . . "Trial by tabloid!" . . . "Trial by the press!" . . . "Trial by the city desk!"

These are the titles either of chapters in books on criminal justice or of articles in recent magazines. What do they mean? They mean that sensational newspapers in our larger cities create prejudice for or against a defendant on trial. Do you think this helps the prosecuting attorney, the lawyers for the defendant, the judge, or the jury to arrive at a fair verdict?

How the public feels about a criminal trial in a community is an important factor in determining the outcome. If the people are filled with prejudice for or against the person on trial, the decision concerning his guilt or innocence is likely to be influenced by this prejudice. Effort is made to avoid this. For example, the members of a jury are questioned beforehand concerning their previous knowledge of and attitudes toward the crime and the criminal. Once selected, the jury is often carefully protected during the trial, that is, its members are not allowed to talk to or otherwise communicate with friends, relatives, or other people from the world outside. But in spite of precautions against outside influence public opinion concerning a trial is often revealed to the jurors and affects their decision.

There is no doubt that newspapers help to form this public opinion. In the larger cities it is said that they often hamper the course of justice by the way they arouse public interest. They also create an atmosphere around juries and judges which partly determines points of view and opinions that sway decisions in criminal cases. The judge, the jury, the witnesses, court attendants, and "hangers-on" must live in this atmosphere. "The usual instruction to jury members not to read the newspapers," said one authority on criminal justice, "is based upon the assumption that human nature cannot resist the impression created by press accounts. But in spite of such warnings, what the newspapers say does leak to the judge and jury."

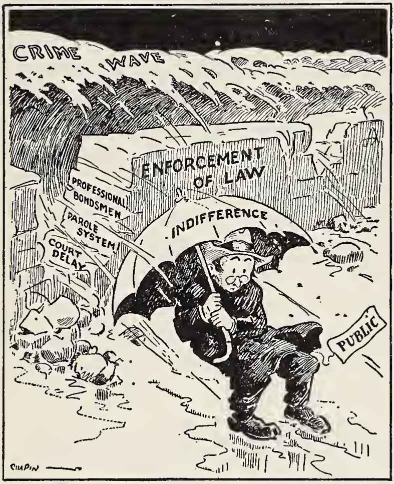
Perhaps the most striking example in recent years of "trial by newspapers" was that of Bruno Hauptmann in 1935. Hauptmann was being tried for the kidnaping and murder of Charles E. Lindbergh's son. Reporters from newspapers throughout the country attended the trial every day. Huge newspaper headlines and photographs followed the story of the trial. Thousands upon thousands of words were written about it. In fact, some of the tabloid newspapers had almost nothing but stories and photographs of the proceedings. Even the least sensational New York papers gave full pages to news of the trial.

Under such circumstances it would be difficult indeed for a judge, a jury, and the public to make a cool, sensible judgment of the man on trial.

There are times, however, when newspapers co-operate with the agencies of law enforcement. For example, when Thomas E. Dewey was appointed special prosecutor against organized criminals in New York in 1935, he called a meeting of newspapermen and their publishers. He asked them not to interfere with his work in any way. They agreed and, for the most part, kept their word.

ONE OF THE GREATEST DIFFICULTIES: THE INDIFFERENCE OF MOST PEOPLE

These, then, are some of the difficulties which honest law-enforcement officers confront in carrying out their duties. But important as they are, one other is perhaps even more important—namely, the indifference of the public.



St. Louis Star

FIG. 177. The average man turns his back to the wave of crime and hopes that laws and departments of justice will prevent crime from touching *him*. (See figure 178.)

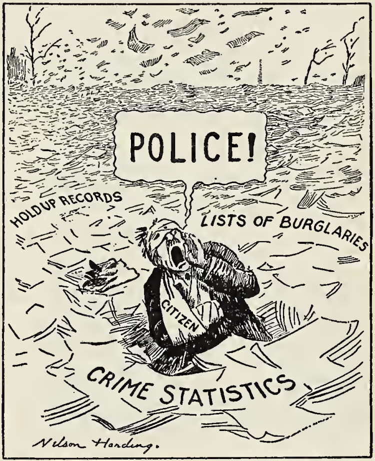
People do not concern themselves much with the strict enforcement of the law. They are not very determined to see to it that criminals are punished. For the most part they become alert and determined only when the offenses committed have harmed them personally in some way. Moreover the people themselves fail to respect and obey the laws. They do not train their children to obey and respect those whose duty it is to enforce the law.

"What we need," an eminent judge once said, "is justice that will be prompt, adequate, and final." Trials should be handled promptly and efficiently. Convicted criminals should be given just punishment without delay. But all of this requires co-operation between the citizen and the official.

One example of public indifference: jury-dodging

In the early days of our country's history, when the communities were small, most citizens felt an interest and responsibility in matters of government. They attended town meetings, they voted at elections, and they took turns at serving on juries. Juries frequently included farmers, businessmen, and professional men, as well as mechanics, clerks, and unskilled laborers.

As work became more and more specialized, it became increasingly necessary to excuse from jury service men of certain occupations. This was done because absence from their duties would seriously interrupt the work of the community. Hence laws were passed in various states excusing such professional men as physicians and surgeons, dentists, clergymen, teachers and professors, and editors. Reporters, members of the army and navy, firemen, policemen, and stationary engineers were likewise excused.



Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Fig. 178. In consequence of his indifference the American citizen finds himself helpless in a sea of crime

During these same years, however, there grew up an increasing indifference to all matters of government. As this took place more and more people from the better-educated classes asked to be freed from jury duty. The result is that today juries in American courts rarely include professional persons or outstanding businessmen. In general they are made up of people from the poorer economic classes, of the less educated people, and of "professional jurymen." Courts in many places tend now to use regular hangers-on who have no other occupations.

One country judge in a Middle-Western state, commenting on this situation, said: "I have held court here two months and have never seen a businessman on one of my juries."

WHAT IS BEING DONE TO STOP CRIME?

How have the people of the United States tried to improve their systems of law enforcement and justice?

The prevention of crime

Most students of the problem agree that many of the causes of crime can be traced to ignorance, poverty, and bad company. Therefore steps have been taken by farsighted leaders to prevent crime through education, through aiding the poor, and through providing youth and adults with fine, healthful surroundings for their leisure time.

Perhaps the one most important thing that the American people could do to lessen crime would be to get rid of, or at least improve, the slum sections of our cities. If the slums were cleared, if the poor people living in them were given the opportunity to better their standard of living, if their children were given space and opportunity for wholesome recreations, then a big step toward the riddance of crime would have been taken. Some fine efforts have been made in this direction. Cities, often with the co-operation of the national government, have begun slum clearance and low-cost housing projects. Playgrounds and the like are being built.

Those who have established social settlements and community centers have done much to check the spread of crime in the United States. Other agencies, such as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A., have also helped to encourage high ideals of morality and citizenship.

The growth of public schools too has provided millions of youth in America with a fine educational atmosphere. It has also given them a better opportunity to study honest ways of living and actually to become trained in those kinds of occupations for which they have the most ability.

Thus we see that many agencies have helped and are helping today to prevent the spread of crime.

Improvements in the treatment of offenders

But what of the offender, the person who has already broken the law? Has anything been done to keep him from drifting into still more serious crimes? Yes, much progress has also been made in this direction.

For example, there is the case of the thirteen-year-old boy who was seized by a policeman for peddling drugs. Investigation proved that the boy had been merely acting as a delivery messenger for his older brother. So he was not sent to prison as a dangerous hardened criminal. Instead he was turned over to the Children's Court for guidance and protective care.

Many such children's courts have been established. They aim to educate the young offender rather than to punish him. The child's home is investigated, the parents are advised, and the child is aided as seems best to the court. Boys and girls who have broken minor laws for the first time often get suspended sentences.[1] They are returned to their families and given a chance to prove that they can become law-abiding citizens. They must, of course, report for a time to an official called a probation officer.

Keystone

FIG. 179. Lewis E. Lawes, warden of Sing Sing Prison, is a leader in prison reform

Those whose sentences are not suspended are not imprisoned with older offenders who have perhaps broken the law many times and possibly have been guilty of serious offenses. Instead they are sent to institutions for the young. This separation of the old and the young is also a recent improvement in the treatment of offenders.

Another improvement has been made. When offenders are sentenced to prison in our day, many judges will sentence them to, let us say, "from five to ten years." If the prisoner behaves well, he is rewarded by being made to serve only the shorter period. Sometimes even this time is shortened.

There has also been some improvement in the way in which prisons are conducted. Thomas Mott Osborne was one of the leaders of modern prison reform. He decided to become a voluntary prisoner in Sing Sing prison, of which he was warden. When he came out he was convinced that to reform and re-educate were much more important than to inflict harsh punishment. He established at Sing Sing a system of self-government known as the Mutual Welfare League. This league elected its own officers, and its members made themselves responsible for good government inside the prison. It became a model for other prison-reform movements.

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[1] The sentence of an adult who offends for the first time may also be suspended in some cases if the judge thinks it wise.

As a result of the work of such reformers as Osborne, Sanford Bates, L. E. Lawes, Austin H. MacCormick, Frank Tannenbaum, George W. Kirchwey, and others, many prisons today provide healthful recreation—the "movies," baseball, etc.—for their inmates. They also educate them in some trade such as the making of furniture, clothing, shoes, etc.

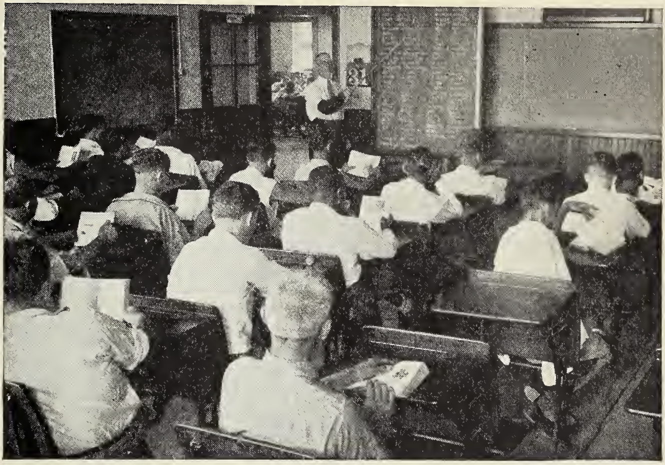
It is hoped that the person who leaves prison without bitterness, with a greater respect for the law, and with a trade by which he may earn an honest living, may become a useful member of society.

Increasing interest among educated citizens in law enforcement

What has already been said about the agencies for crime prevention, the improvement in the treatment of offenders, and prison reform shows that not all Americans have been indifferent to these problems of law and justice.

Other agencies have also been at work. Crime surveys of cities and states have been made by appointed commissions, supported by businessmen; lawyers, and civic organizations. Their aim has been to discover the causes of crime and to make recommendations for the improvement of the police system, the courts, the laws—in fact, of the whole system of justice. The National Crime Commission was organized in 1925 to gather the facts about crime throughout the nation. Other organizations, such as the American Prison Association, the National Probation Association, and the American Institute of Criminal Law, have also worked for better laws, better law enforcement; and the more intelligent handling of prisoners.

All these activities show that our better citizens are aware of the problems of crime in the United States and are striving for a solution.



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 180. A schoolroom for elementary pupils in Sing Sing Prison. Every unlettered and undereducated prisoner is taught what children may learn in the public schools. They may also learn a trade in which to earn their living when they leave the prison

A word should be said about the work of the "G-Men"

The efficient and well-planned methods of J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have succeeded in capturing a great many of the country's worst criminals—Dillinger, Eddie Green, Pretty Boy Floyd, Baby Face Nelson, and a long list of others. They have wiped out, or almost wiped out, the kidnap racket. Recently Hoover's assistants have been getting especially thorough training in the detection of spies.

Hoover's department has in its files an enormous collection of fingerprints which have been gathered from the police headquarters of every city in the country. This makes it easy to identify anyone who has a police record. Immensely helpful laboratories have been built up where almost everything from a bloodstain to a lock of hair can be analyzed. These laboratories have been of great help in following clues to discover murderers and other criminals.

The G-Men, as they are popularly called, are expert crime detectors. They are college graduates between the ages of 25 and 35.

Among them are people who can speak several languages. These can be used cleverly in places where, unrecognized, they wish to make investigations. The G-Men are highly trained for every kind of work that they may be called upon to do.

SUMMING UP OUR INTRODUCTORY STUDY OF THE LAW IN MODERN AMERICA

Although our study of law enforcement and crime has been brief, we must now turn to the consideration of other aspects of our changing culture.

The discussions of Chapters XVI and XVII have illustrated three phases of the question. First, they have introduced us to the elaborate system of justice in our country. We have seen the origins of the system and its chief characteristics.

Second, our studies have reminded us of the achievements of the system which modern civilization has erected for the protection of human beings. In our concern about the faults of the system we must not forget its achievements. These are very important. Because the newspapers do not remind us constantly that most American citizens are out of jail and conducting themselves in a decent and law-abiding manner, we are apt to forget this side of the picture. We should therefore frequently remind ourselves of the way our American system of government protects the daily lives of our people. Certainly the conclusion can be drawn that, in spite of the interdependent ways of living in our industrial civilization, the average citizen is actually safer today than in the earlier decades of American history.

On the other hand, the examples of this chapter have brought out clearly the serious and growing problem of crime in our larger communities. Cities are growing with dangerous rapidity. And their growth causes difficult problems of law enforcement.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

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Munro, William B. Social Civics. The Macmillan Company, New York. See pages 561–571.

Sullivan, Edward Dean. Chicago Surrenders. The Vanguard Press, New York. Gangsters, crime, and racketeering in Chicago. See also his *Rattling the Cup on Chicago Crime*, published by the same company.

Thrasher, Frederic M. The Gang. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. An excellent study of gangs and gangland.

CHAPTER XVIII · The People Tax Themselves to Pay for Government

★

No doubt, as your studies of community and national life have gone on, you have frequently asked yourself: "But, who pays all these government expenses? Who pays for the fine schools, hospitals, libraries, parks, and playgrounds? Who pays for police and fire departments, water-supply systems in communities, WPA, CCC, and so on? All these cost money—lots of money. Who pays for them?"

If you have been asking yourself that question you are one of a large company, for many citizens in our country are constantly asking it too. "Who pays for WPA? for CCC? for relief?" they ask. And there is only one answer: "We, the people pay for them! The people pay taxes to provide the money."

TAXES? WHAT ARE TAXES?

Your brother fills your car's gasoline tank at a little station beside the highway, and pays thirteen cents for each gallon, plus four cents for a "state-road tax." What does this mean? It means that for every gallon of gasoline bought in that particular state four cents is paid to its government. For what purpose is this tax paid? To build and care for the state's roads.

Your father buys a box of 100 cigarettes at a tobacco store. The clerk charges him 83 cents—80 cents for the cigarettes and a three-cent "city sales tax." Thus for every box of cigarettes that is bought three cents goes to that city—to help pay for the city's expenses. Also, in certain cities, when your mother goes shopping at the leading department store, the bill includes a "city sales tax."

Your grandfather dies, leaving to your father a piece of property worth more than $50,000. When the estate is settled in the courts the state government will be paid a tax. This is called a "death tax," or an "inheritance tax."

Your parents receive a notice from the United States Collector of Internal Revenue every three months—for example, "The next installment of your income tax is due June 15th." If their combined net income is more than $2500 a year—after various permissible deductions are made—they must pay Uncle Sam a certain per cent of the amount.

If your father owns property—for example, a house or land—he receives each year a tax bill from the tax collector of your community. Every owner of land, buildings, and other property has to pay to the local government each year a certain amount—generally 2 to 3 per cent of the "assessed value" of his property. These taxes are known as "property taxes."

Just the other day the author of this book received a notice of an entirely new kind of tax that he must pay—an "occupancy tax." Each occupant of a house or apartment in New York City must pay to the city government a certain per cent of the annual charge for rent. This is $1 if his rent is less than $1000 per year; $2, if it is between $1000 and $2000; and so on.

We have given several examples of the kinds of taxes paid today. Of course there are many more. Is it clear now what a tax is? Let us define a tax as "money paid to a government to pay for public services." Taxes, therefore, pay for government expenses. Of course the government frequently borrows money, but even loans have to be paid in the end by taxes.

Is it any wonder that taxes are very much on the people's minds? There is an old way of saying that everybody must pay taxes: "Only two things are certain in this world—Death and taxes!"

1. Paying for government was formerly no problem at all

People today are very much concerned about taxes. They look about them and see the enormous number of things the government is doing. They contrast today with the "good old days" when every man looked out for himself and "the less government the better."

In frontier days, for example, each family took care of itself. It provided its own water supply. It protected itself against fire or enemies. It educated its children and looked out for their health.

It provided work for itself and invested its money in private businesses. Thus the individual man looked out for himself. Government did little for him.

2. With the settlement of cities and towns government played a greater role

But with the advance of the modern industrial way of living the number of tasks that government performed multiplied greatly. Many new departments were set up—in the local government of villages, towns, cities, and counties, in the state governments, in the national government. All governments were compelled to go into business, to employ trained men to do their work. Recall a few examples:

1. The increase of population, and especially the growth of cities, required good paved roads, bridges, ferries, irrigation works, canals, improved rivers, harbors, pure-water supplies, police and fire protection, light, heat, and power services, health services, and the like.
2. To provide each of these government had to hire men with technical training and experience. It had to employ skilled and efficient engineers, designers, mechanics, doctors, accountants, clerks. Administrators were required to guide all these workers. Lawyers were needed to protect the people's interests.
3. As the years of the 1800's passed the number of things government did for the people as a whole steadily increased. After 1900 it went into banking—establishing the Federal Reserve System and opening the Post Office Savings Banks. Bureaus of Weights and Measures, of "Standards," were set up. Researches and studies to improve farming, transportation, communication, business and industry, education, health, etc. were made.

Thus, as our ways of living came to be more complicated, government played an even greater role in the daily life of our people.

3. In the great depression government took over still more tasks and responsibilities

Since 1930 the role of government has become far greater than ever before. The primary reason for this is that the economic system of our people (industry, business, agriculture, banking, and so forth)—in company with that of every other industrial country —has been passing through the worst crisis of its history. Private companies and individual citizens have needed more and more help from government, and government has tried to help them by "going into business."

In 1930 and 1931 private business and industry met with increasing difficulties. Steadily, more and more people were thrown out of work . . . the number of workers who were idle soon increased from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000; then to 6,000,000; then to 8,000,000. The government had to step in; private business and industry, even private banking, were helpless. The Hoover Administration lent hundreds of millions of dollars to private railroads and private banks. Farmers also received loans from the government. But matters went from bad to worse.

The autumn of 1932 arrived, and Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United States. By March 4, 1933, when he was inaugurated, 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 persons were unemployed. Never had the country experienced a depression like that. Destitution was on every side. Thousands of banks closed their doors. Faced with the possible danger of civil disorder, the powers of the national government were vastly extended and the activities of the government still further multiplied. Billions of dollars were spent as a direct dole for the relief of persons out of work. CCC camps were established for several hundred thousand jobless young men. Enormous public works were launched to provide jobs for unskilled, skilled, professional, and white-collar workers. A huge program of farm relief was organized. Home-owners were helped with loans. Billions were lent to banks, railroads, and industries. And government, particularly the national government, was doing it. This required the expenditure of enormous amounts of money —to be raised sooner or later by taxes.

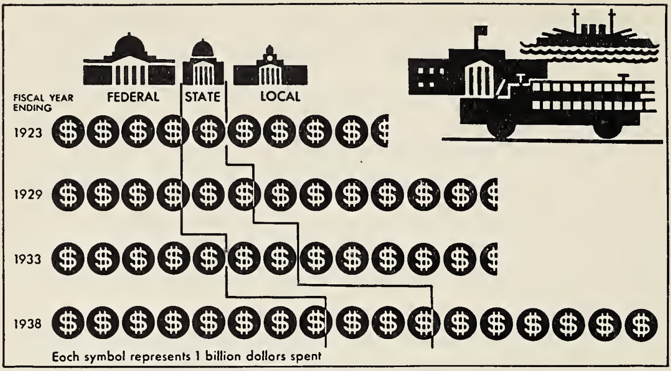

FIG. 181.[1] The increasing cost of government

THE MOUNTING COST OF GOVERNMENT

Thus, government today is not the small-scale affair it was in 1790. It has become Big Business. In fact, *the government of the American people is the largest single business enterprise in the country.* The chart of figure 181 shows this very clearly. In 1938 the Federal, state, and local American governments spent more than $17,000,000,000. We see, then, that the problem of "paying for government" is a huge one, and it is mounting in importance every year.

TABLE XXIII

Total Cost of Government, 1923–1938	
1923	$9,600,000,000
1924	10,900,000,000
1926	11,600,000,000
1927	12,200,000,000
1928	12,600,000,000
1929	13,000,000,000
1932	14,500,000,000
1935	15,000,000,000
1938	17,000,000,000

Not only is government the country's single biggest business; it is becoming bigger and bigger year by year. Table XXIII shows how the cost of government has grown in the fifteen years from 1923 to 1938. In the business year ending in 1923 our government (Federal, state, and local) spent altogether about $10,000,000,000. This was divided: (*a*) $4,000,000,000 for the Federal government; (*b*) $1,000,000,000 for the state governments; and (*c*) nearly $5,000,000,000 for the local governments (villages, cities, and counties).

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[1] From *Our Taxes and What They Buy,* issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.

By 1929 the total yearly government expenditure had reached $13,000,000,000; in 1938 the total was $17,000,000,000.

Putting the facts another way shows the increase in the cost of government per person. In 1890 all kinds of government taken together (Federal, state, and local) cost $18 per capita, that is, $18 for every man, woman, and child in the country. In 1923 the per-capita cost was $23; in 1934 the cost was $103; in 1938 it had reached $130. In half a century the yearly cost of government per person had grown more than seven times!

We must bear in mind another important change in the cost of government during recent years. Much more "public money" is being spent by Federal and state governments than by the local governments of villages, towns, and cities. As Table XXIV shows, in 1923 only 50 per cent of all government expenditures were for Federal and state activities; 50 per cent went to village, town, city, and county governments. Fifteen years later 65 per cent went to Federal and state governments and only 35 per cent to local government.

TABLE XXIV

The Cost of Government
[1923 and 1938]

Per Cent of Total Cost		
	1923	1938
Federal	40	47
State	10	18
Local	50	35
	100	100

Three facts are clear then: (1) the cost of government is mounting rapidly; (2) government is now taking more and more responsibility for the care of the people; (3) the national and state governments are taking more of the new responsibilities than are the village, town, and city governments. This last statement means that "the people as a whole," the people of the entire state or of the entire country, are finding that they must co-operate and pool their resources to make our kind of civilization operate effectively.

Once again we see the interdependence of our people.

No man can live to himself.
No family can live to itself.
No community can live to itself.

No state can live to itself.

All must join hands in the nation as a whole. Government "of the people" means *of all the people of America.*

As our studies continue *we shall also be asking if any one country can live to itself.* Must there not be some kind of co-operative *world* government? We shall see.

WHY DOES GOVERNMENT COST SO MUCH?

This is a very important question. We already know that the government expenses are large because government has become an enormous business enterprise. Moreover, we know that government today is doing much more for the people than it did formerly. But these are only very general statements. The mounting costs of government are so enormous that we should investigate a little more closely into what these huge sums of money are used for. Then we shall be in a better position to discuss whether the costs are necessary, and whether public money is being spent for good purposes. First, we turn to the costs of the Federal government.

1. How does the Federal government spend its money?

Each year the Federal Bureau of the Budget makes up a budget for the coming "fiscal" year.[1] A budget is a financial plan which includes estimated income (money to be raised) and estimated expenditures (money to be spent) for the fiscal year. Every well-run business makes an annual budget. At the end of the year it compares this budget with its actual income and expenditures. This is very helpful in making a new budget for the coming year. Well-run governments do the same thing.

Tables XXV and XXVI show what the Federal government actually received and what it spent in the fiscal year July 1, 1937 to June 30, 1938 (from the latest report available). How did it spend the money?

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[1] Bear in mind that in handling government affairs there are two different "years": (1) the "fiscal" (financial) year, which extends from July 1 to June 30; and (2) the "calendar" year, which extends from January 1 to December 31.

TABLE XXV

Revenues of the National Government[1]
[Year ending June 30, 1938]

Types of Revenues	Amount
Income taxes on corporations and individuals	$2,586,243,953
Capital stock and excess profits of corporations	175,917,608
Estate and gift taxes	416,874,064
Liquor taxes	567,978,601
Tobacco taxes	568,181,968
Stamp taxes	46,090,883
Manufacturers' excise	181,052,847
Miscellaneous indirect taxes	129,575,651
Customs	359,187,249
Other revenues	627,662,490
Total receipts	$5,658,765,314
Deficit to be added to the national debt	$2,107,608,963

TABLE XXVI

Expenditures of the National Government[2]
[Year ending June 30, 1938]

Classification	Amount
Legislative department, civil departments and agencies, and the judiciary	$1,100,604,828
National Defense	974,157,233
Veterans' pensions and benefits	581,734,663
Agricultural Adjustment program	361,659,309
Civilian Conservation Corps	326,382,547
Interest on the public debt	926,280,713
Recovery and Relief	2,262,876,975
Social Security	291,452,988
Revolving funds, transfers to trust accounts, etc.	941,225,021
	$7,766,374,277

Think of it—seven and three-quarters billions of dollars in one year for government!

Nearly $3,000,000,000, or about 40 per cent, went for "depression" expenses (Recovery and Relief, CCC, and Agricultural Adjustment work).

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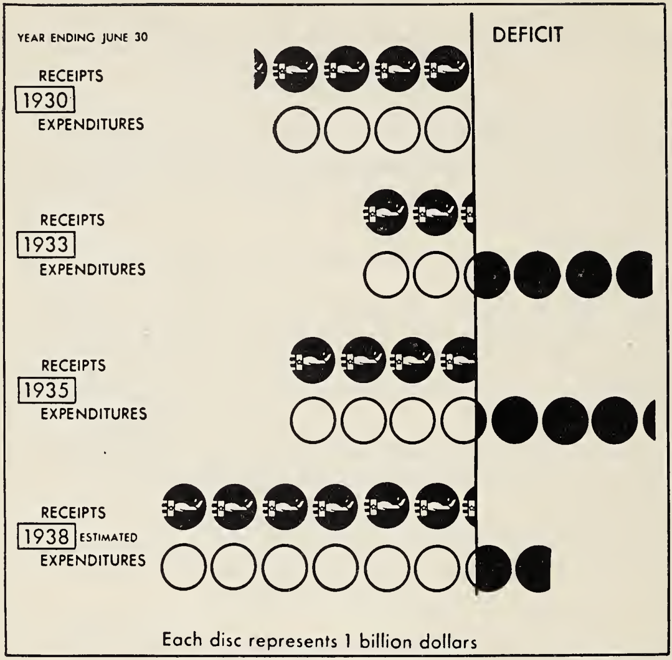
[1] World Almanac, 1939, p. 173.

[2] World Almanac, 1939, pp. 175, 177.



The New Republic

FIG. 182. Receipts and expenditures of the Federal government during the eight years from 1930 to 1938

Almost $1,000,000,000, or over 11 per cent, was used to pay interest charges on the public debt.

Another $1,500,000,000, or about 20 per cent, went for expenses connected with past and possible future wars (National Defense, Veterans' pensions, etc.).

Nearly three fourths of all the expenditures, then, went to pay for "war, depression, and interest on the public debt"!

To carry on the work of the government itself (Congress, civil departments and agencies, and the judiciary) cost a little over $1,000,000,000, or about 14 per cent of the total spent. Of this, however, less than 1 per cent of all was spent in maintaining the President's establishment, Congress, and the courts; $1,000,000,000 went for operating civil departments and agencies.

One other contrast is necessary. A decade or so ago—for example, in 1927—war took 80 per cent of the national expenditures. Why such a large per cent for war and such a small per cent for relief and recovery? Because the late 1920's were years of so-called prosperity, when only 2,000,000 people were out of work and almost no national money was spent for such things as relief and recovery. Expenditures, therefore, for past and future wars (armaments, pensions, and so forth), although not so large in actual amount as they are today, took a far larger proportion of the total government expenses.

2. How the money of state governments is spent

As we have already said, the amount of money spent by state governments has also increased greatly in the past few years—from about $1,000,000,000 in 1923 (figure 181) to $3,000,000,000 in 1938. The amount spent per person rose from less than $5 in 1890 to $8 in 1923, and to $16 in 1934.

What did the state governments do with this money in 1932? At least *70 per cent of it was for constructive things.*

35 per cent for permanent improvements.
24 per cent for education.
9 per cent for better highways, bridges, parks, etc.
5 per cent for the actual operation of the government machinery.

But in 1932 the problem of financing the relief of unemployed people had not yet become serious. As the years after that have passed, state budgets as well as the national budget have had to include large sums for relief and related purposes.

Table XXVII shows the way the government of one large state, Illinois, spent its money in 1938.

About one sixth (17.75 per cent) was used for relief of the unemployed.

About one sixth (18.25 per cent) was spent for highways—twice as much as was allowed in 1932.

Only 13 per cent went for education (about half as much as was spent on education in 1932).

Nearly one eighth (12.75 per cent) was paid for the relief of the aged (a fairly new government responsibility).

TABLE XXVII

Expenses of the State of Illinois[1]
[Year ending June 30, 1938]

Expense	Amount	Per Cent
Highway construction and maintenance	$38,063,187	18.25
Education	27,113,503	13.00
Emergency relief	37,020,360	17.75
Old-age assistance	26,592,089	12.75
Interest and retirement of debt	19,202,300	9.25
Charitable and penal institutions	23,464,608	11.25
Motor-fuel tax to counties and cities	16,685,233	8.00
Other purposes	20,334,127	9.75
	$208,565,407	100.00

Nearly one tenth (9.25 per cent) was used to pay interest and principal on debts of the state government.

About one tenth (11.25 per cent) went to hospitals, asylums, prisons, and so forth.

But remember this, Illinois is only one of 48 states. Every other state also spends money for government. Of course the amount spent by them varies, and all do not spend it in exactly the same ways. But Illinois, having Chicago, the country's second largest city, and many medium-sized cities is fairly representative of all our industrial states. At any rate, from the Illinois figures we can get a fairly good idea of the way other state governments spend the people's money.

Of one thing we can be certain: state governments, like the Federal government, have vastly increased their expenditures for relief and security; and they have reduced the amounts paid out for education and certain other enterprises.

HOW LOCAL GOVERNMENTS SPEND THEIR INCOMES

In addition to the ever-increasing share of financial responsibility for public services that state and Federal governments are taking, local governments are also spending billions of dollars annually. All the counties of our country taken together are

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[1] Based on figures supplied by the Director of Finance, Department of State Finance, Springfield, Illinois, 1938.

TABLE XXVIII

Percentage Distribution of Expenditures of Cities over 100,000 in a Recent Year[1]

General Departments		
General government	5.4	
Protection	11.8	
Health, sanitation	5.3	
Highways	4.4	
Charities, hospitals, corrections	13.7	
Education	21.7	
Recreation	1.9	
Miscellaneous	4.9	
Total, General Departments	69.1	69.1
Public Service Enterprises		4.8
Interest on Debt		14.0
Permanent Improvements		12.1

spending almost $2,000,000,000 a year; all the cities, almost $4,000,000,000 each year. Other local government units, such as townships, are also spending public money. Thus out of the total annual spending of $17,000,000,000 the local governments today spend about one third—in 1938, about $6,300,000,000.

What do the taxpayers get for this money?

Look around you in your own community and you can answer that question. They build, operate, and, in general, provide:

Schools and colleges.
Public water-supply systems (in most cities and towns).
Protection against criminals.
Protection against fire.
Paved streets, parks, and playgrounds.
Hospitals and other health services.
Public light, heat, and power systems (in many communities).
A host of other services.

Table XXVIII indicates the percentage of the total amount spent for various services in large cities (those over 100,000 in population).

The largest amount, 21 per cent of all the local government expenditures, is used for education, the teaching of all the children of all the people. The teaching of grownups—that is, adult education—is also receiving more money than ever before. The figure of 21 per cent, however, is only "an average" for large cities. Some progressive communities, those determined to have fine schools, spend as much as 45 per cent of their budget on education. They pay good salaries to their teachers. They have good laboratory equipment. They have interesting and well-designed buildings.

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[1] *Financial Statistics of Cities*, published by U.S. Bureau of the Census.

The next highest expenditure, 14 per cent of the budget, goes, as Table XXVIII shows, to pay interest on city debts. Local communities, as well as the states and the nation, have been going heavily into debt to pay for their public services. In some cases the annual interest on debts is actually larger than the amounts the cities pay for police, fire, and other protection (11 per cent), for permanent improvements (12 per cent), for charities, hospital, and similar services (13 per cent).

So much, then, for the brief story of how national, state, and local governments are spending the people's money.

HOW GOVERNMENT RAISES THE MONEY FOR ITS EXPENDITURES

Let us gather up the chief points we have made thus far:

1. Carrying on government—local, state, and national—has become a tremendous business. It has meant raising and spending enormous sums of money.
2. Year by year public services have multiplied and public costs have mounted.
3. The costs have increasingly had to be borne by the people in large areas—by the states and the nation as a whole, rather than by small units of the population.

We confront, then, one of the chief problems of our times: How can the money be obtained to pay for these tremendous costs of government?

The two ways: Pay as you go versus Live off the Future

There are really only two ways by which such huge sums can be raised in our kind of civilization:

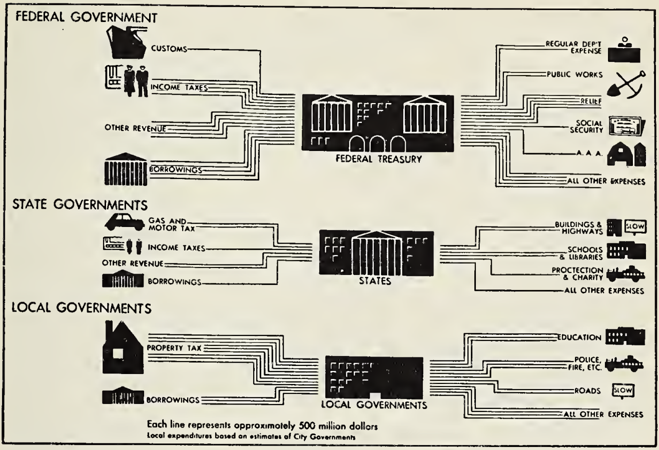
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
CUSTOMS
INCOME TAXES
OTHER REVENUE
BORROWINGS
FEDERAL TREASURY
REGULAR DEP'T EXPENSE
PUBLIC WORKS
RELIEF
SOCIAL SECURITY
A. A. A.
ALL OTHER EXPENSES
STATE GOVERNMENTS
GAS AND MOTOR TAX
INCOME TAXES
OTHER REVENUE
BORROWINGS
STATES
BUILDINGS & HIGHWAYS
SLOW
SCHOOLS & LIBRARIES
PROCTECTION & CHARITY
ALL OTHER EXPENSES
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
PROPERTY TAX
BORROWINGS
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
EDUCATION
POLICE, FIRE, ETC.
ROADS
SLOW
ALL OTHER EXPENSES
Each line represents approximately 500 million dollars
Local expenditures based on estimates of City Governments

FIG. 183.[1] Government income and expenditures

1. By taxing the people or by "earning" money through government enterprises.
2. By borrowing from those well-to-do persons among the people who have surpluses to lend.

The first of these methods—taxation and public-service earnings,—is sometimes referred to as the pay-as-you-go method. The other is frequently referred to as the live-off-the-future method. Let us see how each way serves the people.

HOW GOVERNMENT SECURES MONEY THROUGH TAXATION

Not long ago a question blank was sent to several thousand American citizens asking: "Do you pay taxes?" After the answers came back the investigators stated in a report that one fourth of our people believe that they pay no taxes at all. Are they correct? Are there people in America who do not pay any taxes? Let us see.

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[1] From *Our Taxes and What They Buy*, issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.

Direct and indirect taxes

Take the case of the Craven family. Mr. Craven owns some property—a piece of land and a two-story house which has been designed for two families. Each year he pays a "property tax" to the city and the state. He certainly would say, in answer to the question above, that he does pay taxes.

But Mr. Craven and his family occupy only the lower flat of his house. The upper one is rented to the Carey family. Do the Careys pay a property tax? Certainly not "directly," for they receive no bill each year from the city or state tax collectors.

But they do pay taxes—"indirectly." How? In the amount of rent which Mr. Craven charges them for their flat. Mr. Craven figures that the rent from the Carey flat should help pay his taxes (as well as his fire insurance, repairs, and other "upkeep" expenses). So the rent he asks is high enough to help pay these things. Thus Mr. Carey is really paying taxes indirectly.

There are many other ways that people pay taxes indirectly. For example, the government taxes many of the things that are bought and sold, and the wholesalers or retailers of these articles include the amounts of the taxes in the prices they charge. The common saying is: "They pass on the tax to the consumer." Thus, though they may not know it, the people—the buyers—are actually paying the taxes indirectly.

Summing, up, then, there are two chief kinds of taxes:

1. Direct, or "visible," taxes, paid directly to a government.
2. Indirect, or "hidden," taxes, included in rents, in the prices of merchandise, and the like.

Thus in one way or another everybody pays taxes. And because most of the government money comes from taxes, it is important that every citizen should know what the various kinds of taxes are, what they are used for, and how they affect the living of the people.

ATTENTION OF TAXPAYERS
IMPORTANT

Ewing Galloway

Fig. 184. Property-owners paying taxes at the City Collector's window. What are some of the services they receive in return from the community?

DIRECT TAXES

1. Property taxes

Three fourths of the money spent by government comes from taxes. So far as local government is concerned the largest amount is collected by a tax on property. Property is of two kinds "real" and "personal."

Real property consists of real estate—that is, land, houses, and all physical equipment permanently attached to them.

Personal property consists of such things as furniture, clothing, animals, farm equipment, bank accounts, currency, and stocks and bonds.

Taken together these are called "general property" and the tax which the government collects is called the "general-property tax." By and large about 30 per cent of all *local taxes* are of this kind.

How property taxes are collected

The steps are these:

1. The local officials called assessors estimate the value of each owner's property. They visit the property, examine real-estate maps and records of real-estate transactions, and use other ways of finding out how much the property is worth. This value they enter in their record books, which are called "assessment rolls." The value of all the property in the community is totaled, giving the "total assessed valuation."

To see how the amounts of taxes for the separate taxpayers are figured, let us take a particular instance—a town in which the total assessed valuation is $1,000,000.

2. *The local officials make up a government budget* of estimated expenditures for the coming year. Let us suppose that this is, for our example, $27,500.

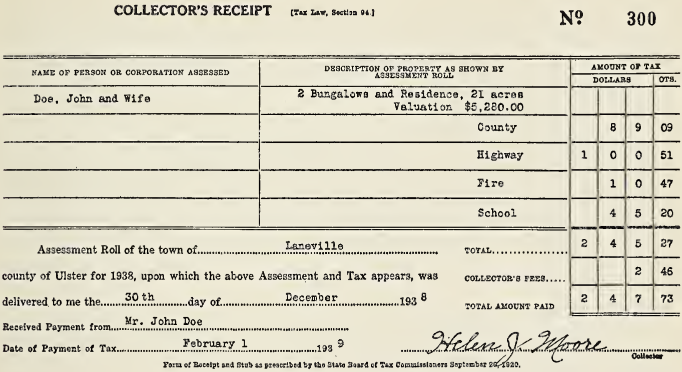
3. The tax rate (that is, the amount of tax to be paid on each $100) is computed by dividing 27,500 by 10,000; thus 27,500 ÷ 10,000 = $2.75. This means that the property of every taxpayer will be taxed at the rate of $2.75 for every $100 assessed against him on the community's assessment roll. There are three different ways to express the tax rate. One can say:

$2.75 per $100 or,
$27.50 per $1000 or,
27.5 mills per $1 (1 mill being 1/1000th of a dollar)

4. An actual case. Figure 185 reproduces an actual tax collector's receipt made out to a property-owner in a small community in New York State. In this case the local tax includes four separate items: a county tax, a highway tax, a fire tax, and a school tax. The assessed valuation on the property is $5280. The respective rates and amounts are as shown. The total local tax rate is $46.45 per $1000 of assessed valuation.

Perhaps you are thinking: "But what is included really in the valuation of the property? Is it the amount someone would pay for the property? Or is it the amount the owner would accept? Or the amount he has actually spent on it? Or, what?"

This is a very complicated problem and we cannot discuss it fully here. A few points can be made, however.



COLLECTOR'S RECEIPT [Tax Law, Section 94.] **№ 300**

NAME OF PERSON OR CORPORATION ASSESSED	DESCRIPTION OF PROPERTY AS SHOWN BY ASSESSMENT ROLL	AMOUNT OF TAX			
		DOLLARS			CTS.
Doe, John and Wife	2 Bungalows and Residence, 21 acres Valuation $5,280.00				
	County		8	9	09
	Highway	1	0	0	51
	Fire		1	0	47
	School		4	5	20
	TOTAL	2	4	5	27
	COLLECTOR'S FEES			2	46
	TOTAL AMOUNT PAID	2	4	7	73

Assessment Roll of the town of Laneville county of Ulster for 1938, upon which the above Assessment and Tax appears, was delivered to me the 30 th day of December 1938

Received Payment from Mr. John Doe

Date of Payment of Tax February 1 1939

Helen J. Moore
Collector

Form of Receipt and Stub as prescribed by the State Board of Tax Commissioners September 20, 1920.

Fig. 185. A tax collector's receipt

First, no two communities, counties, or states "value," or "assess," property the same way, on the same rules.

Second, some try to state the "full value" of the property, meaning perhaps what the property would bring if it were put up for sale.

Third, there is great opportunity for honest mistakes or for politics and friendships, or for downright dishonesty and graft to enter in. No doubt any one or all do enter into the assessing of every community every year. Appraising a piece of property is a difficult and personal matter. We lack clear-cut standards by which to do it. One assessor in a community may overvalue one piece and undervalue another. In spite of all efforts, personal likes and dislikes may enter in. Many taxpayers are trying constantly to "curry favor" with assessors. The fact that a taxpayer belongs to a strange race or to the same or rival lodges, churches, clubs, or political parties may influence the assessor. A newcomer into the community may be overrated. The supposedly rich taxpayer who has little influence may be overcharged while political bosses intercede for other rich friends and get their taxes reduced.

In some cases these factors have entered into property assessment so much as to make the whole taxing system break down. For example, in 1928 the State Tax Commission of Illinois ordered the assessors of Cook County, which includes Chicago, to do the work of assessing 1,300,000 separate pieces of property all over again. The delay caused a vast financial tangle and interfered with the efficiency of the government. It withheld salaries from tens of thousands of government employees and caused great distress to the whole community.

What happens if one's property taxes are not paid? After a stated interval of time the government officials can and often do sell the property at public auction "for the taxes," as the saying goes. When this is done the delinquent owner has a certain amount of time in which he can reimburse the purchaser. If he fails to do that, the person who bought the property "for the taxes" legally owns it.

In normal or good times this does not happen to many taxpayers, but during depressions the practice becomes widespread. A large number of property-owners lack the cash with which to pay taxes. And cash is required! They fail to pay; but it does no good for the government to put their property up for sale, for no one will buy it. In such times of depression governments are hard pressed for money. They cut down on their work—dismiss teachers in the schools, close schools and hospitals, libraries and museums, get along with fewer policemen and firemen and street and park employees. But schools and related activities are almost always cut first. In the Great Depression since 1929 tax delinquency has become so widespread that in some states tax experts have declared that "the general property tax has . . . seriously broken down."

One final point about property taxes. They vary enormously from city to city and state to state. Table XXIX shows that while Jersey City, New Jersey, charged its property-owners $45.81 per $1000 of value, Cincinnati and San Francisco charged only $16.10 and $19.68. The average amount for larger cities is about $25 to $30. This includes city, school, county, and state tax rates.

2. The income tax

Throughout most of American history no taxes were laid upon the incomes of the people. In 1913, however, the policy of compelling citizens to pay a tax on incomes was established by the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Soon after that the states also began collecting income taxes; today about

TABLE XXIX

Tax Rates of American Cities Adjusted to a 100 Per Cent Evaluation in a Recent Year (Including City, School, County, and State Rates)[1]

City	Rate in Dollars per $1000 of Valuation
Philadelphia	$23.63
Detroit	28.82
Los Angeles	24.05
Boston	38.00
San Francisco	19.68
Minneapolis	34.65
New Orleans	27.58
Cincinnati	16.10
Seattle	29.41
Jersey City	45.81

two thirds of them do it. During the past quarter century the amount of tax money collected on incomes annually by the government has steadily advanced until *today it is the largest single source of government funds!*

Turn back to Table XXV. Over $2,500,000,000—40 per cent of all moneys collected by the Federal government that year—came from income taxes in 1938. Moreover this huge sum came from only about 2,000,000 people. Ninety-odd per cent of our people paid no Federal income tax at all. Why? Because no married couple having a net income of less than $2500 a year (or single person receiving less than $1000 a year) has to pay any income tax to the Federal or state governments. The net income is computed by deducting certain amounts from the total or gross income from all sources. The chief deductions are: $400 for each dependent supported by the taxpayer, payments made as contributions, certain "taxes," certain kinds of insurance.

3. The death, or inheritance, tax

For a long time certain students of government have urged legislatures to pass "death taxes." They have insisted that parts at least of all large fortunes should be taken by the state and national

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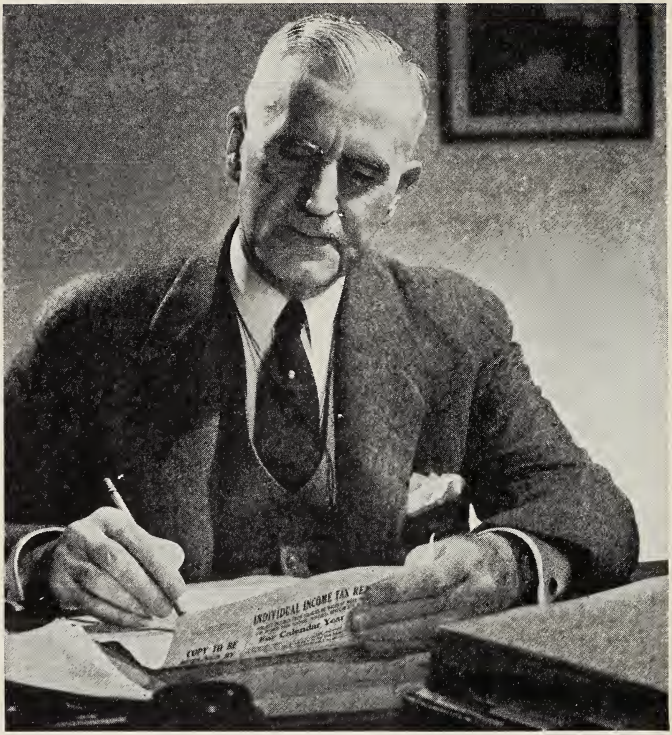
[1] Chicago Daily News Almanac for 1938, p. 273.



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 186. Thousands of citizens must fill out an income-tax blank and pay to the Federal government a percentage of their incomes each year

governments at the death of the owner. As a result the 48 states (except Nevada) and the Federal government take a certain percentage of the estate of the deceased person before it is divided among the heirs. When the tax is taken in this way it is called an "estate tax," or "death tax." In some cases the tax is paid by the person inheriting the property; in this case it is called an "inheritance tax." On very large fortunes the government takes as much as half the property left by the deceased person. As you can see from Table XXV estate and gift taxes gave the Federal government about 7 per cent of its income in 1938. In 1935 the estate tax was the fifth largest source of the income of state governments.

4. The general sales tax

The income tax is paid by a small percentage of the people in the country. The general sales tax, however, is paid by everybody. It brings in a large amount of income and is very easy and sure to collect. In the very worst years of the Great Depression, from 1932 to 1935, state and local governments could not raise enough money from property, income, and inheritance taxes to keep community and state affairs running. The sales tax, collected on the retail sales of articles, was suggested. In spite of great opposition all over the country on the ground that it made the poor man pay much more for government than the rich man, it was adopted in 36 states. Six states later repealed it, leaving it in force today in 30 states. About half these charge a 2 per cent tax on most articles bought from retail businesses; one state charges 1 per cent; the others charge 3 per cent.

5. Motor-vehicle and gasoline taxes

In the years before and after the World War state governments turned to the automobile license and gasoline taxes as a source of considerable income. By 1930 nearly $1,000,000,000 was collected annually from these two sources alone. An average of nearly four cents per gallon is collected the country over. The Southeast states charge six cents per gallon; most of the others charge three, four, or five cents. Only three charge as much as seven cents.

6. Other miscellaneous direct taxes

Finally, we list a few miscellaneous taxes:

1. *Poll tax.* A fixed tax on eligible voters, usually males only; seldom used.
2. *Pay-roll tax.* A tax which employers and employees pay to help finance old-age and unemployment insurance.
3. *Special assessments* by local governments for improvements in sidewalks, paving, sewers, and the like.
4. *Business taxes.* These are paid by corporations and other business enterprises—railroads, banks, light, heat, and power companies, and others. This is really an annual tax on the right to carry on a business.

These, then, are the chief kinds of *direct* taxes which the state and Federal governments levy to carry on our collective affairs. They form the bulk of the current income of government; thus they make possible the huge expenditures for government purposes that we have been discussing in this book. In normal times they make possible a pay-as-you-go policy.

INDIRECT, OR "HIDDEN," TAXES

These, as we saw in the case of the Carey family, are not paid directly to the government by the consumer. Most of them are paid directly by some other person or corporation and then passed on to the consumer in the final retail price that he pays for goods or service.

1. Manufacturers' taxes

The largest single groups of these indirect taxes consist of manufacturers' taxes. These bring the Federal government very large sums of money. In 1938, about $500,000,000 was collected from each of the following: taxes on liquor, taxes on tobacco, taxes paid by manufacturers of automobiles, gasoline, furs, and so forth. Thus the total income obtained in one year from these three taxes was over $1,500,000,000.

2. Other indirect taxes

Other indirect taxes also add large sums to government funds; for example, such taxes as those on candy and cosmetics; those on the theater, the movies, athletic contests, and other amusements; those on playing cards, long-distance telephone calls, and the like.

CURRENT INCOME OTHER THAN TAXES

So much for taxes—the largest source of income for the government.

In 1938, however, more than $2,500,000,000 was collected by the state and local governments from sources other than taxes. There were seven chief sources: (1) special assessments, (2) fines and forfeits, (3) subventions and grants, (4) gifts and pension dues, (5) rents, (6) earnings from general departments, and (7) earnings from public-service enterprises.

Three of these seven provide three fourths of all this nontax money: subventions and grants ("subventions" and "grants" are really words for the same thing), earnings from general government departments, and earnings from public-service enterprises.

By far the largest of all—nearly $1,000,000,000—was from subventions and grants. These are really grants of money from the Federal government to the state and local governments or from the state governments to county and other local governments. Each larger government having obtained funds from taxes or earnings or borrowing passes on some of them to smaller governing units. For example, hundreds of millions of dollars are "granted" by the state to local districts, towns, cities, and counties for education, for bridge and tunnel building, for river and harbor improvement, for mothers' aid and old-age pensions, for hospitals and libraries, and the like.

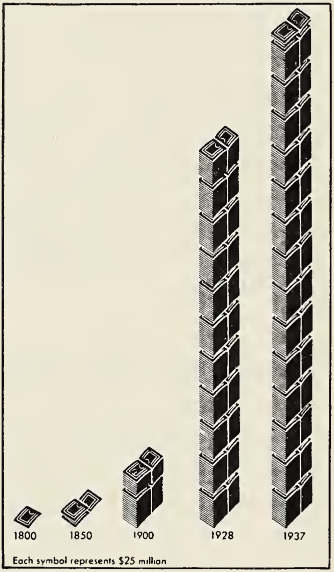


Fig. 187.[1] In 137 years Federal tax receipts have increased tremendously, but recently expenses have surpassed them. See figure 182

The second largest source of income was from "earnings." Are you astonished to learn that governments, mostly of local communities, earn about $1,000,000,000 a year? They do. How? By operating public-service departments and enterprises, such as water companies and electric and gas light, heat, and power companies; by carrying on industries in prisons; by collecting students' tuition fees paid into state and city colleges and schools; by collecting fees which patients who have funds to do so pay in public-supported hospitals and clinics. In more than 100 cities these enterprises pay the entire expense of running the municipal government.

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[1] From Eckenrode, Morgan, and Corson, *This Government.*

Assessments gave our governments about $333,000,000. What are they? Special bills for various community services paid by the property-owners. These include such things as paying for new street pavements, sidewalks, sewers, water-supply extensions, parks, garbage collection, street lighting, fire protection. The collection of money by assessment is done on the theory that those who enjoy certain improvements should pay for them.

Finally, $250,000,000 is collected annually from the rent of public property and enterprises, and small amounts come in from fines and forfeits.

THE PUBLIC DEBT: PAY-AS-YOU-GO VERSUS LIVE-OFF-THE-FUTURE

Brief though it has been this must conclude our discussion of the pay-as-you-go method of paying the mounting costs of government. Before the World War (1914–1918) most of the expenditures of the Federal government were paid each year from current income. A budget of necessary expenses was prepared (generally far less than $1,000,000,000) and taxes and other sources of current income were used to get it. Short-term loans to the Federal government were rarely made and large bond issues almost never. The national debt was small and, except at the time of the Civil War and the Spanish War, was actually being reduced.

Moreover, until about the World War period most of the expenses of local and state governments were also paid from taxes and other moneys paid in by the people each year. Hence in 1902 the public debt of the 48 states of the Union taken together was only $270,000,000. At that time the debt of the 16,000 incorporated villages, towns, and cities, and several thousand counties totaled less than $2,000,000,000. During the next decade cities and towns as well as states steadily borrowed larger and larger sums of money. Nevertheless, even as late as 1913, the year before the start of the World War, the 48 state governments owed only $423,000,000 and the thousands of local governments some $4,000,000,000.

The effect of the World War

Then in 1914 the World War broke out and three years later—April, 1917—we entered the war on the side of the Allies. At once we incurred huge financial obligations; billions upon billions of dollars of public money was called for. To our European allies $11,000,000,000 were loaned—nearly eleven times as much as we had been spending in any one year for our Federal government.

$12,000,000,000 more was required to raise an army and navy of several million men, train, equip, and send part of it over to Europe. In two years' time (1916–1918) the national debt rose from $1,280,000,000 to over $25,000,000,000! Twenty times as large within two years. Never had the American people gone into debt on so huge a scale as that. How the more cautious ones among our people talked! The Federal debt alone, $25,000,000,000! "The country surely would be ruined!" they said. "As for the loans to Great Britain, France, and our other Allies in the war, we would never get it back!" History has proved that those who made such predictions were right; nearly a quarter century has passed and very little of the foreign debt has been repaid.

In the "prosperity years" of 1922–1929, however, the public debt was steadily reduced. By December, 1930, the sum of $9,000,000,000 had been paid off, leaving the debt at about $16,000,000,000.

The effect of the Great Depression

Then came the Great Depression with 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 people out of work. No taxing system could raise the amount of money needed. Each year the Federal government sold huge issues of government bonds. Each year its budget showed a huge deficit. In the four years between April, 1935, and May, 1939, the United States Treasury paid out $10,697,832,482 for the relief of unemployed persons and their families—as much as the total loans to the Allies in the World War! As we have said earlier in this chapter, the annual budget of the Federal, state, and local governments rose in 1938 to $17,000,000,000 and the public debt to nearly $40,000,000,000. This was 32 times the amount of the debt in 1916.

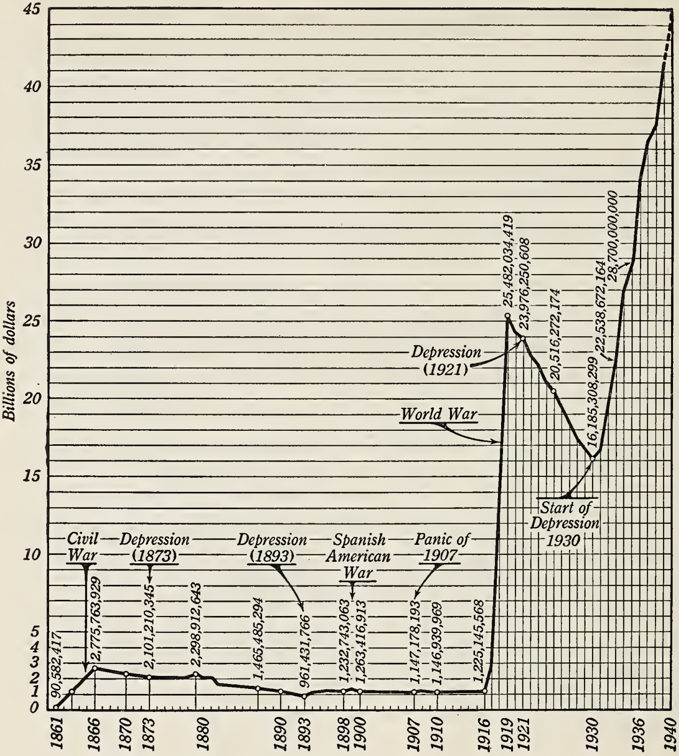

FIG. 188. The National Debt from 1861 to 1940

BORROWING TO PAY FOR GOVERNMENT

As you have learned, part of these enormous sums can be raised through taxation and earnings; that is, part of it can be paid for "as we go." But only part of it. Some of it—and figures 182 and 183 show it to be a considerable fraction—must be obtained by borrowing.

"Who borrows, and from whom?" you are probably thinking.

A very good question indeed. The government borrows, and from the people. In earlier times our government borrowed from rich people in England and other European countries, as well as from our own rich citizens. But in these difficult times Europeans have less surplus money to lend than our own well-to-do people; so we get most of it here at home.

"But, in a democracy the government is really 'the people,' isn't it? How, then, do 'the people' borrow from themselves?"

Another good question. The answer is found in the fact that some of the people—particularly those joined together in banks, insurance companies, and other corporations—have inherited or accumulated in one way or another huge sums of money. These they are eager to lend at a small rate of interest.

Two ways of borrowing

The government borrows in two ways: (1) by short-term loans; (2) by issuing bonds. When a city or state needs emergency funds for a short period—let us say for three to six months—the officials borrow the funds from a bank or other private lending agency.

But for its larger expenditures—for example, billions of expenditures for relief or public works—it sells its bonds. These also are generally sold to some large banking house, which in turn resells them to smaller banks, corporations, or individual investors.

These government bonds are promises by the government to repay the loan in some future year. The printed bond states the amount of the loan, the interest which will be paid by the government, and the time at which the holder of the bond will be repaid. This method of raising money is called long-term borrowing. It is the one which makes possible the piling up of public debt. When you learn that a government is in debt, you can assume that it has sold bonds which it has not yet repaid.

THIS MUST CONCLUDE OUR STUDY OF GOVERNMENT

For some weeks now we have been directing our study at the American way of government. We have seen how personal and face to face it was in the little villages and towns of earlier times, and how it changed as the towns grew into cities, and cities became bigger and bigger. With the passing of years citizens increasingly lost sight of many of the problems of government; they turned them over to professional politicians and their political machines. We know now about the role political parties play in local, state, and national affairs. It seems clear that we can hardly get along without parties of some kind. We have seen also how officials of government are elected, how laws are passed, and how the courts work. Because of these and other changes in our country many problems have arisen, perhaps none more difficult to meet than that of law enforcement and crime.

You have probably noticed that many of the newer problems of American life are related to the growth of cities: the difficulty voters have in understanding the problems of city, state, and national government; their growing indifference; the increase in crime and the mounting difficulty of enforcing the law. Certainly the coming together of many people in cities has had much to do with the rise of these and other problems.

Finally, we have examined briefly the problem of paying for government. No doubt it is clear to you now that American government is a big business. How does its work compare in amount and expense with that of the great private corporations?

As you go on with your social-science studies you will encounter many of these same problems and questions. As adult citizens in any American community you will be brought face to face with them. Many are the times you will ask yourself: Is this vast expense necessary to keep America running? Do the people get a good return for the taxes they pay? Can city, state, and national governments be run more economically? Should more or fewer people be working for the government?

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Frederic, K. A. Taxes and Tax Trends. National League of Women Voters, Washington, D.C. A good discussion of the different kinds of taxes.

Goodman, Kennard E., and Moore, William L. Economics in Everyday Life. Ginn and Company, Boston. See Chapter XXVIII.

Handy, Albert. Inheritance and Other Like Taxes. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York.

Hayes, H. G. Services and Costs of Government (Modern Problem Series). American Education Press, Inc., Columbus. A short clear account.

Krug, Edward A. Why Taxes? Ginn and Company, Boston.

Walradt, H. F. Balancing the Budget (Modern Problem Series). American Education Press, Inc., Columbus.

☆ V ☆

The Press and American Life

The Press
and American Life

In our attempt to understand the civic affairs of the American people we come now to a study of the press.

By the press we mean especially the newspapers, magazines, and books read by the American people.

The reading of newspapers, magazines, and books influences our opinions and beliefs in an important way.

Thus, to understand the mind of the American we must understand what he reads.

Furthermore, it will be necessary to know something of how printing and publishing developed as the simple pioneer civilization gave way to our complicated city one.

Hence in Chapter XIX we shall take up the story of American newspapers, magazines, and books.

We shall ask such questions as, What did people read? To what extent were newspapers, magazines, and books written by Americans and published in America? How widespread was their influence?

With this historical background we shall discuss in Chapter XX the reading of the American people today.

Because of their very great influence upon our minds we shall pay special attention to the newspapers.

We shall ask such questions as, What is news? What do the newspapers print? What role does advertising play in determining what the newspapers print? How are the newspapers changing as our new civilization changes?

Through such study we shall prepare ourselves to consider how the press helps to mold our opinions and beliefs.

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Chapter XIX · The Story of American Newspapers, Magazines, and Books

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We live in a world of print!

A tired newspaperman from a busy city sought to get away from the world of newsprint in which he lived. He went to the desert of the American Southwest and there, on a lonely twenty-five-mile Indian trail which was seldom used by people, he camped in an abandoned cabin. "Here," he said, "I can get away from the news, from print."

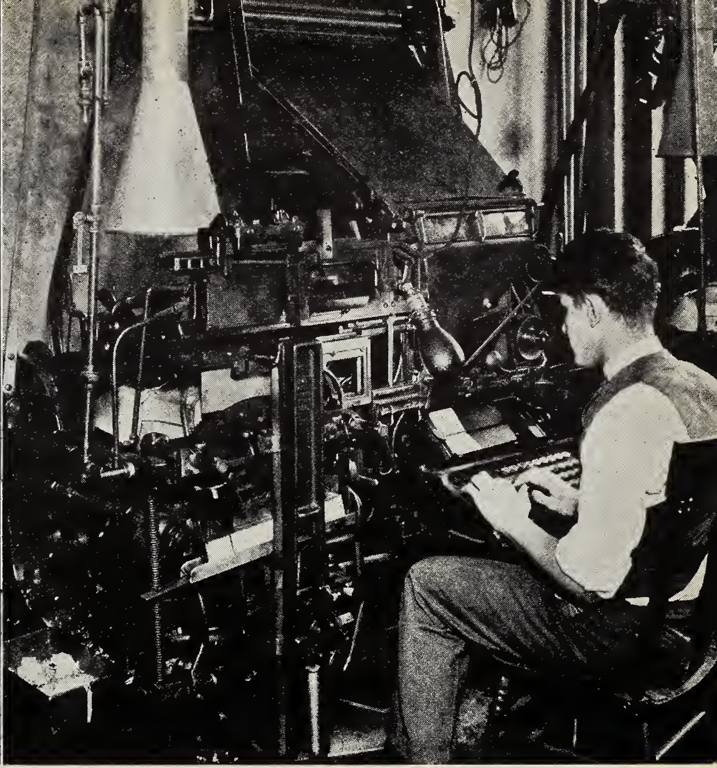
He had scarcely entered the shack, however, when his eye lighted upon two printed pamphlets hanging above the stove—an almanac and a cookbook. Couldn't he escape print, even there? When night came he made up his bed. There beneath his mattress was layer upon layer of newspapers. More print! The next morning he discovered upon a shelf above the door an old copy of a popular magazine and a book of Cowper's poems, both of which had probably been left by a former tenant. On the slab of bacon he had brought the name of the packer was printed. A printed stamp proved that it had been passed by a government inspector. The bag containing flour, the molasses tin, the oranges, even the chinaware, displayed lines of print. Everywhere he found the printed word, even in this primitive, out-of-the-way place.

The modern world is indeed a world of print! Few people are ever long out of sight of printed newspapers, printed books, printed tickets, printed labels, printed trade-marks, printed programs, printed menus—*something* in print. Almost every community has its printing shop. In some of these shops the type is still set and presses are still run by hand; in others type is set by machines and printing is done by huge presses run without human hands. Today these printing shops are busy because nearly everyone reads.

As you probably know from your previous studies in American history, it is only recently that so many of the rank and file do a

The New York Times.
LATE CITY EDITION
ROOSEVELT ACTS ON TVA; CALLS IN THREE DIRECTORS TO PRESENT FACTS TO HIM
PRESIDENT IS STERN
RUSSIANS CONFESS MURDERS BY POISON
LANGLIE FAR AHEAD IN SEATTLE RETURNS

Fig. 189. Paper! Latest edition!! Paper!!!



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 190. A linotype machine (see page 469)

great deal of reading. In colonial days, for example, there were few schools, and many grown-up people had never learned to read. But the idea of public education spread in the early 1800's, bringing with it a great increase in the number of schools and pupils. By the latter 1800's elementary education had become almost universal. From that time on the number of people who could neither read nor write steadily declined (see Table XXX). By 1930 only four in every hundred of our people were unable to read. About half of these were people of such little intelligence that they did not have the ability to learn to read. Today, with a system of public education and with the printed word facing us at every turn, we have become a nation of readers.

TABLE XXX

Per Cent of Americans Unable To Read, 1880–1930

1880	17.0
1900	10.7
1910	7.7
1920	6.0
1930	4.3

THE PRINTING PRESS ITSELF IS A MODERN INVENTION

Now that newspapers, magazines, and books are so easily obtained, we can scarcely imagine that there was a time in our recent history when they were not only expensive but very rare; when they were stained, worn, and torn from much borrowing.

But it is still more difficult to imagine a time, less than 500 years ago, when there were no printing presses in the world. In those days there were books, of course, but they were all *written* laboriously by hand. These handwritten books were rare, indeed. Few people knew how to read, and fewer could afford to buy books.

Then came the year 1450 and with it the invention of the first movable types by John Gutenberg, of Mainz, Germany. He molded the separate letters of the alphabet out of lead. These letters were arranged to form words, and the words were then set in lines. The page of words was smeared with ink and pressed to paper. From our point of view, this method was very slow, since everything was done by hand. But it was a great advance over handwriting, because, once a page of type was set, many copies of the same page could be made from it. This process is regarded as the beginning of modern printing.

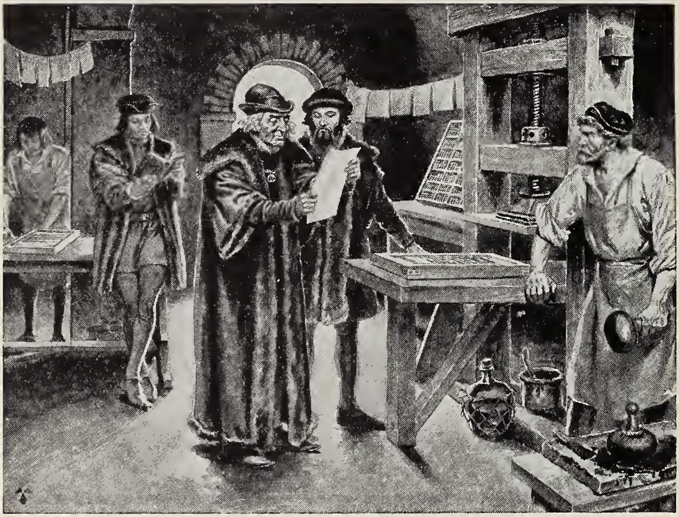


Fig. 191. John Gutenberg's printing establishment. Note the simple press on the right and the printed paper hanging up to dry

By 1480 William Caxton had set up the first printing press in England. From that time printing spread more rapidly. By 1500 there were presses in more than 100 towns and cities throughout the continent of Europe. The printed word had come to stay.

In 1639, nine years after the landing of the Puritans at Massachusetts Bay, the first printing press in the American colonies was set up at Cambridge. Presses, type, and paper were so expensive, however, that for a long time almost nothing except almanacs, sermons, and laws were printed. Gradually printers began to come to the other colonies and set up their little hand presses. But it was not until nearly 1700 that an attempt was made to print a newspaper.

Let us turn back to these colonial days and trace quickly the story of newspapers, magazines, and books in our country. As you read, ask yourself what was happening in America during each period. Were the times calm and peaceful, with few problems facing the people? Or were they stirring periods when news was eagerly awaited and differing opinions were heatedly discussed?

I. THE NEWSPAPER – FROM MONTHLY TO DAILY

As we have said, for more than 80 years after the first settlement in America, no attempt was made to establish a newspaper. There was news, of course, but it circulated mostly by word of mouth and came chiefly from travelers and ship captains and sailors. As soon as ships were sighted in the harbors, the population—all but the very old or the very young—hurried to the wharfs to get the news. Almost every word that the captain uttered was told and retold throughout the colony. Travelers from other colonies along the seaboard brought news of their own communities and compared foreign news, adding a bit of information here and putting in more details there. And so the news was spread, chiefly by word of mouth, until 1690.

It was in 1690 that Benjamin Harris of Boston issued the first newspaper in the British colonies. It was called *Publick Occurrences both Foreign and Domestick*. Harris promised his readers that the newspaper would appear once a month "or, if any glut [too great a supply] of Occurrences happen, oftener." But, it never appeared again, for it displeased the governor of the colony, and Harris was forbidden to publish it. During this time, letters and British newspapers were brought to the colonies. Many of them were two months old or more, but they told of happenings in a world that had been left behind.

In 1704 the first regular newspaper was founded. In that year John Campbell, the postmaster at Boston, began to publish the *Boston News-Letter*. To us today it seems a very humble beginning. The newspaper, a sheet about the size of typewriter paper printed on both sides, contained a few local items, perhaps an item or two from English papers, and some advertisements of farms to be sold or sailors wanted. Since it was small, little space could be given to details; so the news appeared in such form as this:

> His Excellency Dissolved the Gen. Assembly.
> The Rd. Mr. Lockyer dyed on Thurs. last.[1]

The paper was issued weekly, and the price was set by separate agreement between Campbell and each subscriber. Special issues

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[1] James Melvin Lee, *A History of American Journalism*, p. 20. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1917.

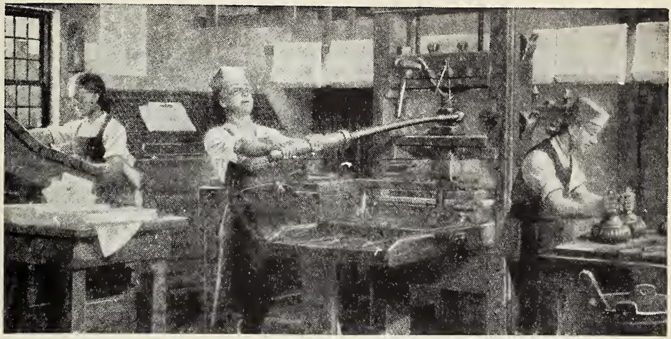
(what we know today as "extras") were printed when it was thought necessary. Although news was brief in the regular issues, these extras were much more detailed. Nearly half of one of them, for example, was devoted to a description of the death of six pirates executed near Boston.

Many difficulties confronted Campbell in the management of the newspaper, but the chief of these was the collection of money from the subscribers. He struggled along until the end of the year 1722, and then sold the *Boston News-Letter* to another publisher. First one person and then another bought it and tried to make a success of it. Finally, in 1776, it was discontinued altogether.

But Campbell's struggle did not prevent others from starting newspapers. The *Boston Gazette* and the *American Weekly Mercury* of Philadelphia were established in 1719. By 1725 both Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had six weekly newspapers each, and others had been founded in Maryland, South Carolina, Rhode Island, and Virginia. In 1729 young Benjamin Franklin established the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which became one of the most influential newspapers of its day.

In those days circulations were small. Two or three hundred paying subscribers made a newspaper successful. The church and the government watched the newspapers carefully, and woe to the editor who offended either of them. As we have said, *Publick Occurrences* was issued only once, because it offended the governor of the colony. In 1734 Peter Zenger, about whom you have read in your earlier study of American history, announced to the subscribers to his paper that he was dictating his newspapers to his "servants" through the "Hole in the Door" of the prison into which he had been thrown by the government.

But the church was losing its control, and there was discontent with the government of the mother country. Population, too, was growing. In spite of discouragements newspapers continued to spring up. Benjamin Franklin tells us that by 1771 there were 25 in the British colonies. By that time they had taken sides in the struggle between Great Britain and her American colonies and were influencing public opinion. The *Boston News-Letter*, which Campbell had founded, spoke for the Tories and favored Great Britain, while Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* sided with the American patriots.



Charles E. Mills © Detroit Publishing Company

FIG. 192. In the printing establishment of James Franklin, publisher of the *New England Courant.* His brother Benjamin (center) served his apprenticeship here

During the American Revolution it was so difficult to collect money from subscribers that even patriotic newspapers had to be discontinued. The Tory newspapers simply went out of existence. It is said, however, that news was so eagerly awaited by Washington's soldiers at Trenton that they squeezed enough money from their miserable allowances to keep one newspaper in print. During the controversy over ratification of the Constitution, newspapers again played an important part in influencing public opinion. It is reported that those papers which argued against ratification of the Constitution were short-lived.

By this time also, statesmen and politicians used the newspapers as a means of helping their political causes. *The Gazette of the United States*, founded in 1789, was controlled by Alexander Hamilton, who led the Federalists. On the other hand, *The National Gazette* published the views of Thomas Jefferson, who was the leader of the Antifederalists, or Republicans.

In spite of the fact that many newspapers died early deaths, by 1810 the number had grown to 366. The issues also became more frequent. Papers published weekly were soon published twice a week, then three times, and at last every day.

In the meantime, newspaper publishing traveled westward with the settlement of the continent. Recall that by 1783 the boundary of the United States extended as far west as the Mississippi. After 1800 the states west of the Appalachians were rapidly being filled up. By 1830 there were more dailies in the state of Illinois alone than the whole nation had counted in 1790. There were newspapers even in Indiana, Arkansas, and Texas. It is well to remember as we continue the story of newspapers that, as the frontier moved westward, newspapers sprang up in the communities which grew up behind it.

During the decade after 1830, a new kind of journalism appeared. This was the penny journals, or newspapers for the people. Before this time newspapers had been published for the few, but with the coming of cheap papers everyone could buy them. Newspapers which formerly had been filled with the details of long political arguments began to print stories, gossip, police-court news—whatever was real news and was interesting to the mass of the people.

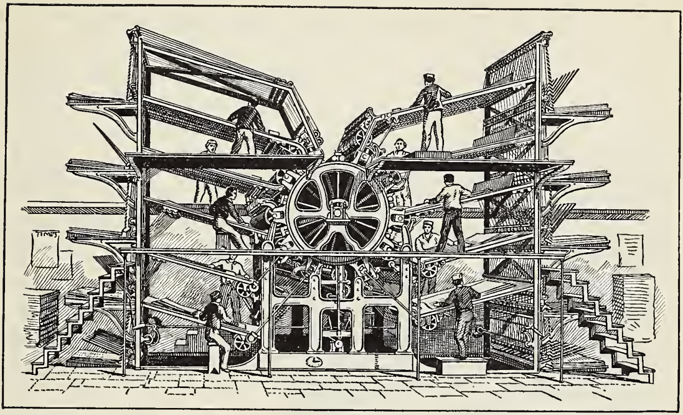
In 1833 Benjamin Day founded the *New York Sun*, which was to be the first successful penny newspaper. He thought that the story of fights which landed people in the police courts was more interesting than an account of Jackson's attacks on the United States Bank. Evidently the people thought so, too. An Englishman visiting America in 1837 reported that the newspaper was borrowed by such people as cabmen, boatmen, oystermen, and porters; and that they not only read it easily but expressed their opinions on its contents at length and well. Within three years, the *Sun* had a daily circulation of 27,000, which was about 25,000 more than the largest six-cent daily could boast.

Thus we see that there began to be newspapers for many different groups of people.

Improvements in printing

As newspapers acquired larger circulations and dailies began to appear, improvements were made in methods of printing. Among the earliest of these was automatic inking, which took the place of the slow, unsatisfactory method of inking the type by hand. In 1814 Frederick König invented a cylinder press which could print both sides of the paper in one operation.

Not any of these improvements were so important, however, as was the application of steam power to the press. Recall that in the 1820's and 1830's steam was beginning to be used to run machines of all kinds. Trains run by steam were beginning to chug



R. Hoe and Company, Inc.

FIG. 193. Richard Hoe's ten-deck steam-driven printing press

along the railroad tracks of the United States. Steamboats were plying up and down the rivers. In printing too, muscles were beginning to be replaced by steam power. Without the use of steam power, indeed, it is doubtful whether Day could have supplied his 27,000 subscribers with papers.

But still faster methods of printing were to be invented. In 1845 Richard Hoe, an American inventor, had a novel idea. He made a rotary press by which several impressions could be made as easily as one. In the König method a cylinder had been used for carrying the paper over the type. Hoe's idea was to fasten the type plates to small cylinders which were in turn fastened to a large drum (see figure 193). This drum was then turned by steam power. As each cylinder revolved, a printer stationed on a platform inserted a piece of paper between the inked cylinder and the great drum. Thus in one revolution of the drum as many impressions were made as there were cylinders fastened to the drum. At first only four cylinders were used, but finally a huge press as large as a three-story building was perfected. Ten impressions could be made at one full turn of the drum. Thus the need for more rapid production was met for a time. Until after the Civil War Hoe's press represented the best in newspaper printing.

The middle of the century: enter several great editors

In the three decades before the Civil War several able editors started newspapers which were to influence American life for more than half a century. Outstanding among these were George D. Prentice, who founded the *Louisville Journal* in 1830; James Gordon Bennett, who founded the *New York Herald* in 1835; Horace Greeley, who founded the *New York Tribune* in 1841; and Henry J. Raymond, who founded the *New York Times* in 1851.

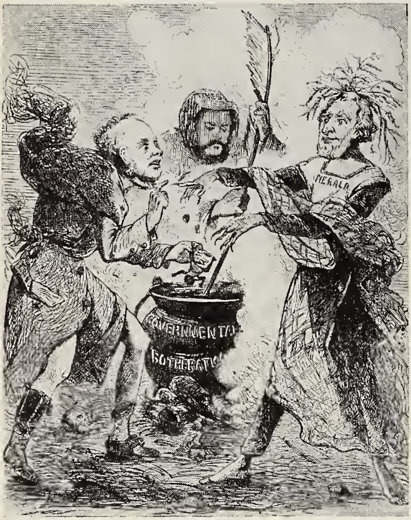


Fig. 194.[1] Greeley, Raymond, and Bennett making the "witches' brew." The political writings of these three editors stirred their enemies to caricature them in this way

Each of these papers was started in a very modest way. It was said that Bennett founded the *New York Herald* with $500, two wooden chairs, and a dry-goods box. The financial backing of the others was not much greater. Nevertheless, one by one, these newspapers exerted more and more influence in politics, business, and social life. The editors wrote forceful articles explaining the opinions and principles for which their papers stood. These are called editorials. They aroused great enmity among the political leaders whom they attacked, but each had a large following of enthusiastic supporters. Many people depended upon these editors for their opinions. It was not uncommon, for example, for a man to say to his family: "Wait until the *Tribune* comes, and I'll tell you what I think about that matter."

Bennett wrote most of his own editorials. When they aroused the anger of his subscribers, he is reported to have said: "I tell the honest truth in my paper, and leave the consequences to God. Could I leave them in better hands? . . . I never will abandon the cause of truth, morals, and virtue."[1]

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[1] From *Vanity Fair*, October 5, 1861.

The editorials in the *Tribune*, however, were written by various members of the editorial staff, and each was permitted to voice his own opinion. Voice them they did on all the issues of the day. During the long slavery controversy, Greeley and his staff were a rallying point for the antislavery people. One prominent lecturer said of the influence of this newspaper: "The *Tribune* comes next to the Bible all through the West."

One by one, between 1869 and 1872, these first great American editors passed on. By then newcomers had taken their places, and other newspapers became prominent. E. L. Godkin founded *The Nation* in 1865, a journal which soon became a powerful influence in molding public opinion. About the same time Charles A. Dana gave new life and energy to the *New York Sun* and increased its circulation by supplying the public with human-interest stories.

When the elder Bennett died (1872), he passed on to his son, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., one of the greatest money-making papers in the history of American journalism. The younger Bennett continued many of his father's policies, among them that "in every kind of news, the *Herald* will be one of the earliest of the early." A financial department was created, which gave quotations on stocks and bonds, and more emphasis was placed on foreign news.

Newspapers "made for the millions"

Then came the age of industrial expansion of the eighties and nineties. These years were marked by changes in the newspaper business corresponding to those in other fields. You will recall that, as railroads, coal companies, iron-and-steel companies, harvester companies, and others joined to form great corporations, groups of small stores followed their example. In one city after another department stores sprang up. Steadily they became larger and larger. As this happened, the newspapers saw the rich financial prize to be had from the advertising of these great stores. But to secure advertising a paper must have a large circulation, that is, it must have many readers. Hence, instead of writing for the "best" people, for the few intelligent readers, editors saw that they must write for the masses. Writing must be thrilling, and the vocabulary must be understood by all the people.

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[1] Allan Nevins, *American Press Opinion*, p. 118. D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, 1928.

Thus a race for increased circulation began among the newspapers of the large cities. In this race two New York newspapers led the way—Joseph Pulitzer's *World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal.*

In the 1870's Pulitzer had made a fortune with his St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, but at the same time he had become very unpopular because of the part his paper played in the political and other campaigns. In 1883 he moved to New York and bought the *World* from Jay Gould for $346,000. At once Pulitzer increased the circulation of the *World* by publishing a paper "made for the millions," for the masses, instead of for the few.

He attracted support for his newspaper not only by the dramatic form of its writing but also by the crusades which he waged for the public good. Year in and year out, the New York *World* fought for the reform of politics and the civil service. It helped to punish dishonest officeholders. It compelled the Secretary of the Treasury to sell Federal bonds to the general public rather than to the great financial houses of Wall Street. It worked for the distribution of free ice to the tenements of the great city. It provided country outings for poor children. It brought about the end of collecting toll charges from people who wished to use Brooklyn Bridge. While other journals of the country were demanding war in the 1890's, the *World* fought for peaceful settlement by arbitration, and it was successful in helping to prevent open warfare between the United States and Great Britain.

In each of these great campaigns the newspaper increased its circulation. Its stories were dramatic, even sensational. Its style and vocabulary were simple enough to be easily understood by the mass of the city people.

Enter "yellow" journalism

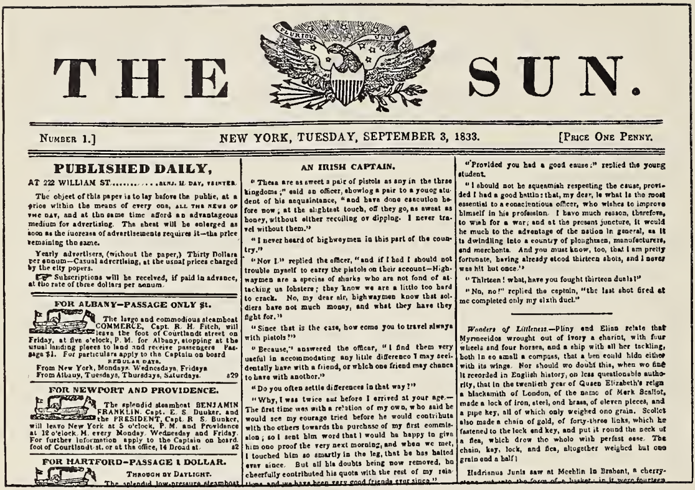
Then came another development. Sensational newspapers, already existing in various cities of the country, appeared in New York. These papers used every means to beat one another in the race for increased circulations and for the huge profits to be made from large advertisers. They were also responsible for the development of what later became known as yellow journalism, which was to have great influence on the newspapers of the country. Instead of standing for the peaceful settlement of impending war between nations, such papers sometimes actually urged and hastened war.

These "yellow" newspapers used such extreme devices to secure public attention as spectacular headlines, sensational pictures of murder scenes, dramatic stories of robberies, divorces, and scandals. Their reporters went to almost any length to secure a "beat"—that is, to obtain news before rival reporters could get it. It has been shown that they pried into the private lives of prominent people, secretly trailed them, sneaked into their estates, climbed fire escapes and fences, and spied through windows. In fact, they did anything to add a spicy bit to the news. Thus it was that yellow journalism entered the newspaper world in the 1890's and early 1900's.

After 1900 even a good many of the older and more respected newspapers reflected the influence of the yellow journal. Only a few succeeded in resisting the temptation to become sensational. Headlines became larger; the style of writing became more dramatic. The front page changed decade by decade. The illustrations on page 468 show this change.

More improvements in printing

Certainly the great number of sensational newspapers could never have been printed if certain improvements in the printing industry had not been made. Electrotyping—that is, duplicating a page of type by means of electricity—came into use. There were improvements in the presses themselves; for example, the use of one continuous roll of paper instead of separate sheets, and automatic devices for folding papers. As a result of these and other improvements, a roll of paper is fed today into one end of a gigantic press and comes out at the other end as a newspaper—printed, folded, piled, counted, and ready for distribution. Some presses turn out as many as 320,000 copies of a twelve-page paper in one hour.



THE SUN.

Number 1.] NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1833. [Price One Penny.

PUBLISHED DAILY,

AT 222 WILLIAM ST.................BENJ. H. DAY, PRINTER.

The object of this paper is to lay before the public, at a price within the means of every one, ALL THE NEWS OF THE DAY, and at the same time afford an advantageous medium for advertising. The sheet will be enlarged as soon as the increase of advertisements requires it—the price remaining the same.

Yearly advertisers, (without the paper,) Thirty Dollars per annum—Casual advertising, at the usual prices charged by the city papers.

☞ Subscriptions will be received, if paid in advance, at the rate of three dollars per annum.

FOR ALBANY—PASSAGE ONLY $1.

The large and commodious steamboat COMMERCE, Capt. R. H. Fitch, will leave the foot of Courtlandt street on Friday, at five o'clock, P. M. for Albany, stopping at the usual landing places to land and receive passengers. Passage $1. For particulars apply to the Captain on board

REGULAR DAYS.

From New York, Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays
From Albany, Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays. s29

FOR NEWPORT AND PROVIDENCE.

The splendid steamboat BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Capt. E. S. Bunker, and the PRESIDENT, Capt. R. S. Bunker, will leave New York at 5 o'clock, P. M. and Providence at 12 o'clock, M. every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. For further information apply to the Captain on board, foot of Courtlandt st. or at the office, 14 Broad st. s2

FOR HARTFORD—PASSAGE 1 DOLLAR.

Through by Daylight.

The splendid low-pressure steamboat

AN IRISH CAPTAIN.

"These are as sweet a pair of pistols as any in the three kingdoms;" said an officer, showing a pair to a young student of his acquaintance, "and have done execution before now; at the slightest touch, off they go, as sweet as honey, without either recoiling or dipping. I never travel without them."

"I never heard of highwaymen in this part of the country."

"Nor I," replied the officer, "and if I had I should not trouble myself to carry the pistols on their account—Highwaymen are a species of sharks who are not fond of attacking us lobsters; they know we are a little too hard to crack. No, my dear sir, highwaymen know that soldiers have not much money, and what they have they fight for."

"Since that is the case, how come you to travel always with pistols?"

"Because," answered the officer, "I find them very useful in accommodating any little difference I may accidentally have with a friend, or which one friend may chance to have with another."

"Do you often settle differences in that way?"

"Why, I was twice out before I arrived at your age.—The first time was with a relation of my own, who said he would see my courage tried before he would contribute with the others towards the purchase of my first commission; so I sent him word that I would be happy to give him one proof the very next morning, and when we met, I touched him so smartly in the leg, that he has halted ever since. But all his doubts being now removed, he cheerfully contributed his quota with the rest of my relations and we have been very good friends ever since."

"Provided you had a good cause:" replied the young student.

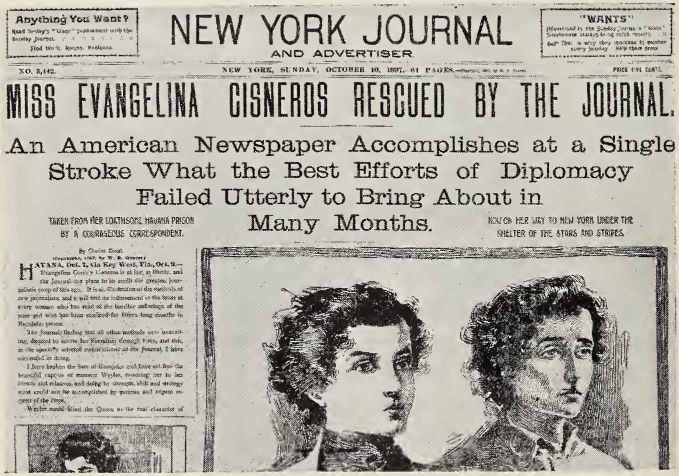
"I should not be squeamish respecting the cause, provided I had a good battle: that, my dear, is what is the most essential to a conscientious officer, who wishes to improve himself in his profession. I have much reason, therefore, to wish for a war; and at the present juncture, it would be much to the advantage of the nation in general, as it is dwindling into a country of ploughmen, manufacturers, and merchants. And you must know, too, that I am pretty fortunate, having already stood thirteen shots, and I never was hit but once."

"Thirteen! what, have you fought thirteen duels?"

"No, no!" replied the captain, "the last shot fired at me completed only my sixth duel."

Wonders of Littleness.—Pliny and Elian relate that Myrmecides wrought out of ivory a chariot, with four wheels and four horses, and a ship with all her tackling, both in so small a compass, that a bee could hide either with its wings. Nor should we doubt this, when we find it recorded in English history, on less questionable authority, that in the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign a blacksmith of London, of the name of Mark Scallot, made a lock of iron, steel, and brass, of eleven pieces, and a pipe key, all of which only weighed one grain. Scallot also made a chain of gold, of forty-three links, which he fastened to the lock and key, and put it round the neck of a flea, which drew the whole with perfect ease. The chain, key, lock, and flea, altogether weighed but one grain and a half!

Hadrianus Junis saw at Mechlin in Brabant, a cherry-stone cut into the form of a basket; in it were fourteen



Anything You Want?

NEW YORK JOURNAL
AND ADVERTISER.

"WANTS"

NO. 5,442. NEW YORK, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1897.—64 PAGES. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

MISS EVANGELINA CISNEROS RESCUED BY THE JOURNAL.

An American Newspaper Accomplishes at a Single Stroke What the Best Efforts of Diplomacy Failed Utterly to Bring About in Many Months.

TAKEN FROM HER LOATHSOME HAVANA PRISON BY A COURAGEOUS CORRESPONDENT.

NOW ON HER WAY TO NEW YORK UNDER THE SHELTER OF THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Fig. 195. The change which took place in the appearance of newspapers between the years 1833 and 1897 is well illustrated in the reproductions above

As new methods were found to print at more rapid speeds, quicker methods of setting type were needed. The old hand method was little improved until 1886, when Ottmar Mergenthaler, a German immigrant, invented a machine that would mold letters of type, arrange them in words, and put the words together in solid lines of type in the form of leaden casts, or slugs. The machine had a keyboard resembling that of a typewriter and was operated in somewhat the same way. This invention was called a linotype. The machine is still used by most large newspapers today (figure 190).

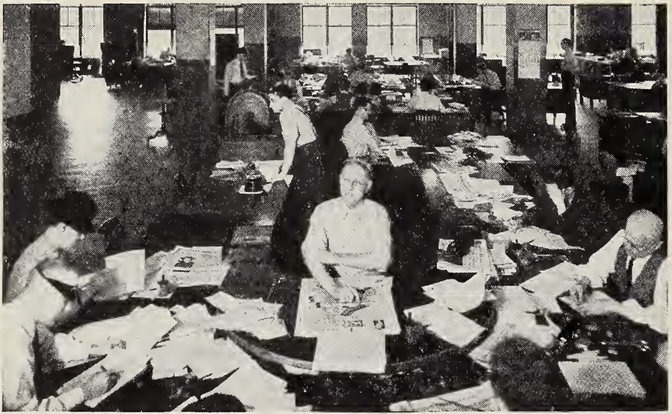
Other features were added. About 1885, for example, newspapers began to use pictures to increase their attractiveness. The new method of making halftones enabled publishers to reproduce photographs (figure 196 is a halftone). The yellow journals especially made use of these illustrations to enliven their pages and increase their popularity.

Improvements which had been made in other fields were also adopted by newspapers. The typewriter is one example. Whereas the reporter of earlier times wrote his "copy" painstakingly by hand, after the invention of the typewriter he wrote it more rapidly and clearly by machine. News-gathering also became swifter and more world-wide as newspapers received their news over the telegraph, the cable, the telephone, the teletype, and, finally, the radio. Wirephoto receiving and sending machines make it possible to give readers last-minute photographs.

News-gathering agencies

As the United States increased in size and in population, it became increasingly difficult for each newspaper to get all the news. As early as 1848, several of the New York newspapers formed an organization for the collection and distribution of the news. Gradually branch offices were established, and agents were sent out to gather the news from every part of the country. Whatever news was obtained by any agent could be used by all members of the organization. From this small beginning grew the world-wide Associated Press of today.

In every large city in the country, the Associated Press has agents who use all the modern means of communication to rush the news to central offices. These offices in turn "put it on the wire"



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 196. The city desk in the office of one of the big city dailies

to the newspapers which pay the association for the right to receive and use it. The Associated Press has 280,000 miles of leased wires throughout the country, and supplies 1350 member newspapers with the latest news dispatches. But not only does the Associated Press serve every district of the United States; it also reaches around the world. In every important city of the six continents of the earth its agents gather the news and cable, telephone, or radio it to the American headquarters. Some 50 newspapers in Europe, Latin America, Asia, Cuba, the Philippines, and other places belong to the Associated Press.

Other news-gathering agencies (news syndicates), such as the United Press and the International News Service, grew up after 1890. Today these organizations also supply their subscribing newspapers with news of the entire world. For example, each day the United Press sends thousands of words over the cables of the world. It leases a total of 154,000 miles of telegraph wire in our own country. Its news reports go out to 1400 member newspapers. The International News Service also has a world-wide network of news-gatherers.

By means of these syndicates, the news of the world comes to each of us through our daily newspapers. The same news is read in Boston, San Francisco, Galveston, St. Paul—in every community in which there is a newspaper member of the syndicate. No longer do we have to wait two months or more until chance brings the news to us. So much has mass production in news-gathering done for us.

The newspapers also entered Big Business

As circulations grew and many improvements were made, the newspapers became large enterprises. For example, let us give some of the facts regarding two of our metropolitan papers. In 1939 the average daily circulation of the *New York Times* was about 500,000; its average Sunday circulation was about 800,000. In the same year the New York *Daily News* had an average daily circulation of about 1,800,000 and an average Sunday circulation of over 3,300,000. And, of course, large amounts of capital were needed to build such enterprises. No longer could city journals be started "with $500, two wooden chairs, and a dry-goods box." Newspapers began to be valued in millions of dollars. As this happened newspapers too entered Big Business. Corporations were organized to supply the capital to start new papers or to expand old ones. Today many of our newspapers are owned by corporations.

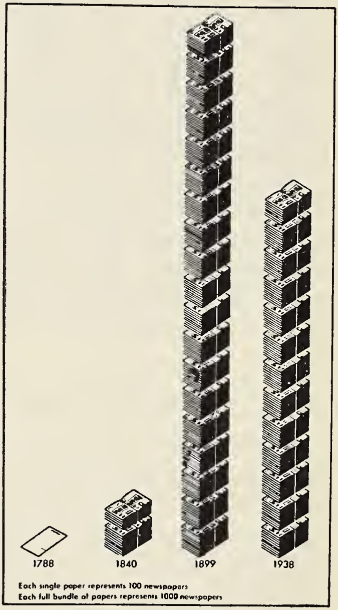


Fig. 197.[1] How the number of newspapers has grown in 150 years

In another way newspapers took over the methods of Big Business. Just as a number of oil companies, steel companies, and other kinds of companies bought out or joined with competitors, so newspapers too bought out or joined with competitors. In many instances they started new papers also. As a result, newspaper corporations increased greatly in power. Table XXXI gives some facts concerning the number of newspapers in several years since 1914.

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[1] From Eckenrode, Morgan and Corson, *This Government.*

TABLE XXXI

Year	*Number of Daily Papers*	*Number of Sunday Issues*	*Aggregate Circulation per Daily Issue*
1914 . .	2580	571	28,777,454
1926 . .	2001	541	36,000,000
1930 . .	1942	521	39,600,000
1935 . .	2233	523	41,500,000
1939 . .	2056	593	40,600,000

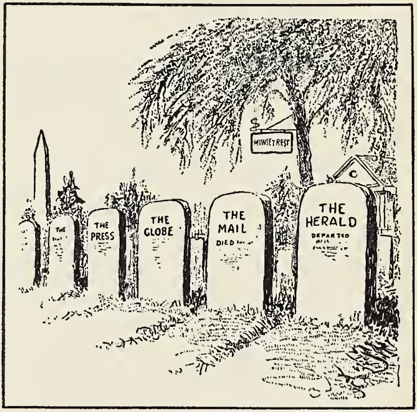
When Chicago, the second largest city in the United States, was half its present size it had seven morning papers. Now it has only one. Cleveland, which had three morning papers 35 years ago, now has but one. In Philadelphia the *Times*, *Press*, *Telegraph*, *North American*, and *Item* as separate papers have been discontinued.

The number of papers is growing smaller in other large cities also. In 1924 Pittsburgh had seven newspapers; in 1939 it had but three. The whole state of Maryland once had twenty-six daily newspapers; now it has twelve. Detroit has but one morning newspaper; St. Paul and Minneapolis each but one. In 1890 New York had eleven morning papers; now it has four.

The rapid development of chains of newspapers

As newspapers increased their profits their owners bought up old newspapers and established new ones in other parts of the United States. The chain idea entered the newspaper business as it had other industries, that is, the same corporations began to own newspapers in many cities of the country. In 1924 there were already 30 newspaper chains in the United States. In 1927 this number had grown to 55, and the chains controlled 230 daily newspapers. In 1937 the six largest newspaper chains in America were distributing 26 per cent of our daily newspapers and 35 per cent of our Sunday ones.

One of the largest of these newspaper chains is that built up by William Randolph Hearst. The Hearst chain stretches from coast to coast. From San Francisco to New York almost every large city has a Hearst newspaper. In 1938 there were 20 of them, which had a daily circulation of 4,300,000 and a Sunday circulation of 6,700,000. Another large newspaper chain is the Scripps-Howard chain, which in 1939 controlled 20 daily newspapers in such separated cites as San Francisco, Washington, New York City, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Albuquerque (New Mexico), Denver, and Birmingham (Alabama). The estimated daily circulation of this chain is about 2,000,000.



Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Fig. 198. This cartoon illustrates what happened in one city. Each headstone stands for a newspaper which was bought out or merged with others

On the average we have better newspapers than any other country in the world. And what a great variety of them! We have newspapers printed in almost every known language. In 1939 we had 127 daily newspapers published in foreign languages; these reached over 3,000,000 readers. We have dailies and we have Sunday newspapers. We also have extras when special local, national, or international events occur. We have conservative papers that cling to old traditions, and we have radical papers that favor new policies. We have newspapers suitable for every sort of community, for every political, economic, and cultural taste.

In spite of the development of Big Business we still have the one-man newspapers in the small towns. The owner of one of these is reporter, editor, typesetter, printer, and even distributor of the couple of hundred copies that come weekly from his press. Our papers with the widest influence, however, are the huge syndicated dailies of the large cities, each using tens of thousands of tons of paper yearly, employing hundreds of people, and printing millions of pages daily.

While these stirring developments were taking place, what was happening in the field of magazines?

II. A BRIEF STORY OF THE MAGAZINE IN AMERICA

The first American magazines

Settlement in America was more than a century old before the first American magazine was established. Indeed, not for 50 years after the publication of the first newspaper did an American printer attempt to publish a magazine.

It is not difficult to understand the factors which caused this delay. The cost of printing presses, of paper, and of distribution was so great that no one was willing to risk it. The subscription prices of magazines were made so high that few people could afford to buy them. Magazines were luxuries; they were for entertainment rather than for reporting the news. In addition, there were almost no authors in America who could produce articles, poems, or stories. Persons of wealth, therefore, subscribed to British publications. It was not until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century that the colonists produced a magazine of their own.

In 1741, however, Andrew Bradford published *The American, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies*, and Benjamin Franklin issued *The General Magazine or Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America*. Both magazines were short-lived. The former ran three issues; the latter, six.

During the next half century more than 40 magazines were launched. Most of them lasted only a year or two, some only for a few issues. Four of them, however, achieved real success. The first was the *Columbian Magazine*, a periodical which owed its popularity to the fiction which it published. The second was the *New York Magazine*, containing biography, essays, verse, stories, and articles on the theater and travel. The other two successful magazines were Mathew Carey's *American Museum* and the *Massachusetts Magazine*.

Even these four magazines, however, were handicapped by lack of interesting material, and their circulations never became large. Much of their content was borrowed from English sources. Many articles dealt with religion or politics and were long and dull. The aims of the editors were more often to instruct than to entertain. Note in the following quotation the kind of material which the *New England Magazine* of 1758 claimed to contain:

CONTAINING AND TO CONTAIN

Old-fashioned writings and Select Essays,
Queer Notions, Useful Hints, Extracts from Plays;
Relations Wonderful and Psalm and Song,
Good Sense, Wit, Humour, Morals, all ding dong;
Poems and Speeches, Politicks, and News,
What *Some* will like and other *Some* refuse;
Births, Deaths, and Dreams, and Apparitions, Too;
With Some Thing suited to each different Geu [taste]
To Humour *Him*, and *Her*, and *Me*, and *You*.[1]

It must be remembered that although the early magazines were lacking in interesting qualities, they included practically all the worth-while literature written in America at the time.

Then between 1800 and 1825 many new magazines appeared

After the American Revolution, as towns and cities grew, a widespread demand was heard for American magazines. Original native writers were beginning to appear in the Eastern states. People began to depend less upon British literature. As the following verse from a newspaper of that time shows, nearly every town of any size in the country tried to publish a magazine.

This is the Age of Magazines—
  Even skeptics must confess it:
Where is the town of much renown
  That has not one to bless it?

. . . .

Museums, Mirrors, Monthlys—strike
  Our view in crowds and dozens:
And so much do they look alike
  We see they all are cousins.

Their phizzes seem so thin and wan,
  So hopeless their conditions,
They all must go to shades below
  In spite of their physicians.[2]

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[1] Algernon de Vivier Tassin, *The Magazine in America*, p. 2. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1915.

[2] Quoted from the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, 1824, in Frank Luther Mott's *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1850* (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1930), p. 126.

Many of these magazines met the same fate as the earlier ones. As a matter of fact they were so uninteresting that it is little wonder that they all went "to shades below." The articles were heavy and the writing so flowery that, finally, one editor advertised for "a few sensible correspondents who will be willing to clothe their ideas in plain prose." In spite of their weaknesses however, a few of these magazines lived. For example, the *Port Folio*, one of the literary periodicals, ran for 26 years. It was "not quite a Gazette [newspaper], nor altogether a Magazine," for it contained "something of politics to interest Quidnuncs [busybodies] and something of literature to engage students."

Some of the magazines launched during that period have lived even to the present day. *The North American Review* was started in 1815, and *The Saturday Evening Post* was established in 1821.[1]

The golden age of periodicals, 1825–1850

Then came the period of even more rapid establishment of magazines. Women's magazines appeared and lower-priced literary weeklies became popular. Successful periodicals appeared in various parts of the country. *The Southern Literary Messenger*, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Knickerbocker*, *Graham's Magazine*, and others increased their circulation because they aimed to entertain rather than to instruct.

This was the period, also, in which America produced its first group of really creative writers. In the magazines of those days appeared poetry, stories, and essays by persons well known in the history of American literature—James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, and John Greenleaf Whittier, to name only a few.

One of the most popular magazines was the famous *Godey's Lady's Book*, which reached a circulation of 150,000 just before the Civil War. This woman's magazine boasted that it brought unmixed "pleasure to the female mind." It carried love stories, and its fashion articles and illustrations appealed to the women of that day.

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[1] *The Saturday Evening Post* dates its establishment as 1728. This is an attempt to show a connection between this magazine and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a newspaper established in 1728 and taken over by Benjamin Franklin in 1729.

After the Civil War, magazines, like everything else in America, became "bigger and better." New ones were established to rival the old ones. It was in this period that *Harper's Magazine*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's Magazine*, the *Century*, and *The Forum* grew up as rivals to *The North American Review*. Articles and other materials that went into them improved as well-known authors were attracted to write for them. Steadily circulations increased, and with the growth of circulations advertisements came to occupy more and more space in them.

New developments in magazine-publishing after 1900

The New Industrial Revolution worked its effects on magazines as on everything else in American life. Remarkable improvements in methods of photography, printing, and papermaking drastically changed the appearance and attractiveness of the magazines.

Then the development of nation-wide advertising campaigns produced vast incomes which made it possible to sell magazines for fifteen cents, ten cents, even five cents—as in the case of *Life*, *Time*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *Liberty*. So great was the income from advertising that in some cases the selling price of the magazine did not need to cover even the cost of the paper upon which the magazine was printed.

The character of the magazines also began to change. In the early 1900's Samuel S. McClure started an avalanche of "literature of exposure" when he published Ida M. Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" in *McClure's Magazine*. Soon after this, a series of articles on "The Shame of the Cities," "The Railroads on Trial," and similar topics appeared, exposing to public opinion the evils of Big Business and its ally, politics. Circulations increased by leaps and bounds as people rushed to read these sensational stories.

McClure's success aroused other publishers, and soon there was a group of a half-dozen similar periodicals. At the same time came *Munsey's Magazine*, *The Cosmopolitan*, and other low-priced entertainment periodicals.

Finley Peter Dunne, a newspaper humorist who created the character "Mr. Dooley," has compared the older magazines with the new ones. Mr. Dooley, in one of his conversations, said:

The magazines in thim days was very ca'ming to the mind. Angabel an' Alfonso dashin' f'r a marriage licence. Prom'nent lady authoresses makin' pomes at the moon. Now an' thin a scrap over whether Shakespear was entered in his own name or was a ringer. . . . But no wan hurt. Th' idee ye got fr'm these here publications was that life was wan glad sweet song. They were good readin'. . . .

But now whin I pick up me fav-rite magazine off th' flure, what do I find? Ivrything has gone wrong. Th' wurruld is little betther thin a convict's camp. . . . Graft ivrywhere. "Graft in th' Insurance Comp'nies," "Graft in Congress." . . . "Graft in Its Relation to th' Higher Life."[1]

More recent developments

By 1915, however, the magazines of exposure had raised their prices and changed their appeal. The people had ceased to cheer so loudly for the literary crusaders. *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's* dropped their lances and aimed to reach the growing army of businessmen with entertainment and practical instruction. *The American Magazine* specialized in the biographies of successful men, and *Everybody's* and *McClure's* joined the fiction class.

Home magazines, like the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and the *Woman's Home Companion*, became more numerous and more popular. The more conservative magazines gave most of their pages to lively short essays, stories, and articles. Fiction magazines began to specialize in particular kinds of stories. One published detective stories only, another love stories. Still others printed Wild West stories, ghost stories, murder stories, railroad stories, aviation stories.

A still more recent development is the magazine which gives news and entertainment almost entirely through photographs. *Life* and *Look* are examples of this type.

Big Business has entered the magazine field as it has entered the field of newspapers. Today magazines are controlled by corporations. Some publishers print a half dozen or more magazines. For example, one large magazine corporation publishes fifteen magazines; another publishes nine fiction magazines. And just as competing newspapers bought up other newspapers or combined

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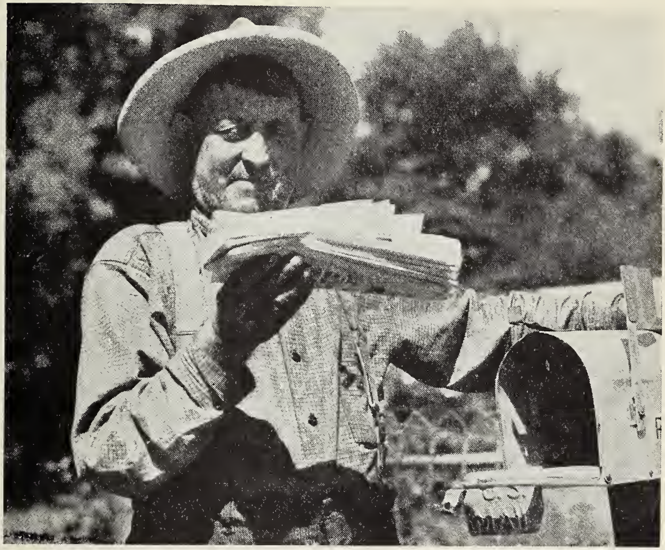
[1] Quoted in Mark Sullivan's *Our Times* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1930), Vol. III, p. 87.



Keystone

FIG. 199. Rural Free Delivery brings the daily paper and the magazine to farmers and others who live far from the city

with them, so magazines have bought up and combined with others, too.

Stop and study the next large magazine stand you pass. Note the great variety which is displayed. You will find magazines that appeal to every mood, to every taste, every class, and every interest. Five-cent weekly magazines, fifteen-cent semimonthly magazines, twenty-five-cent to fifty-cent monthly magazines—magazines of too many different prices and types to describe. Some are written to encourage serious thinking; others are written frankly and solely to entertain. Remember, also, that there are hundreds of magazines published in the United States which never reach the stands. This industry, only about 200 years old, is a great and flourishing one.

You have the story before you of newspapers and magazines. Is the story of books like that of the other two? Let us see.

III. THE STORY OF BOOKS IN AMERICA

During the first half century of colonial life there was almost no printing of books in America. Books, indeed, were few and far between in the colonies, and many of these were printed in England and shipped across the ocean. Such books as were published would be regarded today as a very curious collection. For example, one morning in May, 1684, John Usher, in his little Boston bookshop, opened a box of books that had just arrived from Chiswell, the London bookseller. In the box were

> two Bibles, thirty Greek grammars, three copies of *Byhner on the Psalms* . . . ten copies of *Flavel on the Sacrament*, ten copies of *Cattechise*, two copies of the *Cambridge Concordance*, two of Sellers' *Practice of Navigation*, two of Wilson's *Christian Dictionary*, five of Clark's *Tutor*, four of Burroughs' *Gospel Remission*, and four of the *State of England* in two Volumes.[1]

Here were religious books, textbooks, books on navigation, and on the history of England. How different from the shelves of American bookshops today with their brightly jacketed volumes of fiction, biography, and autobiography; descriptions of changing civilizations in remote corners of the globe; poetry; plays. Books on every conceivable subject and for every individual taste!

Even as late as 1784 books were mainly imported from abroad. There was some printing done by Americans, however, and in the earliest years we find the volumes written by Bradford, Winthrop, Sewall, Mather, and Edwards being printed in the colonial printing shops.

Later there was the reprinting of such British books as were popular on this side of the water—for example, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, *Paradise Lost*, and the plays of Shakespeare. There were few American authors like the authors of these books; the books written by Americans were for the most part religious or political. Just previous to the Revolution and for a few years afterward the American printers were busy turning out the political writings of such patriots as Woolman, Paine, Jefferson, Franklin, and Hamilton, all of whom had a tremendous influence on public opinion.

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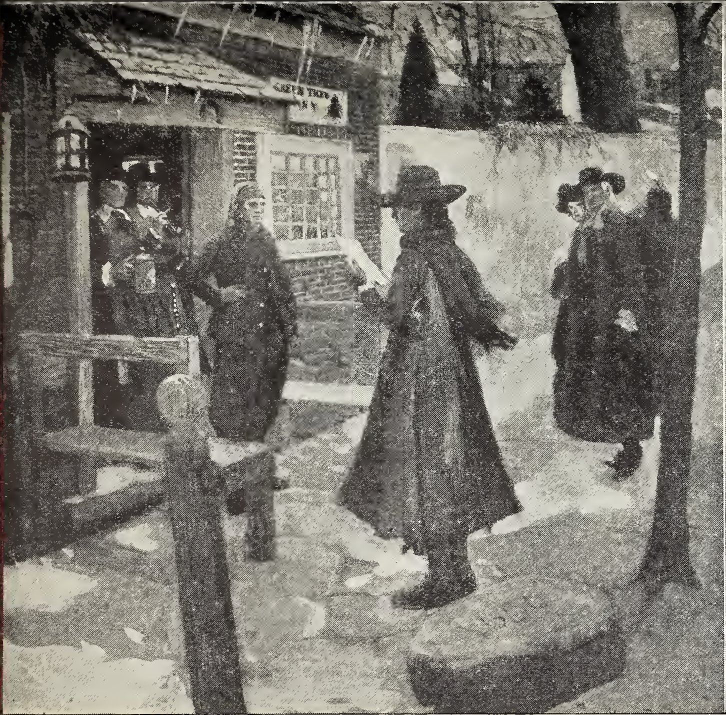
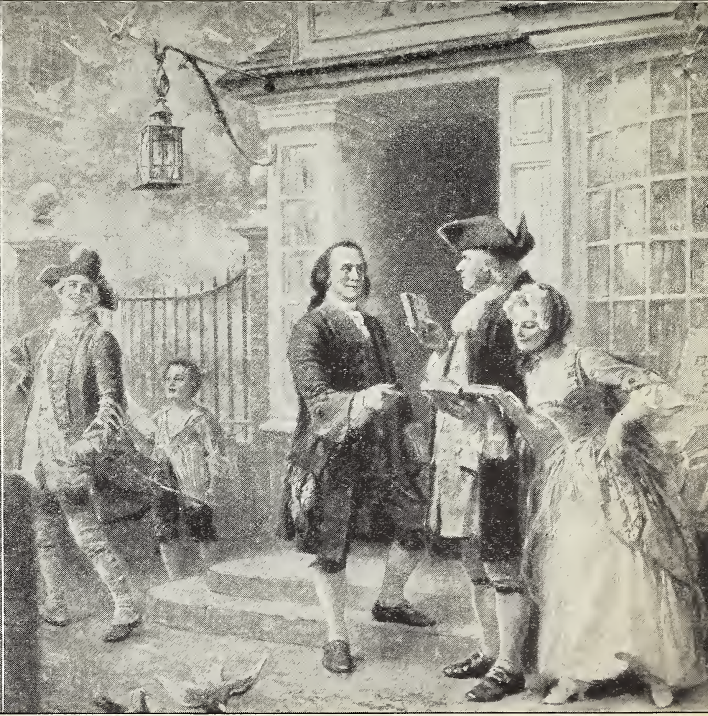
[1] Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607–1690*, p. 241. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers, New York, 1927.



Stanley M. Arthurs

Fig. 200. Before newspapers were common, the bellman went from door to door reading the important news of the colonies and the proclamations of the kings and governors



© J. L. G. Ferris

Fig. 201 Benjamin Franklin showing possible customers some of the books he had printed

HOW AMERICAN LITERATURE DEVELOPED

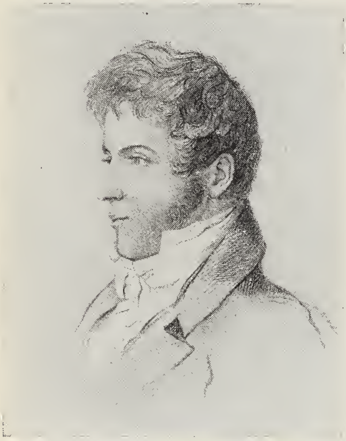


FIG. 202. Washington Irving

As the new nation settled down to its first half century of economic and political development, a more permanent national literature began to grow up. American writers of fiction, essays, and poetry appeared whose works were published in book form. There was, for example, Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), who wrote the novels *Wieland* and *Arthur Mervyn*, stories of mystery, filled with dungeons, ghosts, and other horrors. There was Washington Irving, gentleman of leisure and of wide European travel, who wrote his famous *Knickerbocker's History of New York* and the stories and essays of *The Sketch Book*. So highly are these regarded that even today every school includes *The Sketch Book* in its reading curriculum. The new frontier life that was developing in and beyond the Appalachians was described in such books as *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Deerslayer*, *The Prairie*, and *The Pioneer*, by James Fenimore Cooper. Not only were these books popular in America; they were translated into several European languages and read widely among the people of western Europe.

Then, after the thirties and forties, came the essays and poetry of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and James Russell Lowell. The poetry of Walt Whitman, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and John Greenleaf Whittier appeared and the prose (which was almost poetry) of Henry Thoreau. All but Whitman were natives of New England. In New York William Cullen Bryant was editing the New York *Evening Post* and writing the verse which was afterward to be published in book form. In other cities along the Atlantic seaboard Edgar Allan Poe was editing one paper after another and at the same time pouring forth the short stories and verse that were to make him famous.

The printing of books by American authors was developing slowly during this period. Even by 1820 nearly three fourths of all the titles published here were reprints of the works of foreign authors. From that time, however, the number of American authors grew rapidly. By 1853 one American publishing house had issued 722 books by American authors and 827 reprints of foreign authors. Within the next few years the printing of American books increased more rapidly. By 1856 it was estimated that 80 per cent of the books coming from American presses were written by authors living in the United States.

There were several important factors which helped to increase American publication of American writings. More and more people were learning to read. Schools were spreading in the cities and towns, and hundreds of thousands of young children were entering them. Tens of thousands of young people were going to the new high schools and the older academies. Even among the rank and file of the people, by the middle of the century there was a growing demand for more books and for cheaper books.

The dime novel launched cheaper books

In 1860 a novel of 30,000 words was published by I. P. Beadle and Company for ten cents. It was called *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of a White Hunter*, and was written by Ann S. Stephens. Hundreds upon hundreds of copies were bought at the book stores by the reading public. Soon it was followed by such other dime thrillers as *Old Grizzly, the Bear-Tamer*; *The Phantom Hand, or The Heiress of Fifth Avenue*; *Roaring Ralph Rockwood, the Reckless Ranger*; *Black Beard, the Buccaneer, or The Curse of the Coast.* Ten thousand copies of some were sold in a week; other first editions ran to 60,000 copies. Some novels went through ten or twelve editions.

During the Civil War the sales mounted into millions. Here was cheap literature to entertain the soldiers on the battle fronts. Here were adventure and romance for travelers on the railroads, hunters in camps, sailors on the sea, and the youth of cities and towns.

The dime novels had never been of literary quality, but as their popularity grew they became of even poorer merit. Critics of the literature then being written by the New England and other writers denounced the dime novels as vulgar and sensational. Nevertheless they occupied an important place in the history of American book-making for many years after the middle of the nineteenth century.

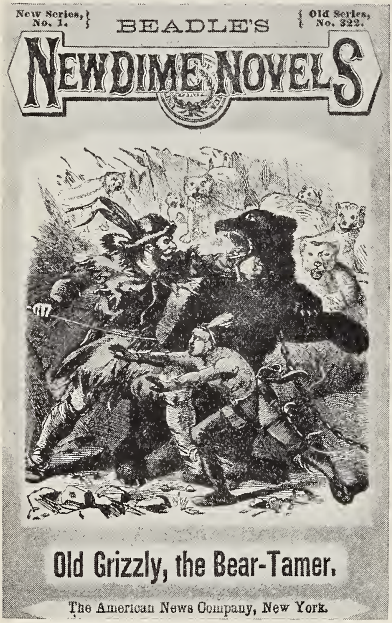

New Series, No. 1.
BEADLE'S
Old Series, No. 322.
NEW DIME NOVELS
Old Grizzly, the Bear-Tamer.
The American News Company, New York.

Fig. 203.[2] The cover of one of the early dime novels

Owing to the growing number of books that were being printed, competition among book-publishers increased in the 1870's and 1880's. Not only did they become rivals in securing new American manuscripts; they also reprinted foreign works, often without the permission of foreign authors and publishers.[1]

It was in these years also that publishers developed the idea of selling books through the book agent. These agents went from house to house, selling the books which their firms published. Through this house-to-house calling, enormous sales of many new volumes were built up throughout the country. For example, 250,000 copies of Horace Greeley's *American Conflict* and 650,000 of Grant's *Memoirs* were sold, as well as 800,000 copies of *The Royal Path of Life.*

Crusading literature enters the field of books

In the story of the development of magazines you will recall that in the early 1900's articles appeared exposing the practices of Big Business and politics. Not long afterward books too began to appear

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[1] This practice, which still prevails in many European and Asiatic countries, was controlled to some extent in the United States after 1890 by the passing of more effective copyright laws.

[2] From the collection of Western Americana of Dr. Frank P. O'Brien, New York.

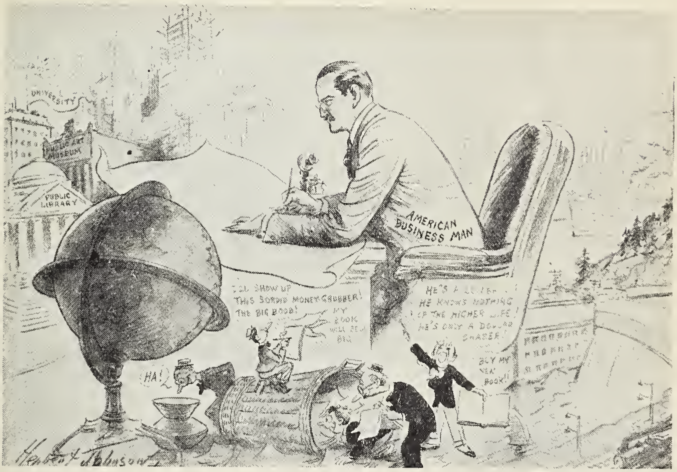

UNIVERSITY
PUBLIC ART MUSEUM
PUBLIC LIBRARY
AMERICAN BUSINESS MAN
I'LL SHOW UP THIS SORDID MONEY GRUBBER! THE BIG BOOB!
MY BOOK WILL BE BIG
HE'S A [illegible] HE KNOWS NOTHING OF THE HIGHER LIFE! HE'S ONLY A DOLLAR CHASER!
BUY MY NEW BOOK!
HA!
Herbert Johnson

Fig. 204.[1] Cartoons like this probably helped to decrease the public interest in books intended to expose public evils

which reflected the same change in literature. One of the first of these was *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair. It portrayed the working and living conditions of immigrants in the employ of the great meat-packing companies of Chicago. Although written as a novel, it created a nation-wide demand to know the conditions under which meat was being prepared. The effect of the book upon the American public is suggested by Mr. Dooley's comments: "Dear, O dear, [says Mr. Dooley,] I haven't been able to ate annything more nourishin' thin a cucumber in a week. . . . A little while ago no wan cud square away a beefsteak with better grace thin meself. . . . If you want to rayjooce ye're butcher's bills, buy *The Jungle*."[2] As a result of the conditions which were disclosed by *The Jungle* and other investigations we have many of our pure-food laws today.

Other books exposing other evils followed. For example, Paul Leicester Ford's *The Honorable Peter Sterling* pictured the evils of boss-controlled cities. Thomas Lawson wrote *Frenzied Finance*, exposing the evils of gambling in the stock market. Frank Norris, in *The Octopus*, directed his attacks at the evils of the railroads. Evils in politics, business, and industry were brought into the open by a host of authors, and their books became the "best sellers" of their day. None of them, however, created such a nation-wide sensation as did *The Jungle*; none resulted directly in correcting any important evils or abuses. Enthusiasm for reform began to wane, and the public turned to a more cheerful kind of literature.

---

[1] Cartoon by Herbert Johnson in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Copyright by Curtis Publishing Company. Reproduced by special permission.

[2] Quoted in Peter Odegard's *American Public Mind* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1930), p. 243.

Recent changes in the content of books

By 1913 crusading and muckraking were almost forgotten, and literature began to deal more and more with less depressing, more cheerful, subjects. The cheerful "happy ending" kind of story reached its height in the Pollyanna books. But by 1928 many novelists were turning again to problems, this time of cultural rather than of political or economic interest. This trend toward problem novels has lasted up to the present time. Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, and others still write in that vein.

In addition to problem literature, other kinds of books, less important but greater in number, have appeared. There are pouring from our presses today countless numbers of mystery, murder, and detective stories—dime novels in modern dress.

In recent years, however, more serious literature has competed with fiction for the place of best seller. Hendrik W. Van Loon's *The Arts*, Victor Heiser's *An American Doctor's Odyssey*, Lancelot Hogben's *Mathematics for the Million*, Van Wyck Brooks's *The Flowering of New England*, Charles and Mary Beard's *America in Midpassage*, and the *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* are examples of books which have attained sales as high as those of popular fiction.

Book clubs

In the cities the house-to-house book agent has almost disappeared. This idea of increasing the sale of books has been replaced by another plan—the book club. In America Samuel Craig planned the first book club in 1924. In April, 1926, the Book of the Month Club sent out its first selection. Other clubs sprang up soon after—the Literary Guild of America, the Junior Literary Guild of America, the Book League of America, and others. Through the book clubs a book selected by leading critics and writers is delivered to one's home each month. By assuring the sale of books before publication these clubs have been able to decrease the price of books to their members, and many private libraries grow with a regularity which has never been known before.

Today there are books coming from the press on every imaginable subject: education, politics, business, science, etiquette, sports, philosophy, religion, art, criticism, the radio, the "movies," even books on books. There are dozens of new novels printed every month and many books of plays, poetry, and essays.

In 1900, in the United States alone, 6356 new titles appeared. In 1929 the reading public had 8324 new titles from which to select and 1845 reprints of old books. And in that year a total of nearly 392,000,000 volumes were printed. In 1937 American publishers brought out 9273 new books and 1639 new editions of old books.

This must conclude our brief study of the rise of newspapers, magazines, and books in the United States. It is clear that these developed only through hard struggles and many setbacks. They grew only as fast as improvements made possible better and cheaper methods of printing, and only as fast as the reading public grew.

As a result of improved methods of printing and of popular education, however, millions of newspapers, millions of magazines, and millions of books now come from our presses. The sheer number seems staggering. But divided among a population of 130,000,000 people, what do they mean? To what extent do the American people actually read? What do they read? Such questions will be the subject of the next chapter.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed at the close of Chapter XX.

Chapter XX · What the American People Read

★

"D'ye think people like th' newspaper iv th' presint time?" asked Mr. Hennessy.

"D'ye think they're printed f'r fun?" asked Mr. Dooley.

And Mr. Dooley expected no answer. Both he and Mr. Hennessy knew that newspapers are not printed for fun. Newspaper-publishing is a business, and newspapers are printed for profit. What they contain is essentially what the publishers think the American people want.

What do Americans want of their newspapers? They want news. They want to be entertained. They want their curiosity satisfied. They want excitement, thrills. In short, they want reading matter suited to their different tastes.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH AMERICANS READ

Today most of the people of America are able to read. And compared with conditions of a century or even a half century ago, the amount of reading material that Americans now have at hand is enormous. Table XXXII, for example, shows the number of magazines and books printed in 1938, and the circulation of newspapers in 1939. Americans do, indeed, live in a world of print.

TABLE XXXII

Approximate Number of Newspapers, Magazines, and Books Printed in a Recent Year

Newspapers (1939)	
Daily	40,600,000
Sunday	31,750,000
Magazines (1938)	
Per issue	162,000,000
Books (1938)	221,000,000

Certainly the habit of reading newspapers has changed greatly since the early 1700's, when tavern signs read: "Persons learning to read will please use last week's *Gazette*."

Let us see what kinds of reading the American does.

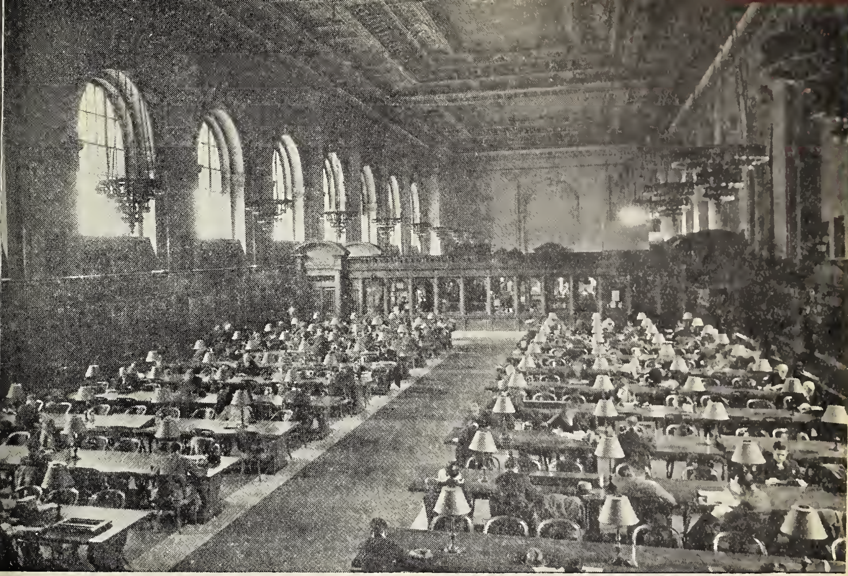
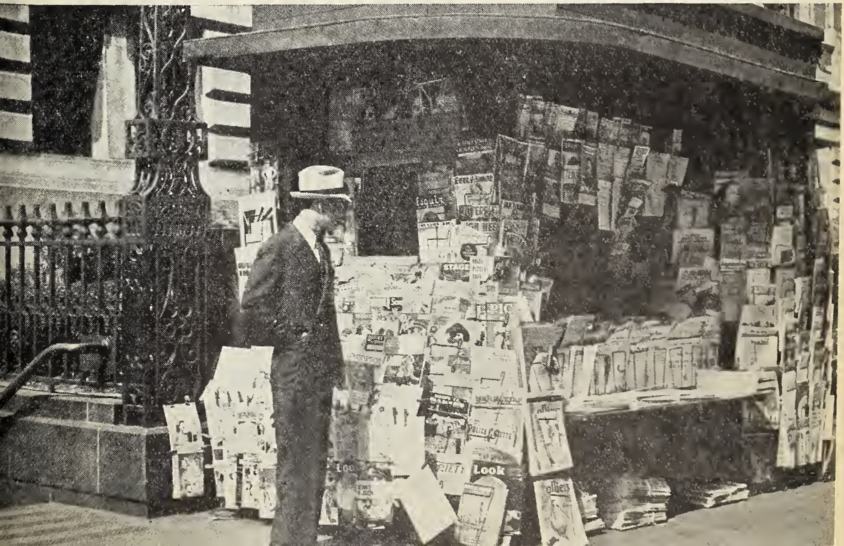


Fig. 205. Only in the United States are there such reading rooms as this, supplying free literature to the masses of the people. Part of the main reading room in the New York City Public Library

* * *

Fig. 206. Newspapers and magazines can be bought at any one of hundreds of stands like this in any city



Ewing Galloway

I. THE READING OF NEWSPAPERS IN CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES

Table XXXIII gives the number and circulation of morning, evening, and Sunday papers in the United States during 1939.

TABLE XXXIII

Number and Circulation of Daily and Sunday Newspapers in the United States, 1939

Morning daily papers . . .	444
Evening daily papers . . .	1,583
Sunday papers	593
Average morning circulation	15,925,200
Average evening circulation	24,753,900
Average Sunday circulation .	31,750,000

In round numbers there are almost as many evening newspapers and about as many Sunday newspapers sold as there are families in the United States. This does not mean, of course, that every family takes a newspaper. Some families take none, and others take two or more. Individuals, especially in our larger cities and towns, buy different papers on their way to and from work. Many of these newspapers never enter the home. Nevertheless the great majority of American families have newspapers in their homes every day.

We cannot conclude, however, from Table XXXIII that the reading of newspapers is equally common all over the country—that in the medium-sized towns, small towns, and rural villages newspapers are read as frequently as in the cities. Figures are at hand, however, which will help us to see how much newspaper-reading goes on in the typical middle-sized city. In "Middletown," in 1935, for example, about 9500 copies of the local morning papers were distributed daily to the 12,500 families of the city. Thus more than three fourths of the homes received a morning paper. In addition, about 9000 evening papers were distributed to the homes.

But the local papers were not the only ones read. A large number of near-by city newspapers were read in "Middletown" every day. Most of these metropolitan papers were read by the business-class and professional-class families. Over 2900 copies of the Sunday editions of six leading out-of-town papers were read by the people of "Middletown" every week.

The situation in "Middletown" is fairly typical of what is happening all over the country. In every section of the United States, newspapers of the large cities of the surrounding region are delivered daily and on Sundays to families in the small and medium-sized towns. Even in the little villages a few people take metropolitan dailies, such as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *New York Evening Post*, the *New York World-Telegram*, or the *New York Times*.

We do not have figures for the entire country which show the difference between newspaper circulation in cities and in rural districts and villages. But Table XXXIV gives the facts for about half the newspapers published in the United States in 1930.

TABLE XXXIV[1]

City, Suburban, and Other Circulations of 937 Dailies and Sunday Papers in 1930

Dailies	*Morning*	*Evening*
City circulation . .	7,564,000	14,226,000
Suburban circulation	3,079,000	4,426,000
All other circulation	3,000,000	2,400,000

Sunday Papers	
City circulation . .	12,000,000
Suburban circulation	5,225,000
All other circulation	7,500,000

One conclusion can still be drawn—namely, that many more newspapers are read in cities and suburbs of cities than in towns, villages, and rural districts. Although not more than 55 per cent of the people live in communities with populations over 2500, fully three quarters of the papers are read in such communities.

II. THE READING OF MAGAZINES

Complete figures are not available for magazines as they are for newspapers. Some magazines were weeklies; others were published twice a month or every month. Even supposing that they were all monthly magazines, the total of 162,000,000 for 1939 would average more than one magazine every month to every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Like the newspapers, magazines are sometimes bought and read by only one person. Others are bought and read by several members of a family, and some are even passed on to people outside the family group. Some families read no magazines whatever, while others subscribe for a half dozen. You see how difficult it is to discover *exactly* how much magazine-reading is done by the American people. One fact is clear, however, that each month the amount is large.

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[1] From *Editor and Publisher*, January 31, 1931.

TABLE XXXV

The Average Circulation per Issue of Some of the Leading Magazines

Saturday Evening Post	3,095,355
Ladies' Home Journal	3,044,549
Woman's Home Companion	3,032,449
Pictorial Review	2,862,597
McCall's Magazine	2,822,001
Collier's	2,624,632
Liberty	2,386,845
Good Housekeeping	2,205,459
American Magazine	2,175,666
True-Story Magazine	2,159,237
Life	1,891,789
Cosmopolitan	1,819,714
Look	1,591,628
Click	1,179,746
Redbook	1,164,325
True Confessions	1,088,999

So widespread has the reading of light magazines become that today there are ten magazines that have a monthly or weekly circulation of more than 2,000,000. One of them, *The Saturday Evening Post*, now distributes more than 3,000,000 copies each week. In addition, the Street-and-Smith combination of thrillers—*Far West*, *Complete Story Magazine*, *Detective Story*, *Love Story*, *Sport Story*, *Popular*, *Top Notch*, *Sea Stories*, and *Western Story Magazine*—now averages almost 1,000,000 each issue. *True Detective Mysteries* circulates nearly 350,000 and *Photoplay* more than 450,000.

In sharp contrast to the tremendous circulations of magazines publishing fiction, mystery, detective stories, and other human-interest material are the small circulations of the so-called "quality" magazines, like the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Magazine*, the *Forum*, and the *American Mercury*. As Table XXXVI shows, less than one tenth of 1 per cent of the American people subscribe for any one of these!

What explains the difference in the circulation shown in Tables XXXV and XXXVI? The answer is, The kind of reading matter in the two kinds of magazines! The magazines with large circulations are filled with human-interest material—sensational narratives and descriptions of unusual events, stories of prominent persons, mystery and detective stories, adventure thrillers, accounts of scandals, of achievements (success stories), of interesting personalities in the theater, in business, and in sports. The magazines with small circulations publish stories and articles of a more serious nature — those dealing with political, economic, and social problems, and criticisms of American life. Whereas the large-circulation magazines are "journals of entertainment," those with small circulations are generally "journals of opinion." Hence, while the former appeal to millions of our people, the latter attract only a few thousand thoughtful readers.

TABLE XXXVI

Average Circulation per Issue of Several "Quality" Magazines and Journals of Opinion

Atlantic Monthly	107,832
Harper's Magazine	101,260
American Mercury	61,446
The Forum	50,094
The Nation	37,904
New Republic	27,140
The Survey	22,405

Thus we see that the magazines as well as the newspapers which Americans read tell us much about the culture of our people.

Other interesting facts have been gathered on the reading habits of Americans. The following magazines seem best to satisfy the entire reading public: *Life*, *Liberty*, *Collier's*, *Time*, *Reader's Digest*, *American Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *National Geographic Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan*. A considerable number of men also read scientific and technical journals.

The women prefer *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, *American Magazine*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Saturday Evening Post*. A large number of women also read religious periodicals.

The boys like best *American Boy*, *American Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Boys' Life*, *National Geographic Magazine*.

Girls like best *Child Life*, *American Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Cosmopolitan*.

Thus it is plain that most Americans prefer the lighter type of magazine to the more serious or intellectual journal.

III. THE READING OF BOOKS

There were about 221,000,000 books printed in 1938. This seems a large number. But in a population of 130,000,000 it means an average of less than two books per person each year.

Several investigations have been made to discover how much the

American people read. In one study of 900 *well-educated* adults it was found that more than 90 per cent read newspapers; 75 per cent read magazines; and 50 per cent read books. But we cannot infer from these figures that half the number of Americans read books, for few Americans are as well educated as those questioned in the investigation.

Lack of education does not fully account, however, for the fact that Americans read so few books. Most people are so busy that they do not have time to read books. One young lawyer, for instance, when asked when he got time to read, answered:

> I don't—much. It's next to impossible to get any regular reading done. We know an awful lot of people and at least two or three evenings every week go out with them. Now, Monday evening we went over to a little club we belong to where we play cards every week. Tuesday we went to that lecture for the benefit of the Day Nursery, Wednesday I forget what we did, but we went somewhere or other—and so the week goes.[1]

And so the week "goes," for a great many Americans.

Of course, much more reading is done by the American people than is suggested by the number of books printed. Unlike newspapers and magazines, most books are preserved, even passed on from person to person. Indeed, many homes have books that are ten, twenty, fifty, even a hundred or more years old.

Scattered throughout the country are public libraries from which millions of our population borrow books each year. These vary from a large city library like that of New York City with its 3,800,000 volumes and staff of nearly 700 people to tiny libraries containing a few hundred books occupying part of a drugstore or general store.

Even the rural communities and districts are being given the chance to read library books in many states. "Traveling libraries" are sent out from the state capital, the state university, or some other central place. The books are kept for a few weeks or months in one rural district and then are sent to another. Some counties have a central library from which they send out books each week in trucks.

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[1] Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

Wherever the library, the story is about the same. Six or seven books in every ten borrowed are fiction. Like those who *buy* books, those who *borrow* them read largely for entertainment. One city librarian, however, comments on the fact that less serious reading seems to be done by the business and professional classes than by the working people. He believes that the recent increase in adult education is responsible for the increase in serious reading among workers.

Thus we see that although Americans read more books and more good books than they did several years ago, students of the people's reading contend that we are not as yet a book-reading nation.

With this brief introduction to the problem of what the American people read, let us study more carefully the newspapers of today.

NEWSPAPERS AND WHAT THEY PRINT

What is news?

We said in the previous chapter that people want news in their papers. But what *is* news? There are many definitions of the term, but all of them agree on one thing—that news is whatever interests people and causes them to read. It may be an event that happened today or one that occurred 2000 years ago. It may have happened to one man or to 10,000. But it is news if it is interesting.

A newspaperman once said: "If a dog should bite a man, that isn't news; but if a man should bite a dog, *that's* news." Thus we see that news is often what is unusual. This is true of such happenings as murders, robberies, sensational accidents, new records in athletics, race riots, strikes, startling inventions and discoveries. Anything that can be printed of kings, princes, presidents, millionaires, and leaders in art, science, or business is also news.

In the long run, newspapermen regard as news anything that will attract readers and sell papers.

What news do people like most to read today?

As we said before, newspapers are written to give people the news they want or what the editors think they want. A large city newspaper, belonging to a national chain, recently sent to all its news-gathering staff a report concerning what its readers are interested in. The report stated that they are most interested in stories of "self-preservation." Under this heading would come murder and suicide stories, descriptions of rescues, accidents, fights, and the like. A sensational murder case is considered to be "the perfect newspaper story." Readers are interested in "love"—stories of marriages, divorces, engagements, quarrels resulting from jealousy, and the like. They also want to read "success" stories and articles. The average person, it was reported, cares little about reading items concerning tax rates, budgets, insurance, government appropriations, or any number of other subjects which to them appear to be unimportant.

Karl A. Bickel, when president of the United Press Association, told what he believed people like to read. This statement is probably as accurate today as when he made it.

> You like to read, first, about yourself; second, about the people you know; and third, about the things you have seen. Years ago when I was city editor of a paper in Davenport, a story went the rounds concerning a new reporter on a German daily. A fire broke out late at night in a German church and he was sent to get the story. After a time he returned, settled himself beside the cast-iron stove in the office, and calmly lighted his pipe.
>
> "Did the church burn up?" asked the city editor.
>
> "Sure it burned up," the reporter replied.
>
> "Well, where is the story?"
>
> "Vat's the use of wriding a story?" the young man responded. "All the good Chermans was there and the bad Chermans don't care."
>
> He showed very bad news sense. The very first thing the good Germans would want to read the next morning would be the paper's account of the fire. It could not possibly be too detailed to suit them. Father, who was there and saw it all, would explain to Mother, who was also there and saw it all, just what occurred, and wherein the printed account was wrong. And in that respect you and I are just like Father.[1]

CHANGES IN THE CONTENT OF THE NEWSPAPER IN 60 YEARS

As you learned in Chapter XIX, newspapers have changed in size, in circulations, and in business value. They have changed in other ways also. The space devoted to news has declined. Within the past 60 years it has dropped from about half to about one quarter of the content of the entire newspaper.

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[1] Bruce Barton, "Things that interest you most in your Newspapers," *American Magazine*, July, 1923, p. 178.

"News" includes war news, foreign news, political news, news of crime and vice, business news, sporting news, society news, and other kinds, such as church meetings, weddings, funerals, and the like.

1. The increasing popularity of sport news

Note in Table XXXVII that there was a great change in the kinds of news printed between 1875 and as long ago as 1925.

Within these years news of sport and crime has increased and business news has decreased. In 1875 less than 2 per cent of all the news dealt with sport. In 1925 more than 25 per cent of the news printed dealt with sport. In the same period the proportion of news space devoted to crime more than doubled. And the trend continues to the present day.

TABLE XXXVII[1]

Change in Kinds of News Printed, 1875 and 1925

	1875	1925
	Per cent	*Per cent*
Sport	1.7	25.4
Business	26.9	20.0
Crime	4.9	10.7

Why do you think there has been such a great increase in material devoted to sport? There are several reasons. An important one is the great growth of interest in competitive games of all kinds—baseball, football, golf, "track," hockey, tennis, and boxing.

Probably the most interesting thing about modern sport is the element of competition, of conflict. "Athletics," says one writer, "is a kind of make-believe war." Sport writers use a colorful and exciting language. (Someone has called it "Slanguage" because of the frequent use of slang.) The articles abound in such terms as "defense," "knocked out," "opposing camp," "hostilities." These stories arouse intense emotions—loyalty to favorite teams or favorite players, anger at opposing ones, and fear of defeat. Accounts appear daily, reporting the condition of the players, the discovery of new talented players, preparations for oncoming "battles." Businessmen offer financial rewards to prize-fighters who will fight in their cities. Citizens raise funds for the support

[1] Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 211. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1927.

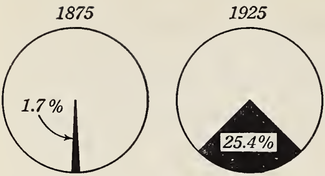

FIG. 207. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to sports, 1875 and 1925

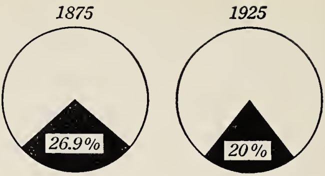

FIG. 208. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to business news, 1875 and 1925

of baseball, football, basketball, and hockey teams. Great civic pride is developed in the success of the team.

Thus we see that the newspapers print what the citizens want, and it is clear that they want news of sport.

2. The increase of "features" in the newspapers

There has been a marked increase in the space devoted to "features." By "features" is meant, for example, regular departments of "Questions and Answers," "Beauty Hints," "Household Helps," daily food news, and other aids for women; discussions of books, music, art, and special stories of various kinds; "columns," cartoons, comic strips, "Bedtime Stories" for children; puzzles, radio programs, and the like.

The kinds of features in our newspapers have changed also within the past 65 years. Many of the features of newspapers in 1875 would not be popular at all today. At that time, features had little or no relation to the news. They were usually weird, fantastic, or horror stories. Sometimes they were merely descriptions of curious happenings. For the most part, they were what we might call an "almanac" of unusual events. About 1890 features began to be more related to the day's interesting or timely news reports. Pen-and-ink drawings and photographs were added. Today most features and illustrations are actually based on news items, and they are probably read just as much.

3. Cartoons and comic strips

Two kinds of features hold an important place in our newspapers today. They are both picture features. One, the cartoon, is intended to affect public opinion on economic, political, or social problems. You have already seen many cartoons in your study of this and other books. The other, the comic strip, is intended for amusement.

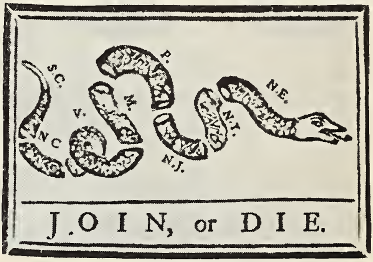

FIG. 209. The first American cartoon (from the *New York Gazette*, May 13, 1754)

In the late 1880's and 1890's the cartoon and the comic strip became popular. Cartoons had been used from time to time after Franklin had printed the famous "Join or Die" cartoon in the eighteenth century. They were not printed regularly in the newspapers, however, until the New York *World* began to use them extensively 100 years later. In 1884 a published cartoon entitled "The Difference between Two Knights," contrasting Blaine and Cleveland, caught the public fancy. From that time on, *The World*, alive to the possibilities of boosting circulation, made the cartoon a regular feature. Other papers soon followed *The World's* lead. Today almost every daily newspaper makes the cartoon a part of the features of its pages.

Somewhat later in the 1890's the comic strip also became popular. Mark Sullivan in his history of our times says that in the late nineties

> . . . the egg of the comic supplement and the comic strip was hatching in New York in the shape of Richard Outcault's "Yellow Kid," chiefly under the auspices of Mr. Hearst's racy newspapers. . . . It is probably not seriously distant from historical accuracy to say it was the popularity of the Yellow Kid that led later to the creation of "Happy Hooligan," the "Katzenjammer Kids," "Foxy Grandpa," "Mutt and Jeff" . . . and still later "Barney Google" and the "Honorable Andy Gump."[1]

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[1] Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, Vol. I, pp. 277–278. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926.

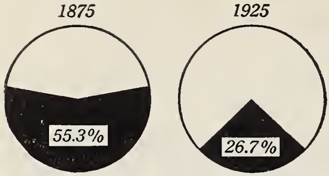


Fig. 210. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to all kinds of news, 1875 and 1925

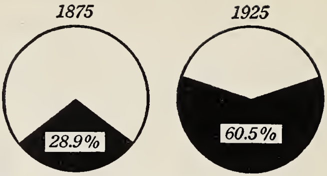


Fig. 211. The percentage of space devoted by the newspapers to advertising, 1875 and 1925

How many of these and other comic characters do you know? Do you realize that comic strips were unknown in 1880?

4. The prominent place of advertising

By far the most important change that has taken place in the content of newspapers is the astonishing increase in the amount of space devoted to advertising. In figures 210 and 211 note that about 65 years ago, more than half the paper was given to news and but one fourth to advertising. Note how the advertising space had increased by 1925. In 1930 an investigation was made of 196 daily newspapers in 87 American cities which showed that nearly half of all page space was given to paid advertising. The same thing is true of the papers in the smaller cities. In one typical Middle-Western community a study of the contents of the three daily newspapers showed that 63 per cent of the space in the morning papers and 47 per cent of the space in the afternoon papers were devoted to advertising.

TABLE XXXVIII

How the Material of One National Weekly was Divided in a Recent Average Issue

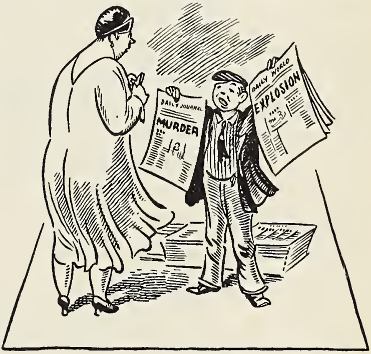
	Pages
Advertising	75
Reading matter	53
Illustrations	14
Total	142

It must not be thought that newspapers only have been affected by advertising. Table XXXVIII shows the amount of space devoted in one issue of a weekly magazine to advertising and reading matter (such as articles and stories) and their accompanying illustrations.

However, the newspapers play such an important part in American culture that we should study their content carefully. We should know more about the character of the news that is printed and see more clearly the part played by advertising.

5. The "front page" of the newspaper

The character of the news we read today can perhaps be seen best on the "front page." There we find the most sensational headlines and the human-interest stories. There is the news that appeals to our feelings. In Table XXXIX we see the large part played by three kinds of news on the front page. By "disaster" is meant floods, fires, earthquakes, accidents, suicides, murders, and the like. "Conflict" means any kind of competition—fights, games, even struggles between individuals and between economic and political groups, and war between nations. "Personalities" means stories in which important persons are featured. These three—stories of disaster, of conflict, and of personalities—are the matters of human interest that find their way to the front page. And of the three, conflict gets more of the headlines. In one investigation of labor papers, it was found that every inch of the front page was devoted to conflict.



Art Young in *The New Yorker*

FIG. 212. The lady looks at the headlines of the newspaper and says, "I think I'll take the murder"

Our study shows that most American newspapers today are not primarily journals of opinion; rather they are organs of entertainment. In order to attract readers they play upon emotions. They present the latest gossip and scandal. They do this because they know that such stories will interest their readers. People thrill over stories of adventure. They shudder at stories of suicide. Stories of modern Cinderellas bring pleasure and satisfaction to them as they read.

TABLE XXXIX[1]

Column Inches in Three Classes of News on the Front Page

Newspaper	Disaster	Conflict	Personalities
In a Wisconsin paper	—	96½	52½
In a Chicago daily paper	28	30¾	56½
In a Chicago commercial daily paper	8½	48¼	8½
In a New York daily paper . . .	50½	60½	45½

The headlines of the front page have changed along with everything else in the modern newspapers. Fifty years ago there were few large headlines. Today anything, from a world disaster to the winning of a championship prize fight, will get headlines covering the entire width of the front page of a metropolitan newspaper.

We see that the newspaper is doing everything it can to attract attention and thereby to increase sales. In order to do this, it uses bold-faced letters, one or two inches in height, exclamation marks, and sensational words. How often we see such words in our headlines as the following: "War" . . . "Disaster" . . . "Catastrophe" . . . "Suicide" . . . "Wreckage" . . . "Ruins" . . . "Wins Fight" . . . "Defends Self" . . . "Attacks Man" . . . "Deadly Poison" . . . "Crashes to Earth" . . . "Horrified Audience" . . . "Defies the Courts." . . .

Not only in the headlines, but in the newspaper stories themselves, the vocabulary abounds in words and phrases which aim to arouse the emotions. Note, for example, the following dramatic phrases, enclosed in quotation marks:

The events were "new and mysterious."
The witness was given a "severe grilling."
A "crooked deal" was uncovered.
The plan was a "wild scheme."
"Shouts and groans" were heard.
"The gambling spirit" of the Stock Exchange.

In these ways the headlines and stories appeal to the desire for the unusual, to curiosity, to the hates and fears of human beings.

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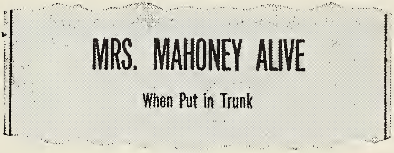
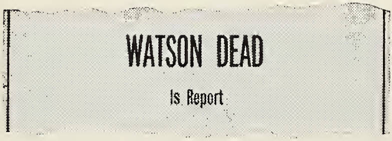
[1] Adapted from a tabulation of the content of the front page of four daily papers, reported by Professor Kimball Young, in *Social Psychology* (F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1930), p. 605.

In many instances the newspapers give false impressions in their efforts to be sensational. The following examples of divided headlines illustrate this practice. First, read only the words printed in large letters. What meaning did you get from them? Now, read the full headlines. Do you notice how the meanings have changed?



MRS. MAHONEY ALIVE

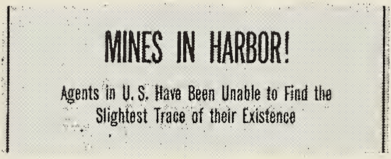
When Put in Trunk



WATSON DEAD

Is Report

In 1898, at the time of the destruction of the United States warship *Maine*, a huge headline across the front page of one newspaper read:



MINES IN HARBOR!

Agents in U. S. Have Been Unable to Find the Slightest Trace of their Existence

Turn back to page 6. All the headlines shown are taken from different newspaper accounts of the same event. Notice that one newspaper claims that 27 persons were rescued from the ice floe, while another gives the number as 10.

Reporters also differ in their ability to see and report accurately a situation that they have observed. This point has already been well illustrated on pages 6–7. Turn back to this and notice how the various newspaper accounts of the attack upon Tippett differed in *one* detail alone—namely, what Tippett did when he was struck.

The news is misreported not only through the inaccuracy of reporters but also through the political or economic prejudice of the owners of the papers.

It is true, of course, that some mistakes cannot be avoided. Reporters have little time in which to make certain that the details they describe in their stories are accurate. *Accurate or inaccurate, the newspaper must be published on time!* One newspaperman said: "Newspapers are written in a hurry, printed in a hurry, and meant to be read in a hurry."

ADVERTISING AND THE CONTENT OF NEWSPAPERS

An interesting contrast

A study was made recently of the space devoted by newspapers to two events—a championship prize fight and the joint sessions of the National Education Association and the World Conference on Education. At the meetings of the two associations were gathered the leading educators of the United States and many of those from other countries. Many of the important problems of education were discussed. To which event do you think the newspapers devoted the larger amount of space? Let us consider the facts:

Eight New York newspapers devoted fourteen times as much space to the prize fight as to the educational meeting.

In Chicago newspapers the prize fight received 1353 column inches; the educational meetings, two inches.

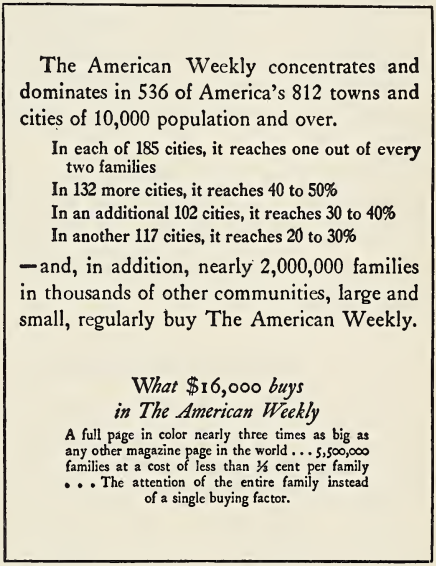
In Philadelphia newspapers the prize fight filled several whole pages; not a single mention was made of the meetings.

Of those investigated one newspaper with a national circulation ignored the prize fight; it devoted 267 column inches to the educational meetings.

Why did these two events receive such different amounts of space? The editors of the papers would say that they must give their readers what they want and that their readers want sensational news like that of a prize fight. But there is another reason, which is far more important. Two words will state it—Circulation! Advertising!

Newspaper-owners make most of their money from advertising. As you know, more than half of the entire content of metropolitan newspapers is devoted to advertising. So also about three fourths of the income of newspapers comes from that source.

Thus advertising makes up a large per cent of the income of most papers. Indeed, the sales of some newspapers scarcely pay for the paper on which they are printed; the sales of others pay only half that cost.



The American Weekly concentrates and dominates in 536 of America's 812 towns and cities of 10,000 population and over.

In each of 185 cities, it reaches one out of every two families
In 132 more cities, it reaches 40 to 50%
In an additional 102 cities, it reaches 30 to 40%
In another 117 cities, it reaches 20 to 30%

—and, in addition, nearly 2,000,000 families in thousands of other communities, large and small, regularly buy The American Weekly.

What $16,000 *buys*
in The American Weekly

A full page in color nearly three times as big as any other magazine page in the world . . . 5,500,000 families at a cost of less than ⅓ cent per family . . . The attention of the entire family instead of a single buying factor.

FIG. 213. This advertisement was intended to reach those who wish to advertise their products. What does it tell you?

Who then pays the salaries of reporters scattered all over the world, gathering news and sending it to the newspapers by telegraph, telephone, cable, and radio? Who pays the editors' salaries? Who pays for the costly printing presses, for the employees to run them, for the cost of distributing the newspapers? The answer is—it is the advertisers and the people who buy their goods.

Now, the advertiser will take space in the newspapers which reach the largest number of people. He knows that the announcement of his wares will be seen by hundreds of thousands of readers—if he advertises in a newspaper which has a large circulation. And so rapidly have circulations increased that manufacturers of food, clothing, automobiles, goods of all kinds, are willing to pay huge prices for advertising space.

To what extent do advertisers influence the policy of the newspapers?

In recent years, as advertising has mounted hand in hand with circulation, many people have often criticized the newspapers, complaining that they permit advertisers to influence the policy of the papers too much. On this question evidence can be obtained on both sides. Investigations have shown that occasionally newspapers have either withheld or given a false meaning to news which would otherwise be unfavorable to their advertisers. It is the judgment of reputable newspapermen and students of the profession, however, that this seldom happens. One authority on the newspaper insists that such instances are rare, that in a long experience he has known but two stories to be kept out of the papers.

He points out that newspapers can more easily risk offending one advertiser than they can risk losing circulation, because loss of circulation means loss of many advertisers.

Thus we see that differing opinions are held about the effect of advertising upon news.

THE PICTURE-TABLOID NEWSPAPERS

As our cities grew larger and larger and life in them became more hurried and more complex, a new type of newspaper appeared. Here was the news in headlines and pictures, large type and short articles—all in a few sentences. The latest scandal and gossip, what the President said in a radio broadcast, or the latest international event were given in a few lines, so that the working people as they shuttled back and forth morning and evening in subways, suburban trains, streetcars, and busses could take in the day's news at a single gulp.

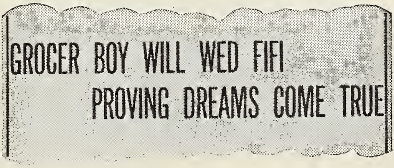
We can understand that simple, easily read, quickly understood newspapers abounding in illustrations would be in great demand. Here you have the explanation of the picture tabloids, which are sold by the millions today in our larger cities and towns. There is a current saying that yellow journals are printed for people who cannot think, and picture tabloids are printed for those who cannot read. This, of course, is not wholly true, but it *is* true that, although the whole nation has learned to read, the rank and file read with little real understanding.

Why are these newspapers called tabloids? As the name implies, they are "compressed, or condensed." They are smaller than the standard-size newspapers, carrying five columns in place of eight. Their news is condensed, too.

So far as we can find, the first illustrated daily newspaper in the world was the *Daily Graphic* of New York, established in 1872 and issued continuously until 1889. It was five columns wide, and the first page was entirely devoted to illustrations. Thus we see that the tabloids of our day were not the first newspapers to give a great deal of space to illustrations. The idea of the tabloids appeared again when the New York *Daily News* was established by the owners of the *Chicago Tribune* in 1919. In 1924 a second New York tabloid, *The Mirror*, was founded by William Randolph Hearst. In 1925 Bernarr MacFadden founded a third, known as the *New York Evening Graphic*. Tabloid newspapers likewise began to appear in other large cities of the country.

Did the public like condensed news with many illustrations? It did, indeed. Within eight years from the time that the *Daily News* was established its daily circulation had passed the million mark. Within a short time these three New York newspapers, *The News*, *The Mirror*, and *The Graphic*, claimed that they were read by 40 per cent of all the readers in New York City.

Circulations were increased by conducting contests and giving money prizes. Space was devoted to pictures and news of the most sensational kind. The columns of these tabloids abound in gossip and scandal. The private life of no prominent person is safe from the reporters of these papers. Marriage ceremonies and funerals, divorces, even announcements of engagements between prominent young people, are occasions for the most ruthless invasion of homes and personal rights. Headlines like the following appear:



GROCER BOY WILL WED FIFI
PROVING DREAMS COME TRUE

Sometimes murderers are even portrayed as heroes, as "super-criminals," and innocent relatives of the criminals are pursued by reporters and given undesirable newspaper publicity.

Are the tabloids more sensational than their eight-column standard-size competitors? In some cases it is difficult to draw a conclusion. Some of the standard-size newspapers are as sensational as the tabloids. They imitate the tabloids in presenting at great length murder trials, scandal, conflict of all kinds. They may not use as many pictures but they often use more words. For example, one investigation was made of the number of words used in reporting a murder trial in a so-called conservative metropolitan daily and in a tabloid (Table XL).

TABLE XL[1]

Number of Words devoted to Reports of a Recent Murder Trial

Paper	Number of Words
Conservative daily . . .	528,300
Tabloid	223,400

Does one have to read tabloids and other sensational newspapers? By no means. Most of the newspapers in small towns are free from sensationalism. Moreover, practically each large city in the country has at least one newspaper that stands for accuracy, reliability of press service, and "clean news."

The editors of such newspapers stand for law enforcement, for political fairness, and for international justice. Scores of newspapers of this sort might be mentioned. A few which are typical are the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *New York World-Telegram*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Detroit News*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

"THE CANONS OF JOURNALISM"

The chief purpose of newspapers is to publish news of the deeds, feelings, and thoughts of the people. Newspaper writers and reporters, therefore, must be people of intelligence, knowledge, and experience as well as individuals skillful at observing and reasoning. The newspaper is obligated to be a teacher and interpreter as well as a reporter.

Recognizing the increasing difficulty of reporting the news accurately and the growing pressure upon reporters to exaggerate and sensationalize, most newspaper editors have agreed to try to follow certain rules known as "The Canons of Journalism." Simply put, they are:

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[1] Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*, p. 192. Boni & Liveright, New York.

1. The newspaper writer has responsibilities. He must always have the public welfare in mind. Never must he use his pen or his power for any selfish or otherwise dishonorable or shameful purpose.

2. There must be freedom of the press. And this freedom must be guarded as a right of all men. America probably enjoys more freedom of the press than any other country. Our Federal government exerts practically no control over what appears in our newspapers. Of course, there have been times when certain states have passed "gag" laws—laws giving officials permission to stop the publication of newspapers for printing certain kinds of forbidden news. But these laws have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

3. The newspaper and the newspaper writer must be independent of outside pressure. News must not be distorted or colored to promote the special interest of certain individuals or groups. If news which comes from a private source is published, notice should be given to the readers telling them so; or, the value of the material as news should be proved.

4. Good faith with the reader must be the foundation of all newspaper writing. The newspaper must be sincere, truthful, and accurate. Thoroughness and accuracy must be sought after with vigor. Headlines should honestly represent the contents of the articles they introduce.

5. The *news* columns of newspapers should be impartial, free from the personal opinions or biases of the persons who write them. They should contain facts, not opinions. If items do reflect personal opinions, they should bear the names of the writers. All articles reflecting the special policies of the newspaper should appear as editorials. In other words, it should be indicated clearly to the reader that what he is reading represents opinions, not necessarily facts.

6. The newspaper should practice fair play. It should not publish unofficial charges that affect the reputation or moral character of anyone without giving that person the opportunity to answer or reply to the accusations made. Every person has a right to privacy, and the newspaper must not violate this right in order to satisfy the curiosity of its readers. It is the duty of a newspaper to make prompt and complete correction of its own serious mistakes of fact or opinion.

7. Newspaper editors should oppose the publication or printing of indecent stories or accounts. Details of crime and vice should be avoided whenever it is certain that they do not promote the general good. There should be a difference made between headlining stories just for sensationalism and headlining stories to emphasize their importance. Those stories which concern the welfare of all the people should have prominent headlines and a good deal of space. For example, these include stories that have to do with the passing of important new laws; a great flood or storm that affects many people; war in foreign countries which, of course, is of vital interest to all our people; strikes which affect thousands of workers; the construction of great new highways, bridges, and public buildings, and the like. Such stories should not be ignored or replaced by the sensational reporting of murders, robberies, and other types of horror stories.

Are not these newspaper rules directly opposed to the practices of our more sensational and yellow newspapers? Careful consideration of facts as summarized in this chapter leads to that conclusion. It is a most encouraging sign, however, that many newspaper leaders recognize the dangers in the present trends in metropolitan-newspaper publications and take a definite stand against them.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Bent, Silas. Ballyhoo. Boni & Liveright, New York. Journalism of today, with interesting historical material on the press.

Bent, Silas. Strange Bedfellows. Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York. The press of today.

Britt, George. Forty Years—Forty Millions. Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York. The career of Frank A. Munsey, a famous newspaper publisher.

Claudy, Carl. The Girl Reporter. Little, Brown & Company, Boston. An interesting story which gives the atmosphere and the spirit of a newspaper.

Gardner, Gilson. Lusty Scripps: The Life of E. W. Scripps. The Vanguard Press, New York. This is the story of another famous newspaper editor and publisher.

Given, John L. Making a Newspaper. Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York.

Greene, Laurence. America Goes to Press: The News of Yesterday. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

Jenison, Madge. Sunwise Turn. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York. The story of a bookshop, delightfully told.

Knapp, George L. The Boys' Book of Journalism. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York.

Lee, Alfred M. The Daily Newspaper in America. The Macmillan Company, New York. The story of the newspaper.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Middletown. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. See pages 229–242 and Chapter XXVII.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Middletown in Transition. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. See Chapter X, "Getting Information: The Press."

Lyons, Eugene (Editor). We Cover the World. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. Sixteen foreign correspondents tell how they reported events around the world.

Marshall, Leon C. Readings in the Story of Human Progress. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter X, section 2, "Books and How They are Made," and section 3, "The Newspaper."

Morley, Christopher. The Haunted Bookshop. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York.

Morley, Christopher. Parnassus on Wheels. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York. Story of a traveling library.

Pearson, Edmund. Dime Novels. Little, Brown & Company, Boston. The story of the dime novel vividly told.

Seldes, George. Freedom of the Press. The Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., New York. Discusses the problem of propaganda in the newspapers.

Steffens, Lincoln. The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. The life story of a famous journalist.

Sullivan, Mark. Our Times (3 volumes). Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Volume I, pp. 4–27, discusses the contents of newspapers in 1900, and pages 201–219, the books and authors of the nineties. Volume III, pp. 80–97, discusses the literature of exposure.

Tassin, Algernon de Vivier. The Magazine in America. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York. An informal history of the magazine.

Society for Curriculum Study, New York. Building America: Vol. 1, No. 5 (February, 1936), "Communication" (Columbia University Press, New York); also Vol. 3, No. 1 (October, 1937), "News" (E. M. Hale and Company, Milwaukee).

☆ VI ☆

Public Opinion and American Life

Public Opinion and American Life

We are prepared now to study directly the topic "public opinion."

We have seen the influence of the changing family, neighborhood, and community life upon the minds of the American people.

We have studied the roles of government and the press in our culture.

Now, therefore, we must bring together our knowledge of how these things influence public opinion.

The study is introduced in Chapter XXI with a detailed example of the difference between unreasoned opinions and reasoned conclusions.

It will be necessary for us to make careful studies of this problem of the formation of opinion in order to see the importance of meeting American social problems in a reasoned manner.

In Chapter XXII we shall study many examples of how opinions and beliefs are formed.

We shall consider the influence of the family, the neighborhood, social organizations, the church and the school, the newspapers, the "movies," the radio, and advertising.

From these many examples of the ways of forming opinions we shall obtain a glimpse of how the grand total of these makes up what is called public opinion.

Chapter XXI · Reasoned Conclusions Versus Unreasoned Opinions

★

If government is to be truly representative, it should reflect the desires of a majority of the people. This means officials must be elected who will pass laws that express what the people think and feel, officials who will do what the people want to have done.

There is a single short phrase that sums up what the people think and feel. It is "public opinion." "Public" means, according to the dictionary, "of the people." Public opinion means, then, the opinion of the people. It is one of the most important ideas of democratic government.

PEOPLE ARE CONSTANTLY FORMING OPINIONS AND BELIEFS

"It's my opinion that Johnson would make a better governor than Allen."

"I am convinced that the Germans caused the World War."

"I believe that Lore is the prettiest actress in the 'movies.' "

"I think women are smarter than men."

Everyday, everywhere in the world, statements of opinion and belief like these can be heard. In neighborhood conversations, on trains, in offices, stores, and factories, on farms—everywhere people are expressing their opinions and beliefs. People are constantly "making up their minds" about a variety of matters. Some of the opinions they form deal with their work, some with the government, some with business or social matters, some with the problems that arise among family members or friends. In short, they form opinions and beliefs about almost everything that comes to their attention.

We see then that public opinion plays an important part in government and that we must study it very carefully. Let us begin by showing the difference between forming a conclusion from measured facts and forming an opinion without facts.

REASONED CONCLUSIONS VERSUS UNREASONED OPINIONS

1. A simple case of measurement

Let us take a very simple example. Look about the room and select a convenient object, say, the teacher's desk top. Look at it carefully. What is your opinion as to its length? Perhaps you will say "about three and a half feet." One classmate, however, may say "about four feet"; still another, "about three feet and a quarter." If all the members of the class give their opinions concerning its length, you will probably obtain a great many different estimates, ranging, perhaps, from two feet to four feet. Arrange your answers as one class did theirs (see Table XLI).

TABLE XLI

How Pupils' Opinions of the Length of a Desk Varied

Opinions as to Length	Number of Pupils
2 feet	1
2 feet 3 inches	1
2 feet 6 inches	1
2 feet 8 inches	2
2 feet 9 inches	3
2 feet 11 inches	5
3 feet	9
3 feet 1 inch	5
3 feet 2 inches	4
3 feet 3 inches	3
3 feet 4 inches	2
3 feet 6 inches	2
3 feet 9 inches	1
3 feet 10 inches	1
4 feet	1
4 feet 6 inches	1

Which is the correct length? Which opinion of the length is correct? How can you tell?

Would it help to have an expert give his opinion? In this class two experts were called in to give their opinions. The first, a carpenter, estimated that the length was three feet three inches. However, the second, a teacher of physics who was also an engineer, estimated the length to be three feet. Thus the opinions even of two experts differed by three inches. Still the class did not know the actual length of the desk top.

Finally one pupil suggested measuring the desk with a foot rule. He said that instead of forming an opinion about the length, the class ought to obtain the actual length by measuring. Each member of the class measured the desk, using a foot rule on which were stamped the inches, half inches, quarter inches, eighth inches, and sixteenth inches. The results are shown in Table XLII. Note that the results obtained by actually measuring still varied, *but they varied much less than when opinions were given.* When opinions were given, the smallest and largest *estimates* differed by two feet six inches. The *measurements*, however, differed only by two and five-eighths inches, approximately only $\frac{1}{12}$ as much! Furthermore, when the carpenter and the engineer measured the desk with the foot rule, the carpenter obtained 3 feet $\frac{3}{4}$ inches as the length, while the engineer obtained 3 feet $\frac{7}{8}$ inches—a difference of only $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch. With the foot rule the measurements by the experts were much more nearly the same than when they were merely estimating or forming an opinion.

TABLE XLII

How Pupils' Measurements of the Length of a Desk Varied

Measurements	Number of Pupils
2 feet 11 inches	1
2 feet 11$\frac{1}{2}$ inches	1
2 feet 11$\frac{3}{4}$ inches	2
3 feet	3
3 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch	7
3 feet $\frac{3}{4}$ inch	15
3 feet 1 inch	8
3 feet 1$\frac{1}{4}$ inches	3
3 feet 1$\frac{1}{2}$ inches	1
3 feet 1$\frac{5}{8}$ inches	1

The figures given in Table XLI were the result of unmeasured opinions. The figures given in Table XLII were the result of measurement. From opinions it would be difficult, if not impossible, to come very close to the truth. It would be largely a matter of guessing. By measuring, however, one can come closer to the truth. In the case studied one can be reasonably sure that the *true length* of the desk lies between two feet eleven inches and three feet one and five-eighths inches. Indeed, since the results of measurement by more than half the pupils and grownups showed it to be between three feet one-half inch and three feet one inch, we can *conclude* that the *true* measurement is *approximately* three feet three-quarters inch.

But even foot rules and yardsticks do not give us the exact truth. They vary, even if only a little—say, one sixteenth of an inch in three feet. In machine industries and in laboratories like the United States Bureau of Standards, instruments are used which measure distances within an error of, say, one millionth of an inch.

In measuring the diameter of the cylinders of an automobile engine it is necessary to be as accurate as that.

In this very simple case of measuring a length, therefore, we see the important difference between merely forming an opinion without facts and forming conclusions by getting facts through measurement. In the former case we have only our skill in estimating to help us. In the latter case we use standardized units of measurement to help us. Of course, if we had had much experience in estimating distances and in comparing our estimates with measurements by foot rules and other measuring scales, even our opinion of distance would be, perhaps, fairly close to the truth. But we can also see clearly the need for forming our opinions even of length, so far as possible, from the facts.

2. A more difficult case, from the political life of a community

Our first example was a simple one. The facts could be secured without much difficulty. No one *wanted the length to be a particular amount*! There was only one desire in the mind of each person; namely, that of finding out as accurately as he could *what the true length was.*

Now take an example from politics and government—say, the election of a mayor. Suppose that Smith, Morgan, and Allen are running for mayor of our community. For whom will the community vote?

We must ask three questions:

First, what are the facts concerning the merits of the candidates for the position?

Second, can the voters of the community secure the facts about the candidates?

Third, will they use facts to form reasoned conclusions?

To answer the first question one would have to obtain a great many facts about the experience, honesty, and intelligence of the candidates. Let us suppose that none of the candidates has ever been a mayor. All are of middle age and all have been active in the life of the community, having served in the common council and on committees. Hence they have had years of experience to fit them for the position. Smith is a lawyer, Allen is the owner of a successful business, and Morgan is the secretary of a labor union. Smith is a college and law-school graduate, Allen is a high-school graduate, Morgan attended high school one year and then with hard work advanced to a position of responsibility in his trade-union. Does it not seem that they are all capable and intelligent? With these facts it would still be difficult for a voter to decide which of the three is the best man for the position.

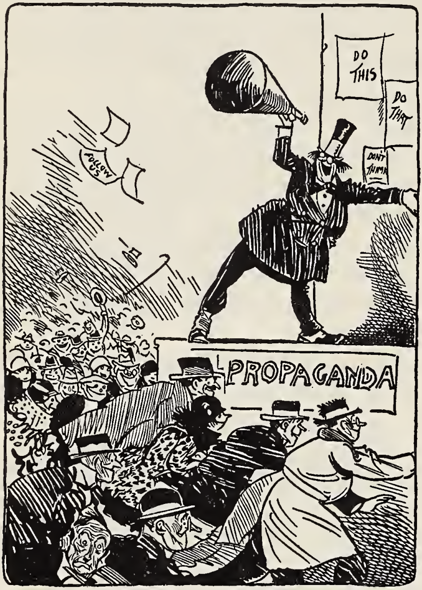
Other facts—some of them of little importance—may complicate the problem. Smith is a Republican, Allen a Socialist, Morgan a Democrat. Some of the voters of the community also are Republicans, some are Socialists, some are Democrats. Smith belongs to the Presbyterian Church, Allen to the Methodist Church, Morgan to the Catholic Church. Some of the voters of the community are Presbyterians, some are Methodists, some are Catholics. Still others belong to other churches.

Smith is the son of the leading banker in town and belongs to the Masons and the Country Club. Allen is a son of a small grocery-store owner and has joined the Odd Fellows and the Elks. Morgan is the son of a carpenter and is not a member of any club. The voters of the community are engaged in a great many kinds of occupations. Moreover, some of them belong to the Masons, some to the Odd Fellows, some to the Elks or the Country Club, while others have no club membership.

There are a great many other facts concerning the candidates and the voters which complicate the impartial choice of a mayor, only a few of which we have space to mention. Some voters like Smith's campaign speeches and radio talks; others prefer Allen's; still others like Morgan's. Furthermore, many voters have deep personal likings for or prejudices against one or the other of the candidates. Smith, the lawyer, for example, has defended the lawsuits of the relatives and friends of certain voters; so they like him. But in doing so he opposed the relatives and friends of other voters; therefore he is not popular with them. There are other personal reasons for certain voters liking or not liking the other two candidates.

The real facts concerning the merits of the candidates would have nothing to do with all these things. The real question is, In the light of his previous experience, his education, intelligence, honesty, and interest in governing the community, which man would make the best mayor?

But it is difficult, almost impossible, to find out about such personal characteristics. Even approximations—even close estimates—could be made only by an impartial committee of trained community workers who were experts in problems of government and keen estimators of human personality. Only through a commission of such experts, devoting much time to the selection of facts concerning the candidates and facts concerning the needs of the community, could a conclusion be reached that would be even approximately accurate.



J. H. Donahey in *The Survey*

FIG. 214. Often political speeches made by members of the candidate's political party influence the votes of the people

And even if such commissions were used, would they have measuring devices by which they could measure the comparative abilities of the candidates for office? Would they have means of measuring the needs of the community? There are some ways of doing this, but they are not nearly so accurate as our scales for measuring length, weight, volume, and the like. This lack of means of measuring facts is one of the chief weaknesses of the scientific study of social life.

THE "FACTS" OF SOCIAL LIFE ARE MIXED UP WITH THE EMOTIONS, DESIRES, AND FEARS OF THE PEOPLE

Even if experts on government could measure exactly the merits of candidates, it is doubtful whether most of the voters would follow their recommendations. Many persons would vote for Smith merely because he was a Republican and they were

Republicans, because he was a fellow Mason, because he belonged to the Presbyterian Church and they liked the way he conducted himself there. Many others would vote for Allen because he was a Socialist and they were Socialists, because he too was a fellow Methodist, because he was a brother Elk or a brother Odd Fellow, because he lived in their neighborhood and had been kind to them and their relatives. Another large group would vote for Morgan because he belonged to the working class, because through the union he had helped the laboring men to get higher wages, because he was a Catholic, or for some other personal reason.

That is, even though the voters knew the facts concerning the candidates and the community needs, it is doubtful whether most of them would vote accordingly. Most of them would have personal, emotional reasons for choosing their candidates. They would probably vote in terms of likes or dislikes, prejudice or approval. That is, they would vote in terms of opinion rather than in terms of measured facts.

MOST PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL LIFE ARE AS COMPLICATED AS THE EXAMPLE JUST GIVEN

We lack space for more examples. In your class discussions, you can consider others which show how difficult it is either to get the facts on any social problem or to follow them in making up one's mind. We can merely name a few examples to illustrate the kinds of problems about which citizens frequently have to form conclusions.

1. Deciding whether or not to approve an issue of bonds to be spent in improving a water system, building roads, or erecting a new schoolhouse.
2. Choosing candidates for any office in the community, state, or nation.
3. Deciding whether local officials or state legislators or members of Congress have been honest and efficient in their work, so as to know whether or not to re-elect them.
4. Deciding whether or not to approve laws and amendments proposed for state and national constitutions.
5. Deciding whether or not to believe newspaper reports of local, national, and world events.

IN EVERY COMMUNITY, THEREFORE, PUBLIC OPINION IS BEING FORMED CONSTANTLY

Of one fact we can be sure—people are forming opinions all the time. They have opinions about the weather, about their employers, about how to spend their money; about the fairness of the grocer, the butcher, the chain-store owners; about their neighbors and the way they live; about the schools and the way they are managed; about social organizations and about many problems of community, national, and international affairs. Every grown-up person and most young people hold opinions and beliefs about a multitude of things, and these opinions and beliefs play a very important part in their lives. The sum total of all of them makes up the general public opinion of the communities and the nation.

TWO IMPORTANT KINDS OF AGENCIES HELP TO FORM THE OPINIONS OF AMERICANS

How we think and feel is determined in part by the social groups in which we live, but also in part by other factors around us.

(1.) On the one hand we are influenced by our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts; by the others in the neighborhood; by the school, the church, the government; by our work; by our clubs and other organizations. *These are all examples of social groups—groups of human beings.*

(2.) On the other hand we are influenced by what we read in newspapers and magazines, by what we hear over the radio, by what we see in the "movies," by the lectures we attend, even by the advertising that greets us on every side.

Thus in studying what it is that forms the opinions of Americans, bear in mind the two chief kinds of influence upon us: first, the influence of the face-to-face groups with which we actually live; second, the influence of such things as the press, the "movies," and the radio.

In the next chapter we shall illustrate how each of these two helps to form our opinions and beliefs, our attitudes and outlooks.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

See the readings listed at the close of Chapter XXII.

CHAPTER XXII · How Opinions and Beliefs Are Formed

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HOW DO THE GROUPS IN WHICH AMERICANS LIVE INFLUENCE THEM?

In earlier chapters we have read about the important groups in which most of people's waking hours are lived. Now we shall ask: In what ways does each group help to determine people's opinions, beliefs, and attitudes, what they approve and what they disapprove?

First, how does family and home life determine people's opinions and beliefs, the way they look at life? How does it influence what they say and think, how they feel about their jobs, about the government, and the like?

Second, how are people influenced by the neighborhood groups in which they live?

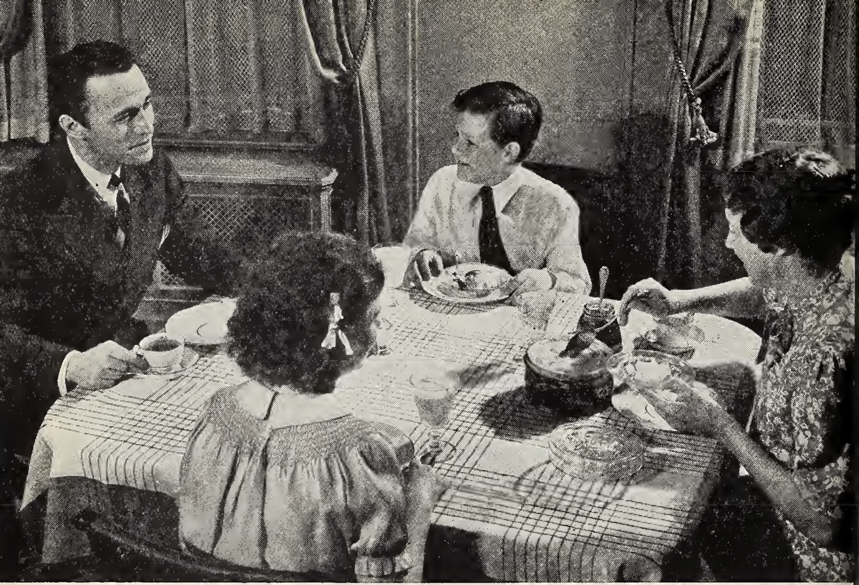
Third, how do the school, the church, and other organizations help to mold people?

The answers to these three questions will illustrate the influence of groups upon the individual American.

I. HOW THE FAMILY AND THE HOME HELP TO FORM OPINIONS AND BELIEFS

The kind of family and home into which an individual is born plays an important part in determining what kind of person he beomes. Throughout these books you have seen many illustrations of the differences among families. We need only recall the broad range in income within a community, the great differences in wealth, in houses, clothes, automobiles, and jobs, and in the organizations to which people belong. No two communities are alike; no two neighborhoods are alike; no two homes are alike.

The child who is born in a palatial stone or brick mansion will undoubtedly form opinions about industry and business, work, play, and people, which will be very different from those of the child



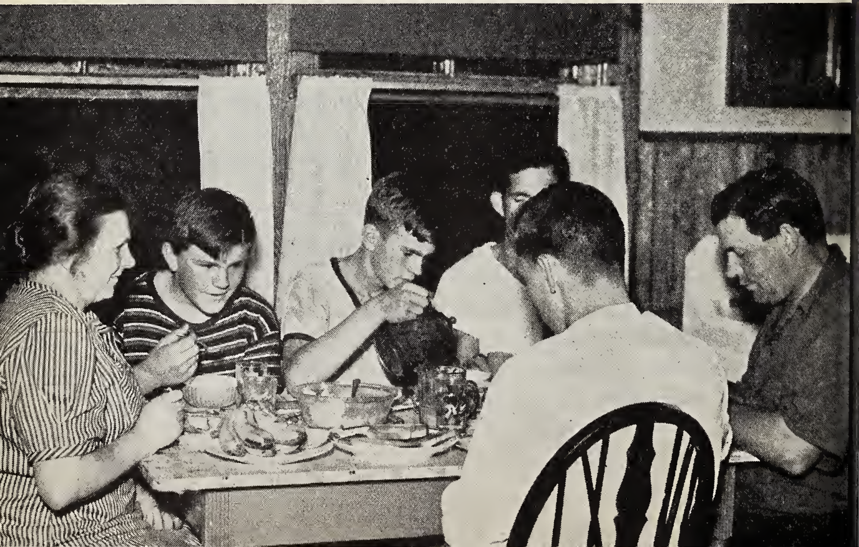
Ewing Galloway

Fig. 215. No two homes in America are exactly alike. This is very similar to the Thompson home

☆

Fig. 216. Will these boys in a home like the Harris's form the same outlook on life as the boy in figure 215?

Keystone



born in a mechanic's tiny house, a manual-laborer's city tenement, or an Iowa farmer's home. Similarly, the child born into the family of a college professor, teacher, lawyer, or doctor will develop attitudes, opinions, and beliefs very different from those of the child born into the home of a recently arrived immigrant family. Thus the very fact of birth into a particular kind of home and family contributes something to the kind of person that will be produced.

Let us study some examples to show how attitudes, opinions, and beliefs, likes and dislikes, are influenced by father, mother, and others in the home.

1. Attitudes and opinions about other economic groups[1]

What do you think would be the effect upon the mind of young John Harris, a high-school student, on hearing the following conversation between his father and mother?

"Well, Mary," says Tom Harris as he enters the door, carrying his dinner box, "I'm out of a job again. The men are on strike, and the mill's shut down."

"Did the Fenshaws try to cut your wages?"

"They certainly did—15 per cent. They posted a notice today announcing that because of the hard times and lack of orders they'd have to make the cut. The union committee got together and voted to strike. Some of the men didn't agree. They thought they'd rather take part of their cake than not have anything to eat at all. But majority rules."

Or consider how Henry Fenshaw, home from the fashionable boys' academy the same day, will feel toward the employees in the mill as he listens to his father talking to his uncle about the strike.

"You see, George, they struck just as I said they would if we cut their wages. We've taken care of these workingmen all their lives. We've provided rest rooms, shorter hours of work, and higher wages. Now they show no gratitude at all. We're up against hard times but they aren't willing to share the losses with us."

"Yes, I think there should be laws forbidding the forming of unions. We wouldn't have any trouble if it weren't for these labor agitators. Most of them shouldn't be called Americans at all. I don't believe there is a single officer of any labor union in this town who is a real American. They are either foreigners or sons of foreigners who have come crowding into our country. Now they think they should run things."

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[1] Most of the episodes in this chapter are from the author's private files of autobiographies collected since 1927.

Do you think that Tom Harris's son will have much sympathy or understanding for the problems of employers? Is it likely that he will become a union man, too?

Do you think Henry Fenshaw will learn to be sympathetic and tolerant toward laboring men if he should ever take his father's place in the factory? Do such conversations as these tend to develop tolerance and open-mindedness toward various economic groups?

Consider another kind of home influence in the same community. Charles Thompson is discussing the strike with his father, the secretary of the Charity Organization Society. The headlines of the evening newspapers are before them.

"Oh, Dad, what do you think about this strike at the Fenshaw mill? The paper says that Fenshaw Brothers reduced the wages of the mechanics 15 per cent, and the men went out on strike. Here are interviews from both sides."

"Well, that's unusual. Generally that paper prints only the employers' side. That's what they did when eleven lives were lost in that rickety old paper mill on Fallulah Road."

"Yes," Charles went on, "Mr. Mori, the president of the Central Labor Union, tells here that the men are living on what he calls 'starvation wages.' Most of them are barely able to pay rent and buy food for their families. With a 15 per cent reduction they would soon be heavily in debt. So rather than accept it, they decided to strike. He says the employers have made millions in the past and that during these hard times they can afford to pay their men regular wages, because when things get more prosperous they'll make huge profits again. What do you think about it, Dad?"

"Well, Charles, there really is something to be said on both sides. It is true that the sawmakers' families in this town are in a pretty bad way. I went down there today, looking for Mike

O'Donald's house. You know he's been sick, and our society has been helping him. The conditions in 'mill town' are really very bad. Naturally, when the men from the factory look at the Fenshaw mansions up on the hill and see the Fenshaws riding around in Rolls-Royces they feel that the money of the world isn't fairly divided.

"But I also understand how George Fenshaw and his brothers feel about it. Thirty years ago they were all poor boys here, working in the Rider saw factory themselves. They were unusually bright boys, and they worked hard day and night. Of course, they had good luck, too. They had advice as to when to invest their savings, and there is no doubt that they were fortunate in making money. But now that they have made it they feel that it is their own.

"Furthermore, it is true that they have raised wages and improved the health conditions in their factory very much indeed. When they were boys in those shops, the mechanics worked ten hours a day, and they worked for very low wages. Now the men work eight hours a day. There are other fine things the Fenshaws have done too, such as giving the city parks and playgrounds and a fine library. So you see, Charles, there's something to be said on their side too."

"I understand, Dad, but ought there not to be some outsider who could help the workers and the Fenshaws decide questions of wages so that both sides could be satisfied? Isn't something wrong when most of the people in a town are almost starving, while a few others have much more money than they can ever spend?"

"Yes, son, I guess there is. But it's a very difficult problem, and strikes and interviews and mudslinging aren't going to solve it. Nothing but a lot of hard thinking by temperate-minded men will solve it."

In the communities of America conversations like those which you have just read are going on in homes every day. Through them attitudes are being set, opinions and beliefs are being formed. Of the three kinds of homes into which you have just had a glimpse, which one do you think gives the greatest promise of developing fair-minded young people?

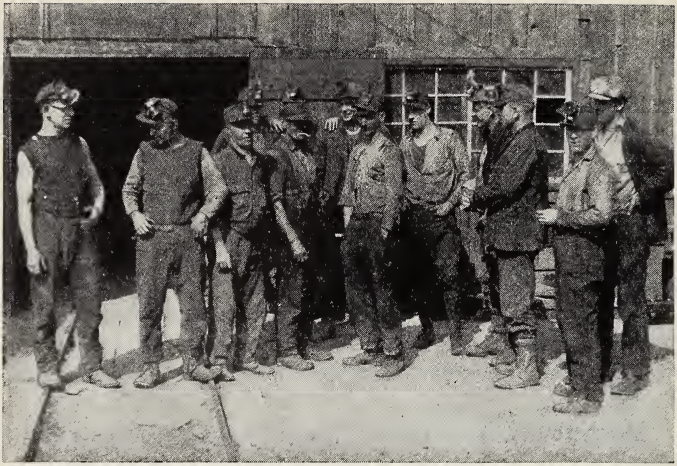

Fig. 217. Do you think that the sons and daughters of this group of miners probably think much alike on matters which pertain to their fathers' jobs?

Here is one more example of how the elders in the family mold the attitudes of young people toward other classes and groups in the community. A young man recently told the writer:

> As I grew older an attitude was developed against working people. Their fathers worked for someone else; my father had his own business and his own office. Their fathers carried tin lunch pails; my father came home to lunch. They lived in rented houses; we owned our own house. Their mothers worked; my mother didn't have to. We went away in the summer; they stayed home. And these things were because we were "better off" than they. We had more money. All these influences made me believe that I was better than they.

Thus we see that it isn't only conversations in the home which determine attitudes. It is the comparisons which young people make between those in their own family and those outside the family.

2. Attitudes and opinions about other races and nationalities

In the family, also, young people learn to form opinions and attitudes about other races and nationalities. Thomas R—— says that he lived for many years in a neighborhood in which for 200 years or more only native Americans had lived. Native Americans, of course, meant the old New England descendants of the Scotch and English ancestors who had first settled there after 1600. In the 1800's immigrants arrived and settled in the poorer quarters on the other side of the river. Gradually they moved into the native neighborhood. Then Thomas heard conversations between his father and mother like the following:

"I see another foreign family has taken the Snow house."

"Yes, it's the new superintendent of the saw shop. Seems to be rather a nice fellow. I walked to work with him the other day."

"Well, it won't be long before the neighborhood is all overrun with them. Others will come in, too."

The attitude shown in the conversation above is apparently directed against all foreigners. The native family views with regret the appearance in the neighborhood of "another foreign family."

More frequently, however, prejudice is felt toward particular nationalities. This prejudice is unjust and ignorant. It fails to consider the worth of the particular family or individual of foreign origin. It lumps together all Greeks, or Russians, or Chinese, or Germans, forgetting that these peoples differ among themselves as widely as do the people we call native Americans.

Moreover, this unjust and ignorant attitude fails to recognize the very great contribution to our culture which the people of these foreign nationalities have made. In music, in art, in literature, and in many other fields, these newcomers have something to contribute that America needs.

In view of what has just been said, what do you think of the following story of the attitude of one family?

A foreign family moved in across the street. I never had an opportunity to see much of them—they were just a large litter of ragged children; a mother whose hair was never combed and who wore bedroom slippers in the street. I never knew them, because two weeks after they moved in we moved away, and a "For Sale" sign was put up on our house. My mother explained that we were moving because you really couldn't live across the street from such people. They, it seemed, were even worse than working people! As a result of these family attitudes I have always had little respect or liking for people of foreign nationalities.

Another episode shows how favorable attitudes are built up. One person who has little race prejudice says:

> I was taught that our religious teachings were based on Judaism, so I respected Jewish tradition. Until I reached normal school I knew only two Jews, a business friend of my father's (greatly respected by the family) and a rabbi friend of my uncle's. Because I had always respected Jews, when I came to New York I found I enjoyed talking with them. They interested me greatly.

One could quote many episodes giving a different view of the same people.

Two episodes which illustrate how family life in the homes of white people forms attitudes toward Negroes

One person who likes them tells of his boyhood:

> Very early in my life I was given a strong sympathy toward the colored race. My father told me many stories about the lovable old colored mammy who lived in the home of my grandmother as one of the family. She helped raise father and his brothers and sisters. I was quite a grown boy before I realized that any people still held the Negro to be an inferior person.

A person who was brought up in another community tells how a belief in the superiority of white people and the inferiority of Negroes was developed in him:

> I recall vividly a streetcar incident, when mother and I were sitting together and my father in front of us. A Negro sat down beside father, who promptly told him to sit in an empty seat across the aisle. The man refused, and father got up and stood, rather than sit beside him.
>
> There were countless instances like this throughout my childhood which prejudiced me thoroughly against associating with Negroes. This attitude was gradually changed, however, by a growing sense of human rights, so that I have always felt that Negroes should be offered all that is offered to the whites in education. But I feel they should live by themselves.

FIG. 218. Public opinion on political or industrial questions may be influenced by "street corner" orators

3. Attitudes and opinions about politics

A businessman made this remark: "My father was a Democrat, his father was a Democrat, so naturally I always vote the straight Democratic ticket."

Perhaps for every person who is a Democrat because his father and his grandfather were Democrats, there are a Republican and a Socialist who vote as they do for similar reasons. The influence of elders is very strong in forming people's opinions about politics.

Another person, a Republican, tells how his father helped to form his attitudes and opinions:

> The family would be seated together after dinner in the dining or living room. Father would read from the paper or some magazine—always a Republican publication. No Democratic papers or magazines were taken. Father read aloud frequently from editorials or articles commenting on the active issues of the time. Very often the article would be especially written to create a Republican bias by praising the achievements of the party or by criticizing the actions of the other party. After the article was read, Father might go on to explain the situation more fully and show how the political situation justified such a stand.
>
> The Republican bias thus started in my mind was strengthened by my seeing so many cartoons dealing with the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey in which the donkey was always made to seem ridiculous.

Another person tells how he became a Democrat:

> When I was six years old my father died, and my mother and I went to live in a small house on her father's farm.
>
> Every night in autumn and winter my mother went over to her father's house to read and discuss the daily news. Politics held the greatest place in the conversation, especially if election day were near. My grandfather was Irish, and he and all the members of his household were Democrats. Many a time I sat on a footstool at my mother's feet, listening. Although the opposition was small, grandfather seemed to be facing hundreds of the opposing party; he would beat the air or strike the table as if trying to convert and convince them all.
>
> Much of the conversation I could not understand, but some of it I understood, such as "The Democrats favor the working class." . . . "If the Democrats win, every honest man will be given a chance to rise."
>
> I knew my mother and grandfather were splendid people, and of course I never doubted their political views. Their politics became my politics.

In other home environments less prejudiced attitudes developed. Here is an example:

> My father was always a defender of the other fellow. I cannot remember hearing him display the slightest prejudice toward any other race, nationality, or religion, or economic group. Whenever anyone in the family would express a very strong prejudice, father would always insist that there is not much difference between humans—Yankees and Irish, Protestants and Catholics, Jews and Gentiles, Republicans and Democrats. We all have about the same desires and fears, he would say, even if we have different ways of looking at life.
>
> The influence of his tolerant attitudes was very great in making *us* more tolerant. To this day, I find it natural to associate with people of any color, race, nationality, religion, or political and economic views.

But attitudes and opinions toward economic groups, toward races and nationalities, and toward political parties, are not the only ones that are formed by the family and the home.

4. Other attitudes and opinions

There are attitudes on other matters—which are also formed in the home.

An example of the way an intelligent, co-operative home forms tolerant, co-operative persons:

In our family, respect for the rights of our neighbors was stressed to an unusual degree. Roller skates were used only at certain hours, only at times when my mother felt our neighbors were busy with tasks which might keep them from being troubled by our noise. At other times we were sent to ask permission of our neighbors to use their sidewalks for our fun. We were taught to run errands and to offer our services without thought of pay. One duty of mine at the age of ten was to care for a neighbor's two-year-old child for a certain time each day. On Christmas morning we were delighted to take small baskets of homemade candies to our neighbors. I find that in some instances, now, I am more thoughtful of adults with whom I work in my school than they seem to be of me. I find that I don't interrupt when they are particularly busy and that I offer and give help when it is needed in putting over big pieces of work, school plays, school campaigns, and such things. These and many other things I believe are due to the influence of the quiet, thoughtful home atmosphere with which father and mother surrounded us.

An example of how home and group pressures made one person feel inferior for years. A woman who has long been shy and has found it difficult to be at ease with people gives examples that illustrate how such an attitude was developed in childhood and youth:

1. Continual reminders that I was fat, with the result that to this day I am overly sensitive to the imperfections of my body.
2. Shamefacedly carrying a cushion to a picnic to sit on, because my mother feared I would take cold from the damp ground.
3. Having my cousin call attention to the fact that I was wearing her outgrown clothing.
4. Contrasts drawn by relatives between my sister's personality and mine (in my sister's favor).
5. Dread of mother's illnesses.

Hundreds of examples might be quoted to show that at least our earliest attitudes and opinions on almost every subject are formed in the home. As in the case of the woman about whom you have just read, some of these last through life; some are later modified or changed altogether. The following stories tell how still other attitudes and opinions are formed:

Sunday in our home was not an unpleasant day—it was different, that was all. We were allowed to go for walks, but not to play rough games in the park or playground. But we had a goodly supply of "quiet" games. We were allowed to read and work puzzles. Popping corn, making candy, taking pictures—all these were fun and were quite permissible on Sunday.

A woman tells how her dislike of babies was first formed in her family when she was a little girl:

I had been the center of attention of my parents, and of two adoring maiden aunts and a grandfather who lived next door. Then, abruptly, a new baby appeared on the scene, and there was an immediate change. A cousin was so charmed by my tiny sister that she promptly established a trust fund for her college education. To say that my "nose was put out of joint" [1] is stating it mildly! I suppose that I resented the arrival of the newcomer very deeply. The "ah's" and "oh's," the cooings and baby talk, the tickling, squeezing, fondling, tossing, and hugging that my cousin showered on my baby sister must have filled my childish heart with acute envy and blind jealousy. Certain it is that now these same actions, whether on the part of friends or strangers, arouse in me the greatest dislike. Thus arose my profound dislike of babies.

Another woman describes how her dislike for most men started in her girlhood home:

A deep-rooted attitude that must have originated during early years arose, I believe, from my resentment that while my boy cousins were allowed what seemed to me complete freedom, I was constantly being told not to do this or that because I was a girl. Rebellious, I asked "Why can't I? He is allowed to." Mother usually replied that Henry was a boy and *I* was a girl. How that rankled, and still rankles, and I believe will always rankle. It set my attitude toward most men.

In another instance teasing developed deep-seated attitudes:

This teasing played an important part in the molding of my attitude toward men today. As a mere child I walked home from school with two small boys who lived on the adjoining farm. The unmerciful teasing that I received from some of the older members of my family made me very miserable at times and caused me to keep as far away from boys as possible.

It is not only the spoken words that tend to set opinions and outlooks. Often it is the unspoken or partially spoken word. At other times it is the things that happen in the home about which no word is spoken.

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[1] To have one's "nose put out of joint" means to feel slighted or insulted because one's place has been taken by another.

One youth tells the following, for example:

> It wasn't so much what my father and mother said that made me grow up feeling such an inferior person. It was the unspoken things that happened in the family. By the time I was ten years old I became conscious that when Father came home tired out from his work he almost always had to go down in the basement and repair furniture and replace other worn-out things in the house. Sundays likewise rarely ever meant rest for him. He was slaving constantly to keep our little place looking well.
>
> Mother too worked long hours. She scrubbed floors, mended our clothes, and did the washing and ironing.
>
> And then the boarders! How I came to hate the boarders in our house. They seemed to me to be outsiders. Yet I knew that without the few dollars that they brought into the family each week, we might not have enough to eat. Certainly we couldn't pay the interest on the mortgage, and that came due every July and January. I don't think I grew resentful of the wealthy people on the hill, but I'm sure that I grew up with a sense of my own inferiority. In later years, even after going through college and being received everywhere, it was difficult for me not to adopt the attitude of humble respect with which I had grown up as a boy.

Summing up the influences of the family

Thus we see that the families into which children are born and the homes in which they grow up often leave lasting impressions upon their lives.

People who grow up in poverty, who live crowded together in two or three bare rooms, who have to eat cheap and unappetizing food, who rarely have vacations, usually grow up with certain feelings toward others who appear to be living in luxury. They see the fine clothes and the expensive automobiles, the large, beautiful residences and estates, of the few well-to-do of the community. They note the great differences in the homes and their surroundings in the various neighborhoods of the community. It is almost impossible for them not to form certain opinions about people who live differently from them.

And those who grow up in fine houses, with servants to do their work, often find it very hard to learn to respect those who live in the tenements, who appear unshaven, who speak English badly, who look like "foreigners." It is difficult for them to remember that underneath the shabby clothes and the unshaved faces are human beings who think and feel in much the same way as finely dressed men and women. Thus you see that the outer man plays a large part in molding the inner man.

However, soon other influences, outside the home, become important. These are the *neighborhood* influences which we shall consider next.

II. HOW THE NEIGHBORHOOD HELPS TO FORM OPINIONS AND BELIEFS

Even families of a small neighborhood in a community which seem to be very much alike, have very different ways of living, different attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and the like. Even their incomes vary.

Let us look at the houses and people who live in one small neighborhood of Laneville. In the corner house on Garfield Street lives the superintendent of the mill. Beside him lives a thrifty carpenter who, by hard work, has saved enough to buy his own little house, although there is still a large mortgage on it. Opposite lives the floorwalker in the local department store. Next to him is a master machinist's house. Beyond that lives an elevator man, who is able to live in the neighborhood because his brother and two grown-up sons are working and combine their earnings with his. Beyond the elevator man lives an automobile salesman. Across the street the manager of the local hotel has his home. Then follow, in succession, the owner of a small trucking business, an accountant who keeps books for a number of the stores on Main Street, a truck-driver, and three department-store clerks.

This is not a wealthy neighborhood; no single family could be called rich. Yet the children of the accountant, the machinist, the elevator man, and the truck-driver note with what great respect their parents greet the superintendent of the mill and the manager of the hotel. They learn to notice also that the superintendent and the manager have larger and better-kept lawns around their houses. They rarely, if ever, wear soiled or patched clothing. Each has a servant. Now and then fine automobiles drive up to their

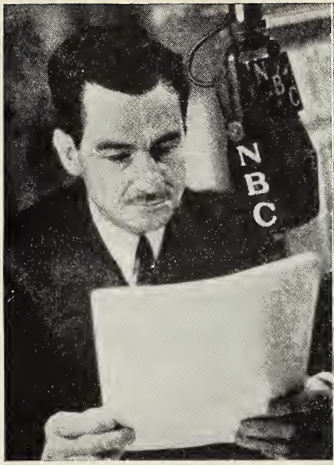


Fig. 219. Opinions are influenced by impersonal agencies—the "movies," the press, the radio, etc.

Keystone

Fig. 220. Opinions are influenced by personal, face-to-face groups—neighborhood gossip and exchange of ideas

houses and take the mothers of the families out to ride. Such things as these build in the children of the working class a certain kind of respect for those who have more money than they. A feeling of "their place" grows in their minds. Sometimes a feeling of inferiority develops and this becomes a bad influence on their lives.

In addition to these silent influences, other attitudes and beliefs are formed by neighborhood gossip and neighborhood opinions. Even when children are very small they listen to such neighborhood talk and are affected by it. For example, a child overhears a conversation about Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Jones. He learns that Mrs. Smith has adopted a little orphan, and concludes that she must be a fine person. He learns that Mrs. Jones hasn't paid her butcher bill for several months, and decides that she is dishonest. Thus the child's opinions about Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Jones, and many other persons in the neighborhood, community, and nation are formed.

Other attitudes and opinions are formed in the neighborhood because the neighbors like or dislike, approve or disapprove, certain things.

The following illustrations show how neighborhoods influence what people do, their recreations, their choice of friends, and their work.

> Among other attitudes and opinions that, as a youth, I accepted from neighborhood and family influences were these:
>
> 1. Dancing is wicked.
> 2. Card-playing is wrong, for cards are the tools of the devil.
> 3. Only church members can be trusted.
> 4. Always vote the straight Republican ticket.
> 5. "Blood will tell."
> 6. Poverty is a disgrace.
> 7. A person's success in life depends upon his material wealth.

Another person says:

> In my neighborhood you had to be very careful of what the neighbors would think. Some girls in high school who didn't live in the neighborhood were getting jobs as waitresses in summer resorts. I wanted to get such a job. I was not allowed to. "What would the neighbors think of your father if he let you do such a thing?" I had to be home very early from all parties, for late hours brought forth the question "What will the neighbors think? "

Young people's direct experiences with the grownups of the neighborhood also influence their opinions and attitudes. Like those formed in the family some of these attitudes and opinions have lasting effects. Note this example:

> I remember that when I was first permitted to play in the neighborhood the first grownups I spoke to were a young married woman and a very old woman. When my companions and I played games, running across the lawn and hiding behind the garage of the young woman's house, she often invited us in to have cookies and milk. But when we played a sort of hopscotch on the stone steps of the house of the old woman, she came out and chased us away with shrill threats. As I look back I find that as a result of these experiences for a long while I was inclined to be friendly toward all young women and to distrust all old women. My grandmother was the only exception.

Another person says:

> Mr. and Mrs. R. had no children and much money. They frequently gave us lovely gifts. About once a week we all dined in their home.

The evening was usually spent in looking at magazines and hearing about the travels of the R.'s at home and abroad. Sometimes we had victrola music—the operas and classics. Other times we would listen to fine music coming over their new radio. We had a great deal of respect for Mr. and Mrs. R. and we—my brothers and I—believe that much of our love of good music and the enjoyment of the trips we take is due to their influence.

The ideas, opinions, and attitudes of young people are also influenced by what the neighborhood thinks of some races and nationalities and religions. The following story illustrates what happened in two branches of the same family as a result of the neighborhoods in which they settled:

When my folks came to America they settled on the lower East Side of New York, which was at that time 100 per cent Jewish. For some years we were brought up with other East Side children. Here it was a simple matter to teach us Jewish ideas, habits, customs. My aunt and uncle, however, settled in Boston, where a large percentage of their neighborhood was Gentile. My Boston cousins did not have impressed upon their minds and hearts these Jewish ideas, and soon because of their companions they became more like Gentiles than like Jews.

The neighborhood influences in another part of the country are illustrated by the following account:

I was born in a small town in Iowa, where the leaders of all phases of community life were members of the "old families." My parents too belonged to this "old family" group, both parents having been born and reared within the community. In my neighborhood, strangers and newcomers were looked upon with questioning and even dislike.

The leaders in this community were very religious, all Protestants, and very prejudiced against Catholics. In fact, as a youngster I had the idea that the Catholics were always plotting to get control of the United States government, and, if they did, all Protestants would be killed.

Negroes too were looked upon with great disfavor. I think the whole community believed that all black people were thieves. This anti-Negro feeling was so strong that the few colored families who came to town soon moved to Kansas City or Chicago where they could escape this prejudice.

These three attitudes—(1) dislike for strangers, (2) prejudice against Catholics, and (3) prejudice against Negroes—became my own, and it has taken time and effort on my part to overcome them.

Keystone

FIG. 221. The church and church gatherings mold opinions and beliefs

III. HOW THE CHURCH AND THE SCHOOL HELP TO FORM OPINIONS AND BELIEFS

Many of the attitudes which are formed in the family are strengthened by the Church. In the more fortunate homes respect for honesty, truthfulness, justice, and the other virtues is developed. The churches too aim to strengthen this respect. Often the finest characteristics of personality are built up under the influence of the Church.

Often the Church has great influence in forming attitudes and opinions besides those already mentioned. The following example illustrates this point:

> At the beginning of the World War, in 1914, the minister of our church often expressed the attitude that the war was all wrong and that the entrance of the United States into the struggle would bring nothing but harm. As the war went on, however, and false stories of "Hun atrocities" had been spread abroad by the newspapers, he delivered a forceful sermon to the effect that he had reversed his opinion and now considered it the duty of the United States to enter the war and put a stop to the destruction caused by Germany's invasion of Belgium.

This sermon had a powerful effect and influenced a large proportion of the congregation so that they too began to favor America's entering the war.

In the school, attitudes are formed by other pupils, by the teachers and principals. Often old attitudes are changed completely or destroyed. Sometimes the old attitudes are strengthened. Sometimes new ones are built up. As you read the following episode ask yourself whether an old attitude was strengthened, or changed, or destroyed. Or was a new one created?

My parents, being moderately prosperous, supplied me with clothes that were much better than those of my playmates. I was not conscious of this until an incident occurred when I was in the first grade.

The teacher had informed us that we were to have our pictures taken the following Friday afternoon. My mother, hearing of it, decided that my new suit must be ready for the occasion.

Friday noon I was washed and scrubbed and put into my beautiful new suit. I was almost as delighted with it as was my mother. Shortly after I got back to school the photographer arrived and the picture was taken. I still have a copy of it, and when I look at it I feel sorry for myself, the only child in the group who was all dressed up. The others had on their ordinary school clothes, their faces were unwashed, and their hair untidy.

Back in the schoolroom, the children began to whisper about my clothes. They said such things as: "When will he have his hair curled and ribbons tied to it?" or "Did you notice the little girl we have with us this afternoon?"

I hated to be called a girl. Shortly after school I had a fight with three different boys about it. When I arrived home I was a mess. My suit was covered with the dirt of the street. I was a changed boy. My mother was horrified.

From that time on I became aware of the clothes that my schoolmates wore and tried not to differ. Although my parents tried to force me, I would never again wear that suit to school. As time went on this attitude toward dress and fear of the disapproval of others became stronger; even when I finally discovered the reason for it I could not overcome it.

We have now discussed the groups which influence people's lives from the very beginning—the home, the neighborhood, the Church, and the school. And as people grow older, other face-to-face groups begin to play a part.

IV. ORGANIZATIONS ALSO SHAPE OUR ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

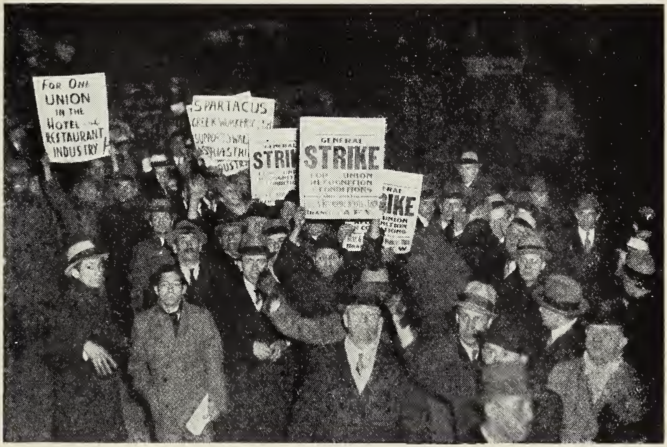
We have already learned of the many other face-to-face groups that Americans join. Labor unions and chambers of commerce, fraternal societies and neighborhood clubs, patriotic and memorial societies—thousands of organizations with tens of millions of members.

These organizations also play an important part in determining people's attitudes about many matters. They mold opinions about wages, hours of labor, qualities of laborers and businessmen. They help to form opinions about local and national politics. For example, members argue about which political party to vote for, the merits and defects of candidates for office, the passing of the local bond issue for a new school. Conversations go on about social problems in the community. Every aspect of life is talked over and opinions are formed.

Of course the attitudes of many people are established before they join organizations, but their contacts with the labor unions, the Rotary Club, and the lodge help to strengthen or to change them. For example, members of the labor union generally develop attitudes of loyalty toward other members, and sympathy for other unions. Generally they also develop an attitude of unfriendliness toward those workers who are not members of unions. When they hold feelings against employers of labor, these feelings are especially strengthened during periods of unemployment or during strikes. They express such opinions as "Labor never gets a square deal unless it fights for it"; "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

Likewise members of an organization of employers feel loyalty toward each other and sympathy toward other similar organizations. Their feeling against members of unions is strengthened during boycotts or strikes. They form such opinions as "Labor is out to get all it can for as little as it can give"; "We take all the risks; labor wants all the profits."

And so members of unions and members of employer organizations often develop such opposed attitudes and opinions that they cannot treat each other's aims and desires with understanding and tolerance. In such groups it is very difficult, indeed, to hear both sides of an industrial dispute presented fairly. Almost always only



Keystone

Fig. 222. An attempt to influence public opinion by workers in an industrial dispute. Will employers use other means to present their side?

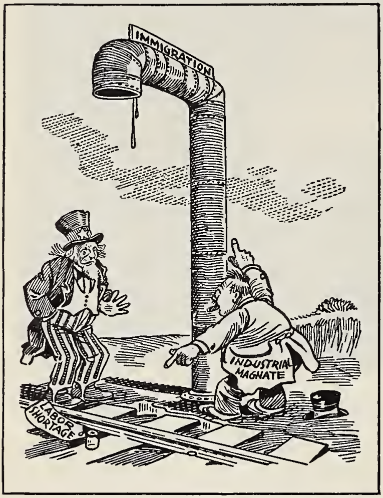
one side is given. How much chance is there in such organizations for real practice in tolerant thinking about the problems of the day? Does this make clear to you how important people's attitudes and opinions are to American civilization?

Up to this point we have studied how public opinion is formed by face-to-face groups. Now let us consider some other ways in which people are influenced.

V. THE ROLE OF THE NEWSPAPER IN SUPPLYING INFORMATION AND IN AFFECTING ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

Does the newspaper help to form attitudes and opinions? Every student of public life assures us that it does. Ask any group of men what affects public opinion in their community. Almost everyone will name, among other things, the newspaper. In Chapters XVII and XX you learned that the yellow newspapers often influence public opinion concerning crimes. There is no disagreement among authorities on such matters. The day-by-day headlines help to form public opinion about citizens arrested for crime, about public officials, about problems of government, about labor unions and employers.

Consider also the influence of newspapers in forming public opinion about war and international relations. For example, there is a widespread belief that a prominent syndicate of newspapers played a leading part in bringing about the Spanish-American War in 1898. Authorities are agreed that the tone of the articles in these newspapers aroused millions of people to demand war against Spain. On the other hand, you will recall from your earlier studies how, in a similar emergency, certain other newspapers by influencing public opinion helped to prevent war between the United States and Great Britain. Every day newspaper columns and editorials take definite stands on international problems.

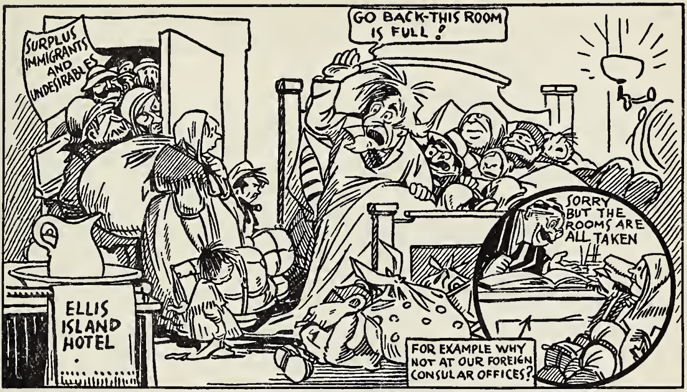


Birmingham *Age-Herald*

Fig. 223. If you read only the newspaper in which *this* cartoon was printed, what would you think of the problem of immigration?

Authorities are convinced that the newspaper does reflect the general public opinion of the country. And the great power of the press has been proved many times. A famous British journalist wrote as long ago as 1886: "I am but a comparatively young journalist, but I have seen cabinets upset, ministers driven into retirement, laws repealed, great social reforms initiated . . . generals nominated, governors appointed, armies sent hither and thither, war proclaimed, and war averted by the agency of newspapers."

Do newspapers influence public opinion by presenting *proved* facts? Authorities differ on this question. In the past 50 years there has been a sharp decline in the proportion of newspaper space devoted to supplying information. Indeed today the average newspaper-reader receives very little accurate information concerning controversies in industry, agriculture, business, international affairs, and the like. Very often he receives emotional, and sometimes imaginary, accounts of scandal, crime, and controversies of various


SURPLUS IMMIGRANTS AND UNDESIRABLES
GO BACK-THIS ROOM IS FULL!
SORRY BUT THE ROOMS ARE ALL TAKEN
ELLIS ISLAND HOTEL
FOR EXAMPLE WHY NOT AT OUR FOREIGN CONSULAR OFFICES?

Darling in *Collier's*

FIG. 224. If you read only the newspaper in which *this* cartoon was printed, what would you think of the problem of immigration?

kinds. These help to form his attitudes. This statement of Dr. Peter Odegard, a student of public opinion, is as true today as when he first uttered it:

> In every social gathering one hears arguments dismissed and evidence discounted as "mere newspaper talk." None the less, newspapers continue to influence opinion through their interpretation of current events, through editorials, and through the character and amount of news which they print. The constant iteration of any idea in a daily newspaper will presently capture public attention, whether the idea be good or bad, sensible or foolish.[1]

It is very difficult to determine the real extent of the newspaper's influence:

> The basic attitudes of most men and women are pretty well formed before they begin to read newspapers. The family, the school, and the church have done their work. Newspapers rarely make opinions—they play upon existing ones. Few persons buy papers which are consistently at odds with their cherished beliefs.[1]

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[1] Peter Odegard, *The American Public Mind*, pp. 116–117. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

VI. OTHER AGENCIES ALSO HELP TO FORM OUR ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

Space is lacking to discuss more than a few of the other agencies that help to mold public opinion and attitudes. We can do little more than name them.

1. *Magazines and Books.* Millions of magazines and books are read by the American people each year, and these go far toward molding their ideas. Magazines contain a great variety of stories, articles, and the like, in which the writers freely express their personal opinions. The colorful advertisements and photographs help to increase people's wants and desires. It seems that books on every known subject can be found, and the authors of many of them make definite efforts to influence the reader. Certainly there is no doubt that magazines and books help to mold the opinions and attitudes of the people who read them.

2. *The "Movies."* Perhaps next in importance among the agencies influencing opinions and tastes is the motion picture. Millions of Americans see one "movie" a week; many see two or more. Think for a moment of the way in which these emotional dramas of the screen help people to make up their minds about other people, government, law, or customs. The plots themselves, the conversation of the characters, and the settings of the picture all tend to affect the thoughts and feelings of Americans.

3. *The Radio.* Each day and each night millions of American minds receive facts, and get impressions, attitudes, and opinions from the voices that come to them over the radio. Many students believe that the radio is one of the most powerful agencies in forming opinion. In 1938 there were 26,666,550 "radio families" in America. That is, there were that many homes that had at least one radio set. The total number of radios, of course, is much larger. Many homes have more than one radio. Also there are thousands of them in automobiles, stores, restaurants, and other places.

4. *Advertising.* Advertising also plays a tremendous role in molding the attitudes, opinions, and tastes of our people. We shall

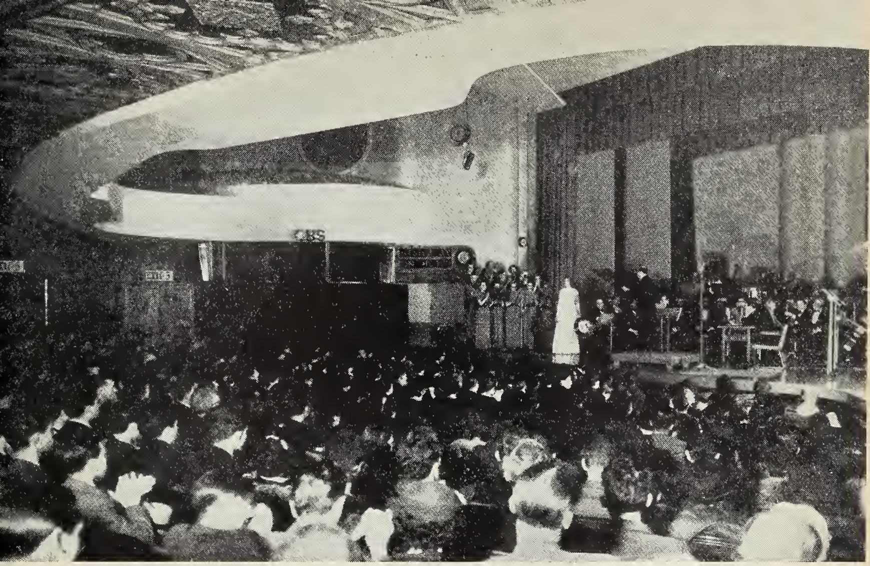

Fig. 225. Radio in advertising: an audience watching a commercial broadcast in one of the larger studios. Millions more will hear it in their homes

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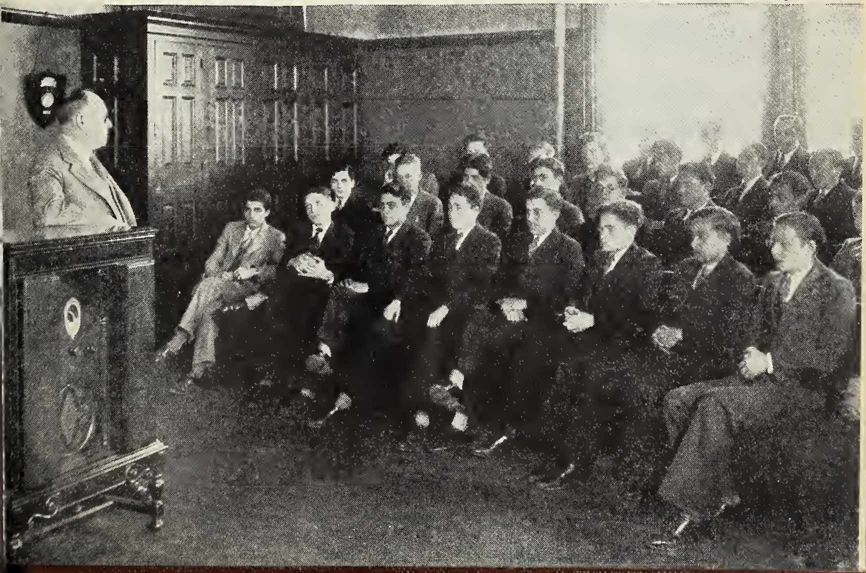
Fig. 226. Radio in education: a high-school class listening to an instruction broadcast in a classroom. Thousands of others who are interested in this subject will listen in their own homes

Keystone



study it carefully in later years. At this point, therefore, merely remember that it should be added to our list of important agencies of public opinion.

SUMMING UP: HOW OPINIONS AND BELIEFS ARE FORMED

We have now illustrated the two chief kinds of agencies which help to make the Americans what they are: first, the face-to-face groups in which people live; second, the many agencies which influence personalities.

Of these we found that the face-to-face groups—the family, the neighborhood, the school, the Church, and the various organizations to which we belong—exert the most important influence. They exert this influence chiefly through conversation—through criticism or praise, approval or disapproval. Gestures also play an important part. Attitudes are conveyed to others by smiles or frowns, through facial expressions of shocked astonishment or of delight, through the shrug of a shoulder or some other significant gesture. Hour after hour throughout people's lives such things change their attitudes and points of view, their opinions and beliefs.

Perhaps outstanding among the other forces which influence people is the newspaper (and to a lesser extent magazines and books). Newspapers reach most of the homes of America each day. But other agencies are very important also. The movies are attended by millions of people each week. Radios are installed in 82 per cent of the American homes. Advertising is done on billboards, in newspapers and magazines, on theater programs, in busses and subway trains, even in the skies. All these taken together form public opinion in America.

INTERESTING READINGS FROM WHICH YOU CAN GET ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Bent, Silas. Ballyhoo. Boni & Liveright, New York. A good treatment of the newspaper and its influence on the reader.

Bernays, Edward L. Crystallizing Public Opinion. Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York. An excellent discussion of how public opinion is formed.

Bernays, Edward L. Propaganda. Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York. Tells of the many different kinds of propaganda.

Ernst, Morris L., and Lorentz, Pare. Censored. Jonathan Cape & Robert Ballou, Inc., New York. Tells of the role of censorship in the "movies."

Fisher, Dorothy Canfield. The Bent Twig. Henry Holt and Company, Inc., New York. The story of a good mother's influence on her daughter's life.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Middletown. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. See especially Chapter XXVIII, "Things Making and Unmaking Group Solidarity."

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Middletown in Transition. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York. See Chapter X, "Getting Information: The Press," and Chapter XII, "The Middletown Spirit."

Marshall, Leon C. Readings in the Story of Human Progress. The Macmillan Company, New York. See Chapter XIV, section 1, "Some Early Forms of Social Control."

Odegard, Peter. The American Public Mind. Columbia University Press, New York. A discussion of the forces that have made the American think as he does.

Thrasher, Frederic M. The Gang. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. This is a study of 1313 gangs in Chicago.

Walpole, Hugh. Jeremy. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York. A story of a boy and the forces that mold him.

☆ VII ☆

The American Character and Outlook

Chapter XXIII · The Education of All the Children of All the People

★

Education makes good citizens

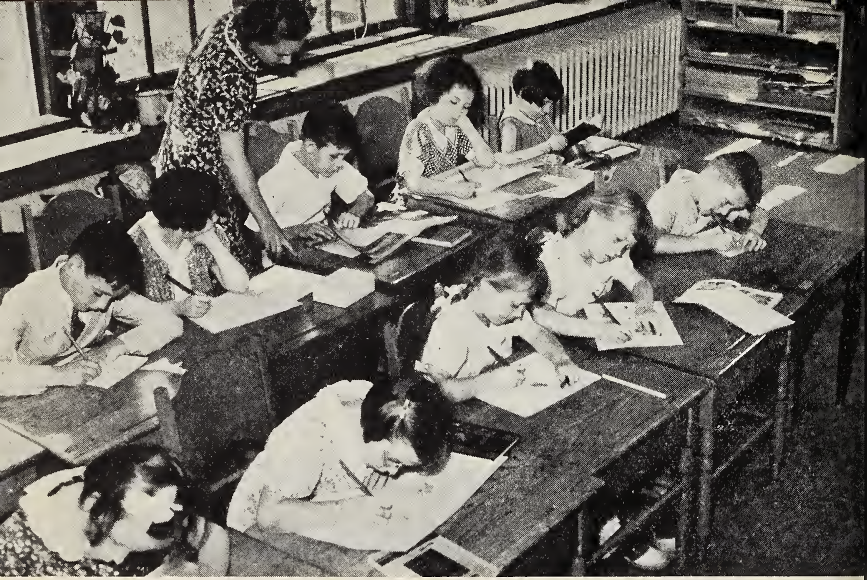
Do you agree with these two statements?

"Democratic government will not work unless the people understand their problems."
"To understand their problems today the people must be well educated."

Many famous men in many countries have made statements such as these. Democracy, they say, depends on *understanding*, and understanding cannot be developed without *education.* Of course other important reasons have been advanced for educating the people. One, for example, is that an education enables a person to earn a better living. Another is that it helps him to enjoy life, to create and appreciate fine music, pictures, books, and many other things. Still another is that it develops fine character. There are many others. But because we are studying problems of citizenship in this book, we shall confine our discussion largely to the *political reasons* for education.

Turn again through the earlier chapters, especially IX to XII, if you have any serious doubt that the people must be educated if democracy is to work. Recall that today most of our people live in cities, where the community problems are impersonal affairs. The majority of the people know little about them or have little interest in them. Recall from Chapter IX the contrast between community government in 1840 and community government today.

A hundred years ago in the little towns and villages of America everyone knew everyone else. Everyone understood the local problems, because they were personal matters. Every citizen knew whether he wished to vote to have the main street repaired, a new bridge built over the brook, the schoolhouse repainted, or new



Keystone

Fig. 227. In the beginning years of school

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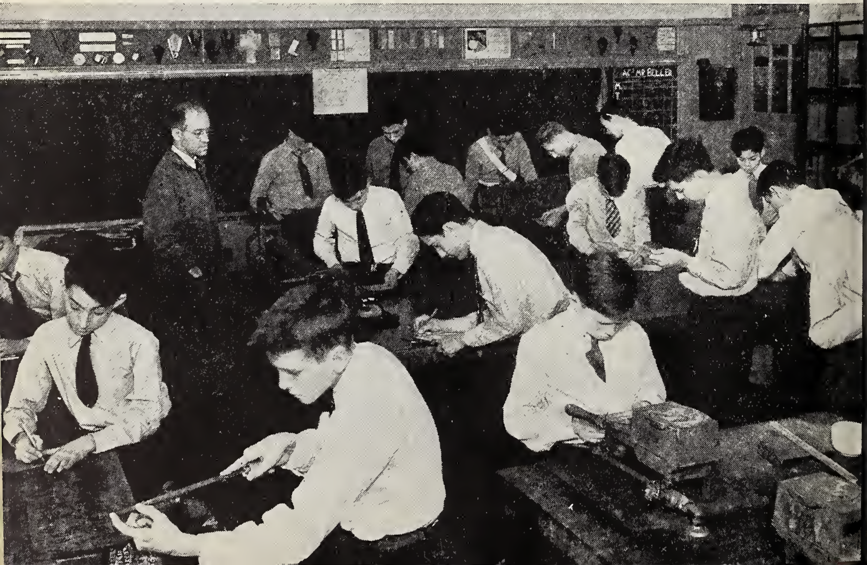
Fig. 228. Learning a trade in the sheet-metal shop of a junior high school

Ewing Galloway



community fire apparatus bought. Such public problems as these were debated face to face in the town meetings as well as on the village streets in neighborhood groups. Everyone made up his mind about them, and voted accordingly.

But the intimate, personal life of the little village was replaced by the impersonal ways of living of the huge metropolis. The town meeting gave way to the mayor-council plan or to the city-manager plan of government. As cities grew bigger it became impossible for the people to govern themselves directly. They understood less and less about their own public problems. Professional politicians, having an interest at stake in the affairs of the community, stepped in to run government, and more and more the people let them do it. As that happened "democratic government" was endangered.

The fathers of American government relied on all the people being educated

Even 100 years ago leading Americans understood that if our people became scattered over the huge continent, or if they gathered together in great cities, it would be difficult to keep them informed about and interested in public problems, especially those of the nation as a whole. There were no radios, telephones, or telegraphs. There were few railroads or macadamized roads. There were no airplanes, automobiles, or other swift means of communication. No great metropolitan newspapers and magazines in which information could be spread quickly were being published. As the people spread out farther and farther away from the Atlantic coast and hundreds of villages, towns, and cities appeared, leaders insisted that the only hope for democratic government was education.

"Educate the people in the Constitution and in lawmaking," they said; "then they will understand and keep interested in public affairs. Teach them to read and write, so that they can inform themselves. Teach them the geography of the earth and the history of man's life on it. If they are taught all these things, they'll understand! And if they understand, American democracy will be protected."

For 100 years leaders in America have said and believed this, and for 100 years they have been building a great system of public education. Any study of American community and national life would not be complete without a discussion of the American plan of education. But, first, let us pause a moment and ask what we mean by "education."

What does it mean to be "educated"?

If we should ask you what "being educated" means, no doubt you would say: "Why, going to school, of course! Learning to read and write and do arithmetic, to spell and find places on maps, to study history and science. Everyone knows what it is to be educated!" That is the answer most people—grownups as well as children—would give, for practically everyone in America goes or has gone to school. More than 95 per cent of all Americans can read and write and "reckon." We say they know the "three R's," that is, "reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic." Another way to say it is that they are "literate." The dictionary defines "literate" as able to read . . . learned . . . instructed in science . . . versed in letters . . . and the like. The law of our country says that an "illiterate" person is one who is "unable to read." But being educated really consists of much more than being "literate."

To understand what being educated means try to think back to the time when you were a tiny baby. You could not walk, you could not talk, you could not dress yourself. Your mother and father had to teach you these things. They taught you to take steps, first by having you hold their hands, then by letting you hold on to other things in the room; finally you could walk alone. They taught you how to button things, to lace things, and to tie things. They taught you how to hold a spoon, a fork, and a knife; how to conduct yourself while eating. They taught you the social manners of young people and older people living together in homes and neighborhoods.

All these things went on in your home. Your mother and father and other relatives were really "educators." They were teachers and your home was truly a school. Playing in your neighborhood with your friends was "going to school" also. Throughout the first four or five years of your life—during the waking hours of the day—you were really being educated, long before you went to a building called school.

Then, when you became four or five or six, you did go to such a school building from 8:30 or 9:00 in the morning to 3:30 or 4:00 in the afternoon—five or six hours (a fourth of the day). From Monday to Friday, from September to June, you have been going to school. That is the way you spend about 180 or half the days of the year. So, since you were, let us say, five years of age you have been spending altogether about a tenth of your life in a school. But this does not mean that you spend only one tenth of your life *being educated*. Far from it.

The other nine tenths of the time you are being educated too. While you play or work at home, while you meet in clubs and other groups in the neighborhood or community, and while you make out-of-town vacation visits with your parents, your education is also going on. Think of the thousands of conversations you have heard between the older people in your home. Did you not learn a great deal from them? Think of the discussions about public affairs you have had with your parents and other grownups. Are you not being educated by these?

Perhaps you sell or deliver papers after school, or work in a store or shop on week ends and during vacations. Perhaps you do certain other regular kinds of work for your father or mother at home. You are being educated when you do these things. Are you being educated when you go to the "movies"? when you read magazines, newspapers, and books? when you listen to the radio? From the newspapers and magazines, the "movies" and newsreels, from radio news broadcasts and other programs you learn many new facts about your country, about other parts of the world, about history and geography and science.

Perhaps you are studying music at home, learning to play an instrument. Or you may sing in a church chorus or choir, or paint pictures, or model figures in clay, or build things in a shop. If you are doing such things, you certainly are being educated.

What about your hobbies? Do you collect stamps? Or perhaps your hobby is photography—taking camera pictures and developing the negatives. It may be making model airplanes, birdhouses, or any number of other things. Such hobbies not only provide enjoyment for your leisure time; they help to educate you as well. Can you tell in what ways?

Are you being educated when you take part in sports and other games? Do you play tennis, baseball, basketball, or go in for other athletics? Perhaps you dance, take part in plays or pageants or other community affairs. Or you go automobiling.

In every one of these activities and in many others, you very likely learn something of importance. You learn skills; you learn many facts. Certainly you learn how to get along with people; how to lead, or organize, others.

Outside as well as inside the school, then, your education is going on. Whenever you are learning a new fact, a new idea, a new skill—no matter whether you learn it in school or out—you are being educated.

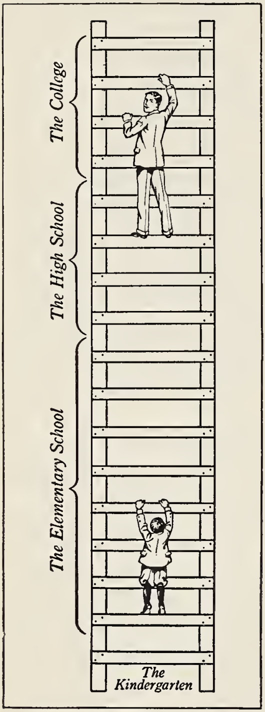


Fig. 229. The American educational ladder. Each rung in the ladder represents a year of education

Can you see now why we say that education really consists of much more than going to school 5 hours a day, 180 days a year? Now let us look for a moment at the kind of education that goes on in schools today.

The schools of your community

Think about the schools in your own community. How many different kinds are there? Is there a high school? Are there several junior high schools? Are there many elementary schools? Are there kindergartens and nursery schools for the very little children? Are there secretarial or other commercial or vocational schools? Are there schools for adults? Is there a city college or a municipal university? Perhaps you live in a state-university town or a community in which there is a private college or university.

If you have all these in your town, you have a complete "system of education." Another way to say it is: The "ladder of educational opportunity" reaches from infancy to adulthood. Figure 229 shows you the "ladder" idea. Do you see how the public schools make it possible for the boy or girl to climb up the ladder of knowledge and skill and appreciation until finally he is ready to step into a job at 22 or more years of age? In such a community a child could enter a nursery school at the age of two or three . . . pass on to kindergarten at about four years of age . . . enter the first grade of the elementary school at six . . . go on grade by grade for six years, and enter the junior high school at twelve . . . spend three years in the junior high school . . . at fifteen go into a senior high school for three years more, and graduate at about eighteen . . . enter college and perhaps spend four years there, graduating at twenty-two . . . enter a medical school, a law school, a divinity school, an engineering school, or a school for architecture or art for several more years. On and on he goes from early childhood to adulthood—in quest of the education he desires.

Two kinds of school

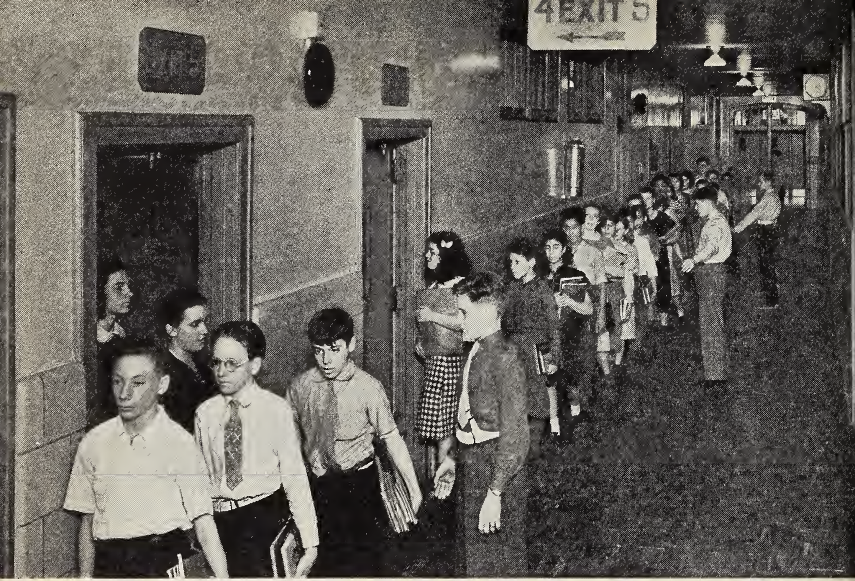
So much for the way an American child can climb the ladder of opportunity to a fuller life by means of education. Let us look next into what goes on in these schools. We shall consider briefly two different kinds of school.

For convenience we shall call one the "old," and the other the "new." But when we call one old, we do not mean that it existed 100 years ago and has long since passed out of existence. By the old we mean the kind that your father and mother probably went to only 20 to 30 years ago. And the same kind can still be found around the world, including many parts of our own country.

Perhaps you will get a clearer idea of school education—old and new—if we give you two word pictures. One is a general picture of a school in which old ways of teaching and studying are used. Of course this is purposely set down as an extreme case; so, necessarily, the picture is not attractive. Most schools today are not so old as this description pictures them. Instead, only some of the old ways are kept, and many new ones are introduced.

Then we draw a kind of general picture of the new school and what goes on inside. This too, perhaps, may be said to be an extreme case, for few schools in the country do all the things we include in the story.

But after you have read the contrast between the two you will



Ewing Galloway

Fig. 230. At 3:30 school is over for the day. Pupils take their homework and march out

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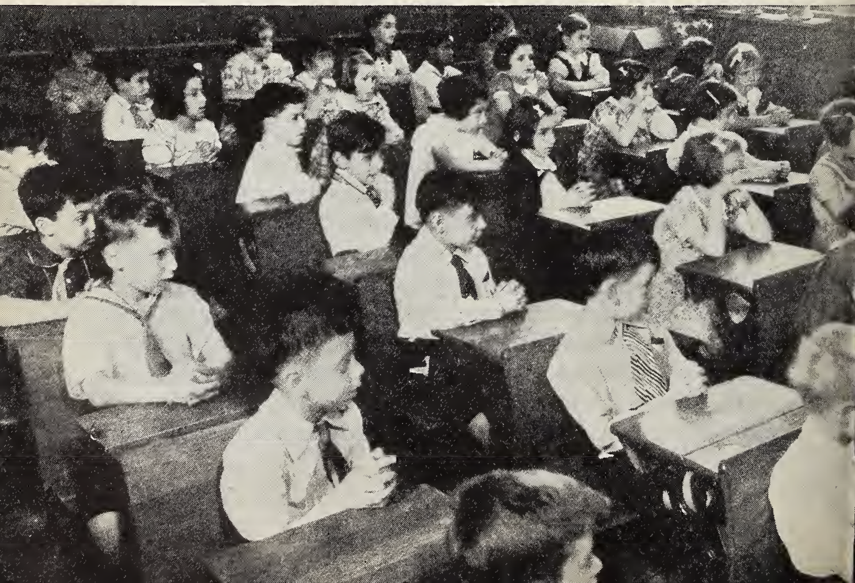
Fig. 231. Hands folded and sitting at attention. A hard task for little folks!

Keystone



probably understand better some of the changes that have been brought about in education.

First, then, come into an American school of the kind your parents very likely attended.

It is 8:55 in the morning, and the children in the graded school have hung up their coats and hats in the long cloakrooms next to the classrooms. They are now busy at their desks unstrapping their schoolbooks or looking over the homework they spent an hour on the night before. A bell rings and all sit up at attention in rows of screwed-down iron desks, ready for the day's work to begin.

As we visit the eighth grade and are introduced to the children, the whole class stands to greet us. It is time for "civics" and we stay to see what happens. One by one the children rise and repeat word for word the sections of Article I of the Constitution assigned the day before to be memorized. Mary, John, Jane, Peter—each rises and recites the same thing in practically the same tone of voice . . . "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested . . ." A word or phrase left out will mean a "bad mark."

Classroom after classroom presents this type of recitation. In the sixth-grade classroom children are sitting at attention, with books closed, ready for history. They wait for the dreaded questions, and sigh with relief when they are asked to recite something they remember. Except for the one voice, there is complete silence.

When we enter the third grade the class is reciting the "eights" from the arithmetic tables. One by one the children go through the same routine: "8 times 1 equals 8; 8 times 2 equals 16; 8 times 3 equals 24; 8 times 4 equals 32; 8 times 5 equals 40; 8 times 6 equals 48"; and so on. A perfect record for the "eights" will mean a golden star on the front blackboard. After this arithmetic class, the children will be tested on states, capitals, and rivers in geography. "Maine, Augusta, on the Kennebec River; New Hampshire, Concord, on the Merrimack River; Vermont, Montpelier, on the Winooski River"; and so on.

The recess bell rings at 10 o'clock and the children file out into the corridor and stand in line in front of the water fountain. Then comes a fifteen-minute period out of doors. This gives the children their first opportunity really to relax, almost their first chance to speak above a whisper. Then back to the classrooms for more twenty-minute periods of reciting until noon.

Twelve o'clock comes and most of the children hurry home to lunch—hurry, because they must be back at their desks when the bell rings at one o'clock.

The program during the afternoon is much the same. Textbook assignments are made; questions and answers given. Everywhere is order, tense quiet. Day after day the same class periods are held: hands and hair inspection, reading, penmanship, arithmetic, sight-singing, drawing, health lessons, geography, history, grammar, and so on.

At 3:30 the children assemble the books and lesson assignments they must take home to study—homework in arithmetic . . . ten paragraphs in history . . . "Switzerland" in geography . . . "intransitive verbs" in grammar.

And those fortunate enough not to be kept after school for punishment (washing blackboards, cleaning erasers, studying and reciting history, etc.) march out two by two. At a certain point on the pavement they scatter in various directions, happy that the school day is over.

Day after day—yes, year after year—there is little change in the life of this kind of school. A Christmas program and a pageant of some kind at the end of the year are the rare events that bring parents to the school. Only when "something is wrong," or when "John's marks are so low," do fathers or mothers come into contact with the teacher.

Now this old type of school may not be, and probably is not, the kind you go to. But it exists in every industrial country of the earth, including our own. Ask your fathers and mothers to describe the kind of school they went to, the kinds of things they learned, and the like. See if what they say does not agree quite fully with the kind of schooling we have just described.

Do you see what this kind of school education consists of? It is little more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. Experts on education today call it education in "literacy." They say such schools are "schools of literacy" only. And, they maintain, since being educated means much more than becoming literate, schools should do many more things than teach young people to "read, write, and reckon."

Building American citizens through "new" schools

To see what it is that these experts on education are driving at, come in imagination a moment into another kind of school—the "new" kind.

We find the fourth-grade group having its regular early-morning discussion. A nine-year-old boy is in the teacher's chair, and the teacher sits in the circle as a member of the group. The chairman of the farm-excursion committee is called upon to report the plans for the trip that is to be taken to the country the next day. The children make notes of the time and place of starting and things to bring. A committee member hands out a mimeographed copy of the plans the class, with the guidance of the teacher, had jointly made during the preceding days. It contains an outline of the things that are to be observed and studied on the trip. There is further discussion. Some minor changes in plans are made. Finally there is general approval of the whole plan. Assistant guides are appointed. Other business comes up. The chairman of the library committee reminds the boys and girls that cards must be filled out and filed before any books may be taken out of the library. Individuals working on their separate projects report to the teacher on the progress they have made. The bulletin-board committee reminds the group of two important newspaper clippings which have just been posted.

In another room a ninth-grade group is conducting the meeting of the junior-senior-high-school assembly. A thirteen-year-old girl is in the presiding chair. A vigorous debate from the floor is in progress, and a dozen boys and girls are taking part in it. At its close, a program of music and a short talk illustrated by a motion picture are presented by representatives from the ninth grade.

In the social-science room the social-problems club of the twelfth grade is having an exciting discussion of the meaning to America of war in foreign lands. Maps and charts hang on the walls. The tables are piled high with reference books, magazines, bulletins, and pamphlets. Folders are full of materials helpful to a thorough discussion. Here is group study of a vast amount of individual-student research. The teacher, though not presiding, is always alert to ask important questions and guide the discussion.

At noon the work of the busy lunchroom is carried on largely by students. They prepare much of the meal, help to serve it, handle the money and accounts, clean up, keep order, and the like. Are there teachers, professional cooks, and managers at hand to cooperate with them? Yes, of course, for this is an *educational* institution.

In the afternoon we visit one alert group after another. In a large laboratory some ninth-graders are building a miniature water-purification plant, modeling it upon the one the city operates. "It works!" one boy proudly exclaims, drawing pure drinking water from the outlet.

In a shop a fifteen-foot motor launch is getting its final coat of paint. Beside it several boys are tuning up a motor. Another group is working with a homemade radio. Engineering books and blueprints are being studied by several others.

In the Student Council Office the high-school court is in session. The elected judge, jury, and prosecuting officers, and the teacher-adviser are sitting in their proper places. Several real problems of discipline have arisen in the school and the cases are to be brought before the court.

The School Council is holding its weekly meeting in another room. The elected representatives, from every group of pupils from the primary grades to the high school and from the staff, are present. Questions concerning matters involving the whole school are being considered and decided.

In the school-newspaper office other students are busy at work. Members of the editorial staff are carrying on their individual and group tasks.

In the music wing of the building the band and orchestra and glee club are meeting for practice and discussion.

Members of the cast of the senior-high-school play are working with the student playwrights and stage director on their new script.

At five o'clock several hundred young people and parents assemble in the auditorium. An illustrated lecture on a new scientific discovery by the university's archaeological expedition in the Near East is to be given. This will be followed by a general discussion from the floor.

We return to the school after dinner in the evening. The place is ablaze with light. In the auditorium several hundred grownups

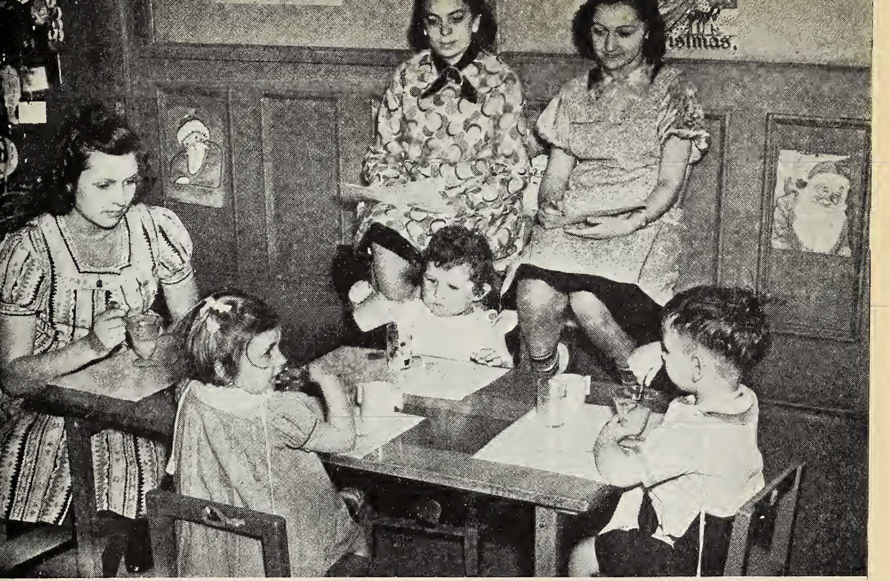


Fig. 232. In the modern nursery school are learned the first lessons of social life

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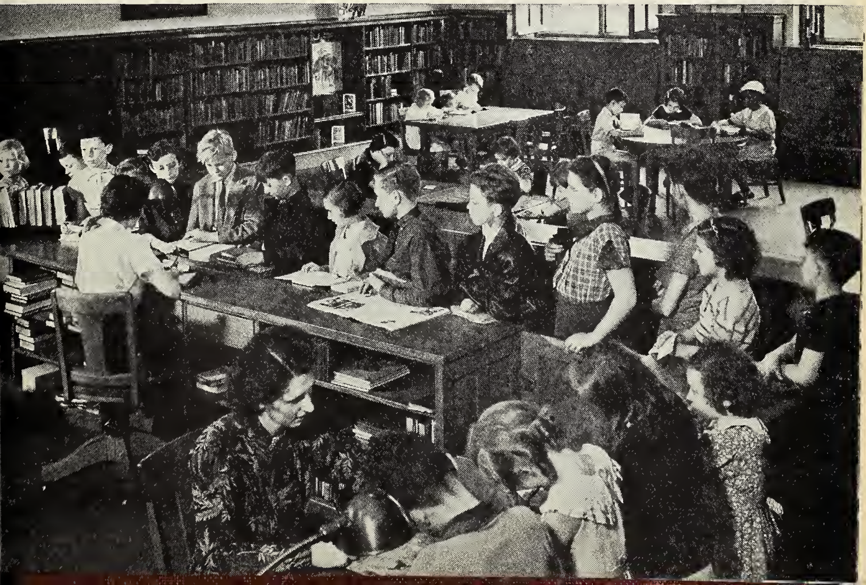
Fig. 233. The school library is a busy center of interest in the schools of today

Ewing Galloway



and high-school students have gathered to discuss the topic "Can America Keep Out of War?" Both parents and high-school students take part in the heated debate which has been launched by an ex-army officer and a professor of European history from the university. Such community forums are held regularly throughout the year.

Meanwhile the laboratories, studios, shops, and library of the school are busy places. There are some young people of high-school age, but most of those present in the evening are grownups. In the office of the principal of the community's elementary schools is a group of mothers and fathers who are meeting to discuss and study children and children's problems. In the art studios a number of adults are painting or modeling. A poetry class is reading and talking and having coffee together in another room. Stage sets for a play are being built in one of the shops by another group.

Perhaps we have given enough illustrations to show the kind of life that goes on in the new school. Here is no soldier-like marching of students from one class to another. Here are no rigid long lines of desks filled by silent students with folded hands. Here the day is not filled with question-answer memory work from textbooks. Instead, this school is a community of face-to-face groups, exchanging opinions and ideas, learning to co-operate by co-operating, learning what government is by governing themselves, growing in appreciation of art by creating original art products. Here is a school in which groups of young people and older people come together to *live.*

Before the days of schools: education in the "school of experience"

Now think back a bit. Do you think your great-great-great grandfather in the days of the Revolutionary War (1775–1781) went to either of the kinds of schools we have described—the old or the new? In 1800 were there such schools for the frontier children of the Ohio Valley? Were there any in Indiana and Illinois from 1810 to 1820? or in Missouri and Kansas, Oregon and California, in 1850? No, what education the boys and girls who lived in wilderness cabins got came while they were helping their fathers and mothers clear the land and make homes. Boys from the age of six

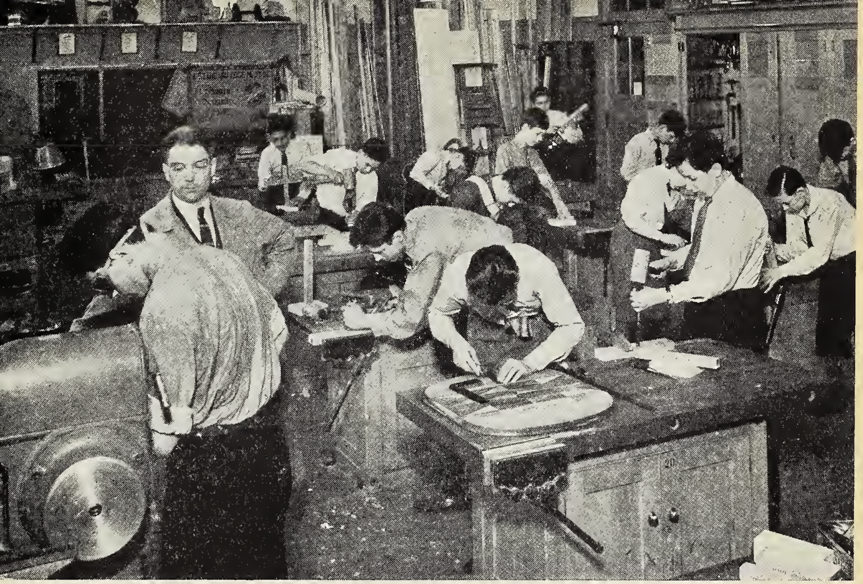


Fig. 234. Learning by doing in the "new" education

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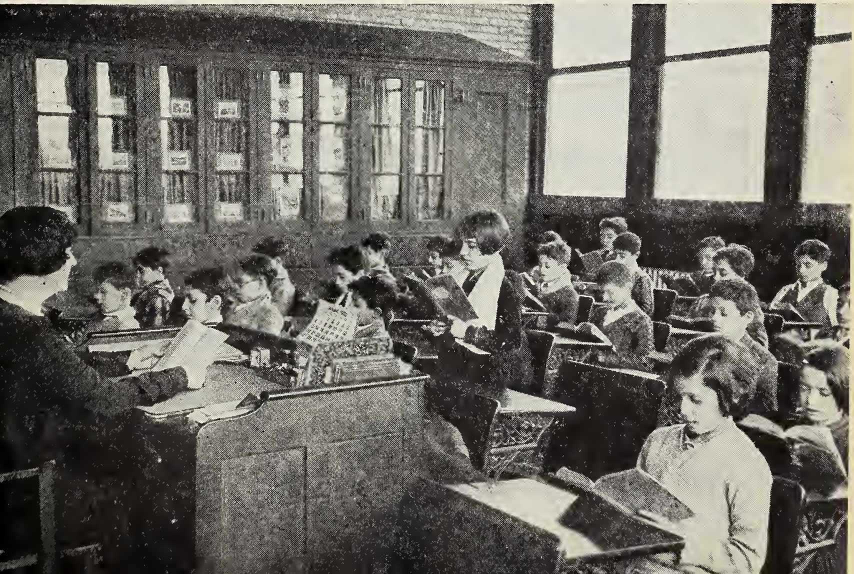
Fig. 235. Learning from recitation in the "old" education

Ewing Galloway



or eight did such chores about the house as tending chickens, feeding pigs, bringing in wood, and the like. As they grew older they plowed and cultivated and harvested the fields with their fathers. The girls learned to cook, clean the house, spin yarn, weave cloth, cut and sew garments, and the like. These boys and girls had no "Nature Study" books from which to learn about the plants and animals of the forest and plains. They learned from "Nature" herself. They knew the birds by their calls or songs as well as by the shape and color of their bodies. They came to understand the habits of the wild animals and how to protect themselves against them with guns and other weapons. The frontier boys and girls had not even a school of "literacy," let alone a "new" school. All their education they got in the "school of hard knocks" . . . in the "school of experience."

"But, what about books?" you ask. "Didn't they learn reading, writing, and arithmetic from them?"

Some did, yes, even some who lived in the frontier cabins. Their mothers and fathers taught them to read from the Bible or from the other two or three books that they had. But we must remember that on the frontier, and even in most of the village and town homes, there were no newspapers and magazines and almost no books. Chapter XIX showed you that only in the past 50 years has inexpensive reading matter become available to the people generally. Long after our national government was formed there were only a very few people who could read. And many of those who could had only the Bible or the Catechism to help them.

Universal public education now required by law

Today nearly all Americans take for granted that their children will be educated at public expense. Taxpayers assume that one fourth or more of the taxes they pay will be spent for running public schools (see Chapter XVIII). Laws in every state require every child to attend school for a certain number of years. In other words, a certain amount of school is now universal in every state—that is, *everybody* must have it. Many citizens still grumble about the annual school-tax bill, but they pay it. So today we can say: All American children receive an education and most of them get it in public schools at public expense.

This is true also of the people of most other industrial-democratic countries. For example, all British children and the children of much of the Empire, all French children, and the children of the Scandinavian countries, of Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, are required to go to school. So are the children of the dictator countries, Germany, Japan, and Russia, and many others. To be able to "read, write, and reckon" and to have certain other kinds of knowledge are required of all their people.

The idea of universal education paid for by public taxes is new

We must not forget that in the history of our civilization the idea of educating *all* the people *in schools* is a very new one. In each of the earlier civilizations on the earth there were schools for a *few* of the people. There were schools for the children of the well-to-do; there were schools for those others who had special talents. Such schools existed long ago in China, India, and other Oriental countries. The Greeks and Romans and other people who lived about the Mediterranean Sea had them 2000 years ago. There were some throughout medieval times and during the formation of the modern European countries of France, Great Britain, Germany, and others after 1100 or 1200 A.D. But we must remember that throughout all this time it was education for the classes, not for the masses.

Not until the 1800's was education extended from the classes to the masses in America. In some countries the story of public education reaches back not much more than a half a century. Not 1 per cent of the people in Japan could read and write in 1868; today 99 per cent can do so. From 1 to 99 per cent in 70-odd years!

In Russia also public education has come to the people in general quite recently. In 1913, not long before the outbreak of the Revolution, only about 30 per cent of the people could read. In the late 1930's the Russian government estimated that 80 per cent of the population were literate.

Do not such facts convince you that even the idea of a literate education for all—that is, teaching all the people to read and write—has a very short history? It is not too much to say that the modern world has succeeded in building literacy only in the past 50 years.

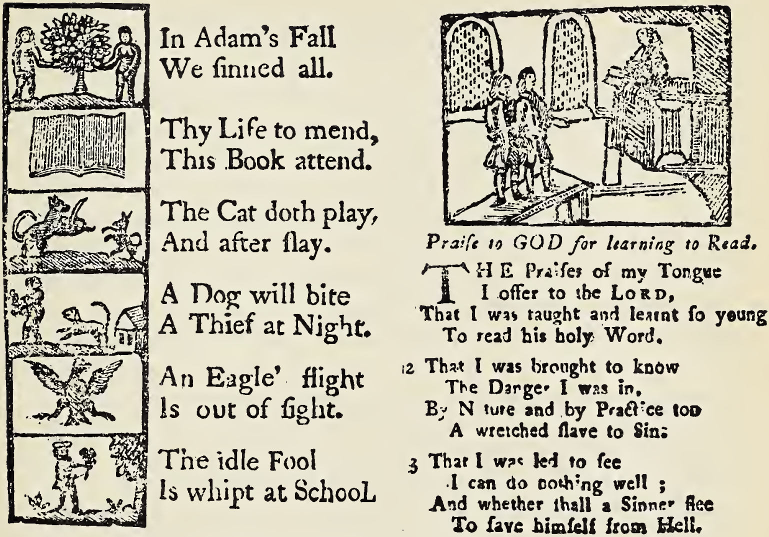
> It is therefore ord^{r}ed, y^{t} ev^{r}y towneship in this jurisdiction, aft^{r} y^{e} Lord hath increased y^{m} to y^{e} number of 50 household^{rs}, shall then forthwth appoint one wthin their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write & reade, whose wages shall be paid eith^{r} by y^{e} parents or mast^{rs} of such children, or by y^{e} inhabitants in gen^{r}all, by way of supply, as y^{e} maior p^{t} of those y^{t} ord^{r} y^{e} prudentials of y^{e} towne shall appoint.

Fig. 236. The law of 1647

In America, right up to the War of the Revolution, there were very few schools. Only nine little colleges had been established in the entire country. Of course this does not mean that the British people who settled the thirteen colonies and made them into independent states did not respect the idea of educating their children. Far from that; the very first colonists to land in North America began to build schools and even a college. In 1636, six years after the first settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Harvard College was established. And in 1647 a law was passed which required every community of 50 households or more to set up a school in which reading and writing should be taught (see figure 236).

But actually few children were able to go to these schools, for their parents had to pay the teachers' wages. At that time education was not public, not paid for by taxes. On the contrary, each parent paid a "rate bill," that is, so much money for each child he sent to school. The few schools which did exist were attended mostly by children of large landowners, merchants, and shippers. For such well-to-do people *there was a whole system of education.* From the very beginning of the first colonies the educational ladder of opportunity stretched from the reading school to the college for those who could afford to climb it. For example, even as early as 1635 the Boston Latin School was started to train children who had already learned to read and write.

But for the sons and daughters of farmers and craftsmen in villages and small towns education consisted of little more than the learning and skills acquired in the household, in the shop, and on the farm. A few communities had "dame schools" in which housewives or widows taught children their letters, that is, the letters of



In Adam's Fall
We ſinned all.

Thy Life to mend,
This Book attend.

The Cat doth play,
And after ſlay.

A Dog will bite
A Thief at Night.

An Eagle's flight
Is out of ſight.

The idle Fool
Is whipt at School.

Praiſe to GOD for learning to Read.

THE Praiſes of my Tongue
I offer to the LORD,
That I was taught and learnt ſo young
To read his holy Word.

2 That I was brought to know
The Danger I was in,
By Nature and by Practice too
A wretched ſlave to Sin:

3 That I was led to ſee
I can do nothing well ;
And whether ſhall a Sinner flee
To ſave himſelf from Hell.

FIG. 237. A page from *The New England Primer*

the alphabet. Over and over the children would awkwardly spell out the simplest of sentences.

Figure 237 is a page of the most commonly used schoolbook—*The New England Primer*. Also read the Reverend George Crabbe's poem about the "dame schools":

> . . . a deaf, poor, patient widow sits,
> And awes some thirty infants as she knits;
> Infants of humble, busy wives, who pay
> Some trifling price for freedom through the day.
> At this good matron's hut the children meet,
> Who thus becomes the mother of the street:
> Her room is small, they cannot widely stray,—
> Her threshold high, they cannot run away: . . .
> With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,
> And to her gown the sturdiest rogue can pin.

"Not much of an education!" no doubt you are thinking. Very true; little learning came from such schooling, and certainly not much knowledge of the country's public affairs or much ability to study them. And the "grammar schools," which prepared well-to-do children to study for a profession at one of the few colleges, were not much better.

Historians have estimated that in 1800 the average American citizen did not actually attend even this limited kind of school more than 100 days in his entire lifetime! What would you say about that amount of schooling? Compare it with your own. Suppose you go to a public kindergarten, an elementary school, and a secondary school for fourteen years. At 185 days per year you would have spent 2590 days in school. This is more than 25 times as many as your great-great-grandfather probably spent if he lived in America in 1800. And what a difference in the *quality* of education!

HOW THE EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION CAME ABOUT[1]

The Constitution says nothing about education, and for about a half century after President Washington first took office the Federal government did little about it. It is true, of course, that Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, which set aside one square mile of public land in every township for the support of education. And as new states came into the Union after 1790, each was given public land that could be sold for money to be used for public schools. For a century and more, such grants did help establish these schools. But in the main, control over education was left to the separate states and their communities.

We have already spoken of the rate bills which parents had to pay for sending their children to school. In some places in the New England colonies in the late 1700's local taxes, license taxes, land gifts, and other devices were used to raise money for schools. Other communities and states followed suit. For example, in 1774 Connecticut turned over all the money it took in from liquor licenses to the support of its schools. In 1799 New York raised $100,000 for schools by running four lotteries. Other states used the same method. In the 1800's there were also bank taxes in many states to provide income for schools; the banks had to pay each year a certain set amount, or percentage, of their earnings.

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[1] If you need to have your memory refreshed concerning the history of education in America, turn to Rugg's *America's March Toward Democracy* and reread Chapter XXIII on popular education. It gives the story of the building of America's great public-school system.

The battle for free public elementary schools

As the years of the 1800's passed, however, it became clearer and clearer, especially in many of the Northern states, that the land grants and the various local taxes could not pay for public education. Not enough money was being collected. The population was growing too rapidly. Also all male citizens over 21 years of age were being given the right to vote, and so the common man was securing a larger control over government. If he had ideas of how schools should be financed, he could make himself heard. Because of great improvements in methods of printing, more and more people wanted to know and wanted their children to know how to read—and that meant that there had to be more schools.

By 1825 many leaders believed firmly that the only way public schools could be built and run properly was through taxing *all* the people for their support. But there was a long, hard battle ahead. Many people could see no need for the schools. Many fought against paying for the education of other people's children. But the leaders for the other side were fighters too. They made speeches on the benefits of education. They told the people that if they wanted their government to be run with intelligent thought and action, the citizens had to be educated. Leader after leader rose to awaken the people to action.

There was Horace Mann of Massachusetts, for example,—really the first state superintendent of public education in America (1837). For years he devoted all his time to fighting for the cause of free public education. He sent teachers, lawyers, members of the legislature, professors, and others, out over the state to urge the people to ask their lawmakers for money to finance public schools.

There was Henry Barnard, who was carrying on the same kind of campaign in Connecticut and Rhode Island. In the Middle West there were others—the Reverend Calvin E. Stowe, Samuel Lewis, and Samuel Galloway in Ohio; Caleb Mills in Indiana; Ninian W. Edwards in Illinois; John D. Pierce in Michigan; Robert J. Breckinridge in Kentucky; and others.

Because of the work of these leaders the idea of a public-school system in every American community was well established even before the Civil War (1861). And this system was to be paid for by the tax money of all the people and was to be open to all children.

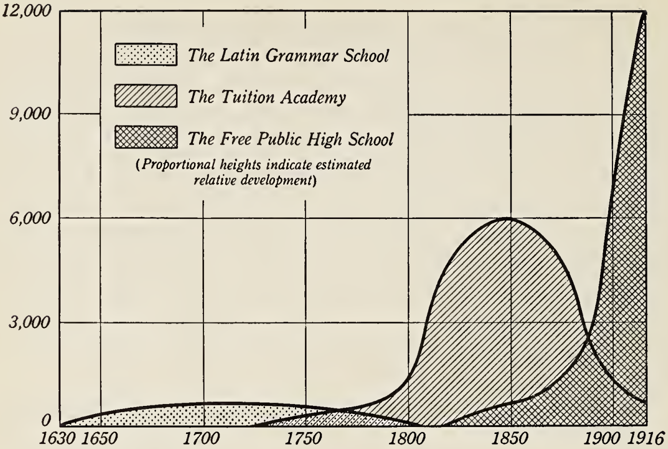

FIG. 238.[1] This shows how the earlier types of secondary schools gave way to the free public high school

The battle for public high schools and colleges

But the public schools we have been speaking of were elementary schools. Another long battle was to be fought before free public high schools were established. There was as much opposition to them as there had been to the elementary schools, and many of the same arguments were used. Of course, in some places cities at once extended their public-school system to include the high school, but by the time the Civil War started there were only 321 high schools in the whole country, and half of these were in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. After 1870, however, free public high schools sprang up in greater numbers. By 1900 there were 6000 of them, and the idea was at last firmly set.

At about the same time that the leaders in education were persuading the people to fight for free public high schools they were also talking about the advantages of having free colleges.

"But we have private colleges," said the opposition.

"The chief aim of those schools," replied the leaders, "is to prepare young men to be ministers. Most of them are religious training schools. We need a more democratic, a more practical kind of higher education — schools in which our intelligent and well-to-do young people can study for other professions."

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[1] From *The History of Education* by Elwood Cubberly, published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

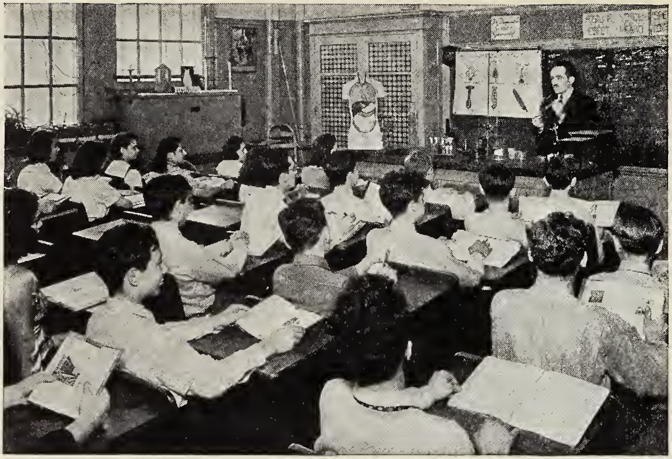
The new attitude toward education was growing among the people of the states. They were listening to the educational leaders who preached "equal opportunity for all." They knew, of course, that it would always be easier for the well-to-do to attend high school and college, but the belief in a system of education that is free to every person continued to be more and more firmly fixed in their minds—even as it applied to the college. A person's race or his religion, his political, economic, or social beliefs, should not stand in his way, they said.

By 1860 there were 17 state universities in the 33 states then in the Union. In these any high-school graduate could study on the payment of a small fee. Of course, he had to pay for his room and board and other expenses in addition, so many eligible young people were still kept away from colleges because of lack of money. After the Civil War one state after another gave its people a university, until today every state in the Union boasts of one.

So it was that, one by one, rungs were added to the educational "ladder of opportunity." It stretched upward now from the elementary schools through the college. It could be climbed not merely by the well-to-do—but by *all* the people who could pay for or earn their living while climbing it. Democracy had won the battle. There were American public schools, paid for and financed by public taxes, free and open to all, uncontrolled by any clique or group, and supervised by representatives of the people.

After 1880 came the educational revolution

Perhaps you are wondering how your schools came to offer the things you study in school today. Certainly your school is not merely one that teaches you how to read, write, and do arithmetic problems. You do all sorts of other things. You have classes in English, social studies, science, fine arts, manual training, physical education, stenography, and many other subjects. You give plays, hold debates, and carry on an endless number of other projects. How did all these student activities get into the school?



Ewing Galloway

FIG. 239. A junior-high-school science class. How does it resemble yours?

The year 1880 is perhaps a good one to choose for a "before" and "after" picture, for it was following that year that the greatest development of the curriculum, or course of study, took place.

In 1880 children in elementary schools did little more than read, write, spell, use numbers, and solve problems in arithmetic. Some science and foreign-language courses were offered in certain high schools but, for the most part, even high-school students spent most of the hours of the day reading, writing, and reciting.

After 1880 changes began to be made. Manual-training and drawing courses were introduced in the high schools of America, largely because of the exhibitions of manual-training products from foreign countries which were shown at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. By the 1890's hundreds of our own schools included manual training and drawing in their programs. For girls, courses in household arts were added. Stenography, bookkeeping, and the like, were offered to train young people for office jobs.

In 1888 the University of Minnesota established an agricultural high school to help the young people of that state who wished to know more about scientific farming. Before long other such schools were started in other parts of the country. Regular high schools in increasing numbers began to offer courses in agriculture.

1775	1825	1850	1875
READING Spelling Writing *Catechism* BIBLE Arithmetic	READING * *Declamation* SPELLING * *Writing* *Good Behavior* *Manners & Morals* ARITHMETIC *	READING DECLAMATION SPELLING WRITING Manners Conduct MENTAL ARITH. * CIPHERING	READING *Literary Selections* SPELLING PENMANSHIP * Conduct PRIMARY ARITH. * ADVANCED ARITH.
	Bookkeeping GRAMMAR Geography	Bookkeeping Elem. Language GRAMMAR *Geography* History U.S.	..... *Oral Language* * GRAMMAR Home Geography * TEXT GEOGRAPHY U.S. HISTORY *Constitution*
	Sewing and Knitting	Object Lessons	Object Lessons * Elementary Science * Drawing * Music * Physical Exercises ......

CAPITALS = Most important subjects. *Italics* = Subjects of medium importance.
Roman = Least important subjects. * = New methods of teaching now employed.

FIG. 240.[1] How the subjects in the school curriculum changed in the first 100 years of our history. How would the chart be changed if it included the following 50 years?

It is hardly necessary to remind you of the great industrial changes that were taking place in our country during these years. You have studied about them many times. Larger and larger numbers of students wanted to learn trades, and educators began to see that there was need for including courses to help them.

After 1900 especially, it became increasingly evident to the people in charge of education that the youth of America must come to understand better the kind of country and world which surrounds them. Community civics came into the school. Courses in geography began to include many important facts about modern history and trade. These and other changes came about in education.

Of course many people and many circumstances helped to bring these changes about, but two men especially should at least be mentioned for the great contributions they made.

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[1] From *The History of Education* by Ellwood Cubberley, published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

First, there was Colonel Francis W. Parker, who fought continuously during the last quarter of the nineteenth century for the improvement of American schools. In 1875 he became superintendent of schools in Quincy, Massachusetts, and in the next five years almost completely remade the teaching methods in that city. He wanted the children to study *real things*, not just facts from a textbook. Let them get lessons in science and geography out of doors, he said. In reading let them search for *meanings* of words, not merely try to pronounce the words correctly. Let the schoolroom become a pleasant place in which to live, not a dreaded place to be avoided if possible.

From Quincy, Colonel Parker went to Boston for three years and then on to Chicago where he was elected principal of the Cook County Normal School. There he stayed for eighteen years, and built up the Chicago Normal School for teachers. This school became the great storm center for the reform and improvement of education. He established a kindergarten and elementary grades in which his normal-school students could do their practice teaching and experimenting. Hundreds of young men and women were attracted to his school and soon he had them working vigorously to discover, through experiments and investigations, the best way "to educate." The *growth of the child*, especially building his character and helping him to become an intelligent citizen, was the aim sought.

The other man to make an extremely valuable contribution to education in the early days of this century was John Dewey. In 1896 Dr. Dewey and his wife had established a laboratory and experimental school for the University of Chicago department of education and philosophy. Dr. Dewey, like Colonel Parker, was interested in *the child* to be educated. School subjects, he said, should develop out of children's "life activities," their methods of living and learning. As early as 1900 he maintained that the life of the school should be *active*. The children should *do*, not just listen.

Then came the new schools of today

It is largely because of the influence of these two men that the school of today is not the stiff, dull place it was in 1800, when students sat rigid and gave textbook answers back to the teacher.

Gradually American teachers and other educators came to see that the methods they were using in the school were undesirable—in terms of the child and his growth. One by one "child-centered" schools sprang up all over the country after 1910. Then public schools began to change over to the newer kind of education. Today in hundreds of communities children are really *living* in these schools. They are learning through doing. They are finding out what government is by practicing it themselves. They are studying citizenship by being young citizens, active in the discussion of local, state, and national affairs. They are learning to appreciate art by being artists themselves and creating paintings, drawings, pieces of sculpture, and the like. They are living *now*, not merely preparing to live after graduation.

It must be said, of course, that only a beginning has been made in the development of such schools in America. But they are increasing in number every year. Old, rigid schedules are being slowly and cautiously remodeled by schools used to old methods. New methods and practices are being introduced. Slowly, but surely we hope, Americans will be able to say truthfully: We are "educating" our children.

Our jobless youth: a problem for later study

"A young fellow's got to believe that his life is coming to something. . . . The economic system is never going to spread out enough to take us all in. . . . The breaks are against us. . . . Give us jobs. . . . We don't want to be loafers. . . . We want to work, to marry, to raise a family. . . ." So the young people of America are saying as they leave school nowadays.

Yes, America does face a Youth Problem, more today than ever before in its history. Only one high-school student out of five goes on to college; the other four face the problem of earning their living immediately.

Our schools are trying to help them find a place in the world. Modern vocational and trade courses and schools have been set up to help them prepare themselves for work in industry, farming, and other fields. In many high schools today boys are studying to become mechanics, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, machine and radio repairmen, office workers, or intelligent farmers. Girls are

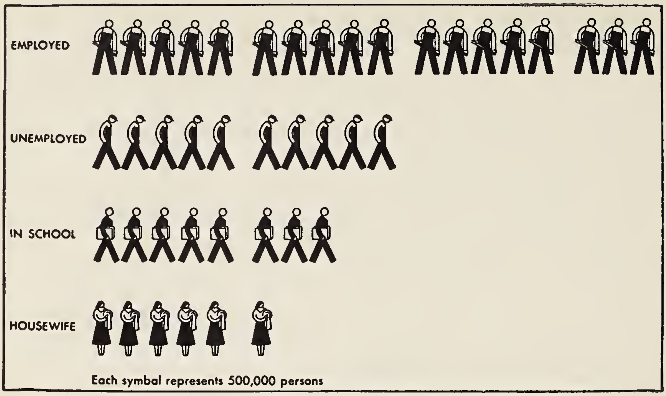

FIG. 241.[1] What is American youth doing?

learning to be skillful waitresses, cooks, beauty-parlor operators, secretaries, bookkeepers, and the like. Other young people are studying salesmanship, advertising, newspaper typesetting, reporting, and the like. All these courses in high schools and in trade schools have been added to increase youth's chances to find jobs.

The United States government has also helped to give healthful and educational opportunities to large numbers of our young people —by establishing such agencies as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the National Youth Administration (NYA). But the task of providing young people with jobs is a serious one, one to which great attention and energy must be given in the years to come.

Space in this book is lacking to discuss further this youth problem, but we shall take it up in detail in the next volume of this series.

Education today the nation's biggest business

Now we can sum up the amazing story of a century and a half of education—building from the founding of American democracy. Contrast the beginning of the 150-year period with today.

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[1] From *Youth in the World Today*, issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.

IN THE 1790'S

No national Office of Education.

Not a single state system of schools.

No city or town system of public schools.

Nine colleges.

No public high schools.

No graded elementary schools.

No public-school teaching of science or mathematics . . . of government . . . of health . . . of French or other modern languages . . . of the arts.

TODAY[1]

A national Office of Education as part of the United States Department of the Interior.

A system of free public schools in every state.

A system of public schools in every city or town.

1690 colleges (public and private).

25,650 public high schools.

232,170 public elementary schools.

Public-school teachers trained in every field of education—literature, mathematics, science, government, health, foreign languages, the arts, athletics, and so on.

How many young people are attending these schools?

1,208,000 regular students in the public and private colleges and universities.

6,020,000 students in public high schools.

20,495,000 students in public elementary schools (including children in kindergartens).

2,690,000 students in private and Catholic schools, not including the colleges.

This 30,400,000 total school population[2] means that today, in contrast to the 1790's, *one American out of four is a full-time student in school or college.*

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[1] According to the latest figures available, for the year 1935–1936.

[2] In addition more than 500,000 students attend summer schools, 1,100,000 attend evening schools, 300,000 go to part-time and continuation classes in public schools, and about 300,000 take extension and correspondence courses conducted by colleges.

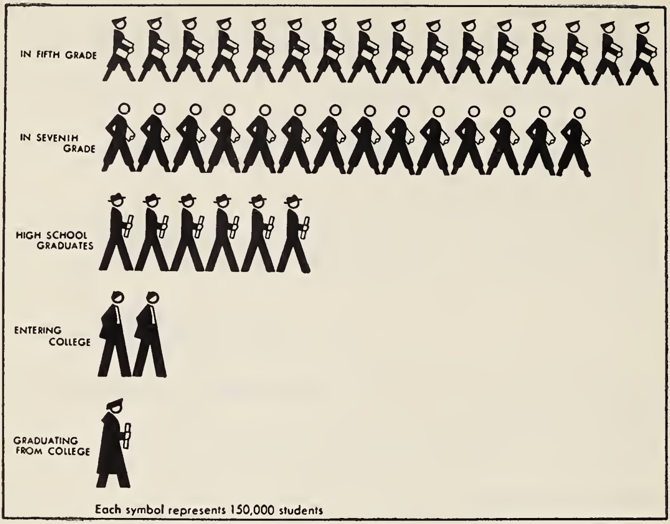


Fig. 242.[1] A partial story of school attendance today

How many teachers are needed to carry on the work of these many schools?

110,000 faculty members in the public and private colleges and universities.

267,580 teachers in the public high schools.

603,380 teachers in the public elementary schools.

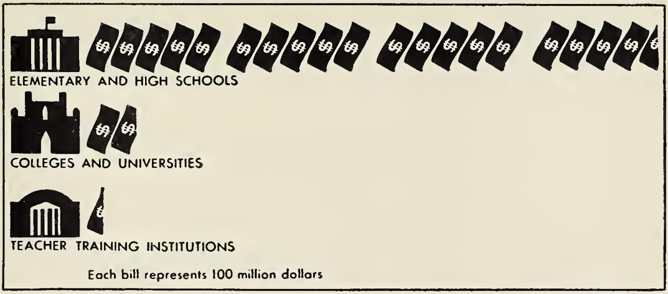
91,500 teachers in the private elementary schools and high schools.

Including those who teach in preparatory departments of colleges and in other special kinds of schools, there are *more than 1,000,000 teachers engaged in carrying on the work of education in America!*

What the nation's education costs

Now, all this education costs money. Salaries must be paid to teachers. Schoolhouses must be built, kept in repair, and managed. Equipment must be bought—tables, desks, paper, textbooks, blackboards, apparatus for science laboratories, books for libraries, and the like. How much is needed each year?

[1] From Eckenrode. Morgan, and Corson, *This Government.*



Survey Graphic

FIG. 243. Cost of education in the United States today

The latest figures available say that in the year 1935–1936 public education in America cost $1,656,798,938—over a billion and a half dollars![1] This was over twice as much as was spent for pensions and the navy; it was more than the annual receipts from the Federal income tax. Would you not say that education in America is Big Business? Yes, indeed; education today is the nation's biggest business.

Of the total spent, $1,146,000,000 was paid out in salaries to elementary and high-school teachers, administrators, and supervisors. How does this compare with what some of the country's biggest private businesses spend on their employees? In 1936 General Motors paid out about $384,100,000 in wages and salaries; United States Steel, $338,800,000.

But now let us break down this huge educational salary figure to see what the American schoolteacher gets as income in a year. Investigation shows that the average salary paid to teachers in 1936 was $1283—about the same as the average family income for the whole nation.

But this does not mean that all schoolteachers make this much. Indeed not. The annual salary typical in rural one-teacher schools is between $500 and $600; whereas teachers in cities of 100,000 or more population average between $2000 and $2500. The highest salaries are paid to superintendents of large city schools, who get about $8000 a year. Salaries vary with the states—for example, teachers in one poor state average only $504 a year while those in one wealthy state average $2414. The cost of instructing children takes up by far the largest amount that is spent for educational purposes; in fact, teachers' salaries usually account for about three fourths of all money spent.

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[1] In 1930 it was over $2,000,000,000!

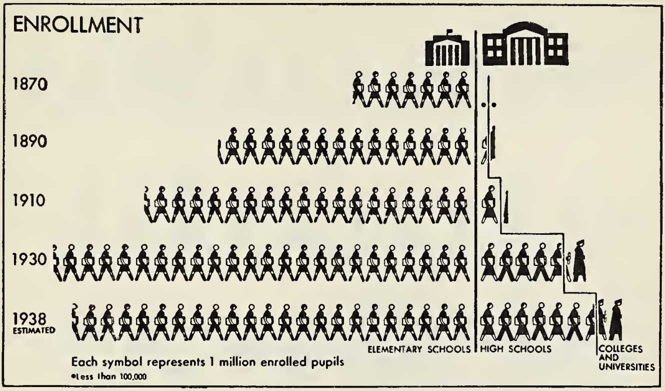
Perhaps you are wondering how this huge educational bill is paid each year. You already know in a general way that taxes collected from all the people pay it. That is true; public education in America is supported from funds collected through annual taxes of various kinds. But does the national government pay this bill? Do the individual states? Do the counties in the states? Or do the cities and towns?

Although the national government has helped education in many ways by giving land and money grants to the states to be used for schools, these grants cover only about 2 per cent of the total funds used for all educational purposes. About 30 per cent of the money comes from individual state-wide sources, about 7 per cent from counties, and 63 per cent from the local school districts. Thus it is the local school district that pays most of the school bill, and the district raises the money chiefly from general taxes on property, though in many places special school taxes are collected.

What do you think now? Do the American people believe in education? Has it not become Big Business? In a country of a dozen billion-dollar corporations, it is the biggest business of all. $12,353,000,000 has been invested in school buildings and equipment—certainly the most extensive and finest school plant in the world. Here is something in which Americans can glory because of its "bigness"—a public-school system devoted to the education of all the children of all the people.

A graphic summary of its spectacular growth

Moreover, this tremendous enterprise has been built from almost nothing in a century and a half. In fact, so slowly did it get started that most of the growth has come in the latter half of that period. How clearly the chart of figure 244 tells the story! Take pupil enrollment from 1870 to 1938. How many went to elementary school in 1870? How many in 1930? How many in 1938? How many *times* more in 1938 than in 1870? Make the



Survey Graphic

FIG. 244. The increase in enrollment in 68 years

same comparison for high schools. What conclusions do you draw from these facts?

Take enrollment in colleges and universities (figure 244). What was the growth from 1890 to 1938? When did the colleges grow most rapidly? Why then? What special new factors have entered recently to cause still more young people to seek a college education?

Although there has been growth in the size of almost all parts of the school system, in recent years the attendance in the primary grades has been dropping. Figure 245 shows the facts from 1927–1928 to 1937–1938 (and estimated for 1942–1943) for first-grade enrollment in New York City, which is typical for the country as a whole. Why has the number declined?

We must not forget that although most of the children of America are getting public education, about 10 per cent of them are in private schools and colleges. These are schools which raise their own money—through fees or tuition charges, through gifts from interested people, and the like—to pay teachers' salaries, the cost of new equipment, buildings, and so on.

Of the 30,000,000 regular students in America in 1935–1936, over 2,275,000 were attending private elementary schools, 415,000 were attending private high schools, and about 600,000 were attending private universities, colleges, and professional schools. And

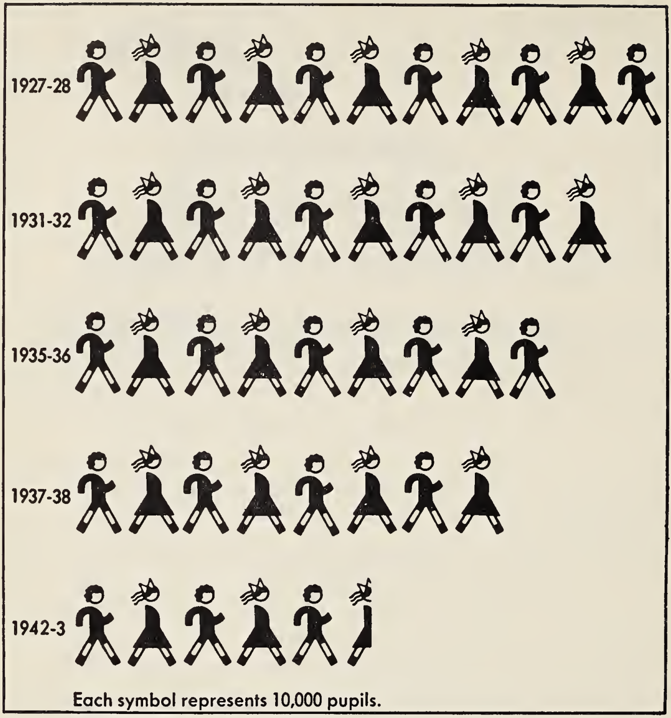


Fig. 245.[1] Only half as many pupils will be enrolled in the first grade in New York City in 1942 as were enrolled in 1927

94 per cent of the students in these private elementary schools and 68 per cent of those in the high schools were attending Catholic parochial institutions.

During the first 200 years of our history schools and colleges were almost altogether private. Many of the first Dame Schools and the "reading and writing" schools were private. Phillips Academy at Andover, Phillips Academy at Exeter, and many others, were private. All the colleges started before the Revolutionary War—Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, Dartmouth, and others—were private.

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[1] From *Schools for Tomorrow's Children*, issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.

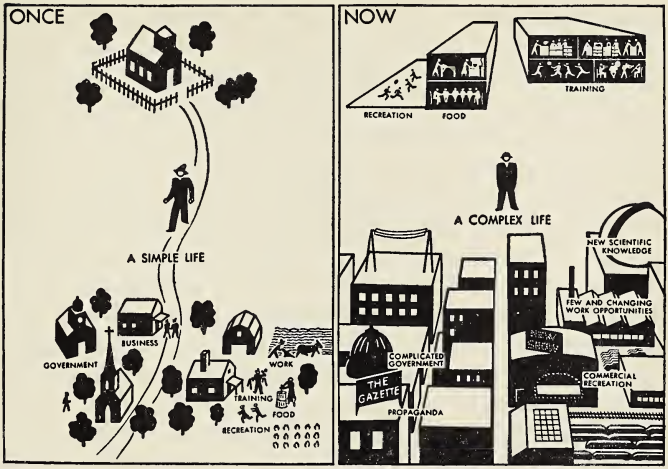
ONCE
A SIMPLE LIFE
BUSINESS
GOVERNMENT
WORK
TRAINING
FOOD
RECREATION
NOW
RECREATION
FOOD
TRAINING
A COMPLEX LIFE
NEW SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE
FEW AND CHANGING WORK OPPORTUNITIES
COMPLICATED GOVERNMENT
THE GAZETTE
PROPAGANDA
COMMERCIAL RECREATION

Fig. 246.[1] What does this pictograph tell about education for life today compared with that of 100 or more years ago?

Why were there so many private schools? They were started for the sons and daughters of people who could afford to pay for the education of their children. Another reason was that the fathers and mothers who belonged to certain churches wanted to educate their children in accordance with the religious beliefs they themselves held. Especially during the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century, great numbers of schools and colleges in some way connected with churches were founded. And, without doubt, were it not for the establishment of these educational institutions, higher education would have developed much more slowly.

These private schools and colleges have continued in large numbers to the present day. For example, according to the Report of the United States Office of Education, there were over 16,700 private schools in our country in 1935–1936.

Therefore, though we speak mostly of public schools in this chapter, we must not forget the fine contribution to education that the private schools in America have made. In fact, if we look back over the past 100 years of school development in our country, we will be struck by the fact that much of the progress and many of the improvements in education began in the private schools and were later taken over into the public schools. That has been particularly true since 1890, when, under the leadership of such men as Colonel Parker and Dr. Dewey, of whom we have already spoken, scores of "experimental" private schools sprang up all over the country and devoted themselves to the task of discovering new and better ways of educating young people. Indeed, some of the most important discoveries have been made in private schools established by Teachers Colleges and the Schools of Education of private universities. Outstanding among these perhaps were the Horace Mann School and the Lincoln School started by Teachers College, Columbia University, and the Laboratory Schools of the University of Chicago.

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[1] From *Schools for Tomorrow's Children*, issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York.

We must remember, then, that in discussing the development of education in America we must not speak only of public education. The private schools as well deserve much credit.

EDUCATION IN DEMOCRATIC AMERICA COMPARED WITH EDUCATION UNDER DICTATORS

We have said that education in America is *free* public education —meaning that it is paid for by all the people and is open to all the children of all the people regardless of race, wealth, or religion. Compared with education in such dictator-countries as Italy, Germany, and Russia, it is *free* in another sense. Let us see what we mean by that.

In dictator-countries the child is considered to be the property of the state—to be treated, trained, and taught as the heads of the government wish him to be. Children are schooled for military purposes, for political purposes, or for any other purposes that the government decides upon.

Even the education of adults in those countries is under the strict control of the state. The press, the lecture platform, the radio, adult classes of every kind, are all subject to the careful scrutiny and regulation of the government. And these are practically the only educational sources for the adult. But let us look into the school systems of Italy, Germany, and Russia a little more carefully.

In Italy "education" is acquired by rigid drill and discipline.

Training of the body is more important to this Fascist state than training of the mind. Outstanding performers in athletics and gymnastics receive the highest honors and praise.

Italian boys from six to twelve years get military and Fascist training in the "Sons of the Wolf Balilla," or in older groups of "Balilla." At twelve they join the "Avanguardisti," and for six more years they are drilled and trained to become members of the Fascist party. No student is promoted or graduated unless he has satisfactorily completed his military course. Girls from eight to eighteen years also receive special military training.

In Italy no person is allowed to teach unless he does as the government wishes. If found "disloyal," he is dismissed and replaced by someone who is in complete agreement with the dictator's policies. All teachers in Italian schools—women as well as men—must wear the uniform of officers of either the "Balilla" or the militia. In the secondary schools and colleges *army officers* in uniform take charge of the military courses—military history, military mathematics, war geography, and the like.

Now let us take a glance at German education—which extends not only to the school but to home and free time as well. In Germany all matters that have to do with education are decided by the government Ministry of Education. And the *political* education of Germany's young people is the foundation of the whole school system.

As in other dictator countries, a child's individuality—what *he* aspires to be and do—means practically nothing, and what his parents desire concerning his education is likewise disregarded. The child does as he is told by the government.

Here, too, physical training ranks above intellectual education. It is the body that must be developed, first and above all. The many associations to which the young German belongs—and in which he gets additional physical training and political schooling—are all part of the state machine.

Since 1934 all male German university students must train for a certain length of time with the Storm Troopers. They must also spend a one-year term at manual labor.

In Russia the situation is somewhat different, though there, as in Italy and in Germany, only what the government says may be taught is taught. And education in Communism enters every stage of child and adult life. Here, too, there is practically no opportunity for freedom of expression, let alone criticism of government.

But education in Russia has been one of the outstanding developments since the Russian dictators came to power. In 1900 the population was about 70 per cent illiterate; that is, 70 out of 100 could not read and write! Today less than 20 per cent are illiterate; more than 80 per cent *can* read and write. This is a startling change, considering the huge size of the country. And the chief reason for this enormous change has been the building of thousands of new schools during the past fifteen years—schools for babies, for children, for youths, for adults. The Constitution of the Soviet Union says that "Citizens of Russia have a right to education," and that the state shall pay for "free vocational, technical, and agronomic [agricultural] training for the toilers in the factories, on state farms, in machine and tractor stations, and on collective farms."

The entire Russian system of education has been planned to fit the particular skills and abilities which the young people will have to have when they finish and get jobs. The government itself furnishes the jobs, and the better the student's record, the better job and pay he will get.

But from early childhood the child is taught discipline, rigid discipline, and he gets used to manual labor while he is in school. Discipline, indeed—strict military training and physical culture. At many of the political celebrations even the very young child must be ready to take part, to perform, to march in parades, and the like.

Against these, put your own school, your own school life, and the *freedom* you enjoy. You are allowed, even urged, to discuss problems that face all Americans, to investigate what your government is doing, and to criticize it if you think it necessary. You do not hesitate to think, or to speak in opposition to your government because of fear that you or your family will be punished for it. The American way is the way of *freedom*—freedom of action, freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of discussion, freedom of assembly—in school as well as out.

CHAPTER XXIV · The American Spirit

★

Before we close our study of citizenship and civic affairs one important task remains to be done. We have studied about American family, neighborhood, and community life. We know a good deal about how the American built up a government and how he runs that government today. We have seen how he becomes educated, how he spends his leisure time. But as yet we have said little about the American himself—his personal characteristics or traits, his deep-seated desires, what he wants most, how he looks at the world, what he thinks and feels deep down inside himself. In other words, we must still try to understand the unique American character . . . the American way of life . . . the American outlook . . . the American point of view . . . the American mind. We shall call it the "American Spirit."

In taking up this task we shall really be studying the "psychology" of the American people. We cannot of course make a thorough study in a single chapter. We cannot do that even in a few years. To know the American mind thoroughly would require a lifetime of study, and even then the analysis would not be complete; for the "American" is forever changing—slowly, it is true, but surely.

Nevertheless, in this chapter we shall make at least a beginning in the investigation of what we call the "American Spirit."

I. THE FRONTIER HELPED DEVELOP THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

Of course the "American Spirit" takes in a great many ideas, but perhaps the outstanding one is the idea that the American people feel that "each individual man or woman should be left as free as possible to work out his own problems." And the development of this feeling was to be expected because of the very history of America during the first 250 years. From your own knowledge of this history you know that people were living on American frontiers from the time of the first settlements in the 1620's to as recently as the 1880's and 1890's. In fact, if the settling of Oklahoma is included, there was a frontier right up to 1900. Throughout all this time there was opportunity for any courageous independent young American to stake out a farm of 160 acres (later successively 320 and 640 acres), build a house on it, and claim it as his own. For the land, he had to pay only a very small sum, throughout most of the time not more than $1.25 an acre. In other words, until the turn of the century there was "free" land for those who had initiative enough to develop it.

Let us now search into the meaning of the expression the "American Spirit" a bit more carefully. What characteristics did our pioneering fathers develop in these years of struggling to meet their problems?

1. Resourcefulness

You know that the people on the frontier lived a hard and lonely life. Farms were miles apart in mountain clearings and scattered over the great open spaces on prairies and plains. Neighbors, therefore, were scarce, most of the time miles away. Nearly everything a man and his family had to have they raised or made for themselves. There was no "corner store" where they could buy food or clothing. Cabins and barns had to be made from trees chopped down by hand. There were no police or militia to keep order, to protect people's lives and property. The pioneers themselves had to drive off the wild animals and Indians, to provide security against storms, floods, and drought.

Every person, including little children, had to "stand on his own feet," to take care of himself. He had to be his own aid or support. He had only his own abilities and energy to draw upon, and his only hope of surviving was in using them to his very best advantage. All these taken together mean "resourcefulness." It is easy to see, then, that under the difficult conditions of pioneer days men and women of great resourcefulness had to be developed and were developed.

2. Intense spirit of freedom

Naturally men and women on the frontier felt *free*! They had space. Daniel Boone, the famous trail blazer of the Appalachian wilderness in the years after 1760, used to say: "I can hear my neighbor's gun. He's too near. I'll move on farther west! Got to have elbowroom! With people building farms over there, I can't breathe!" So Daniel Boone kept moving west until finally he settled in the real wilderness of Missouri across the Mississippi River. Millions of Americans of every generation felt the same way—they wanted space so that they could move about.

On the real frontier, where there wasn't another family for miles and miles, they felt free! "Free as a bird," they said. Here was unlimited opportunity, they felt, to build a home, to make a place of their own. Free! For centuries they and their ancestors in Europe had tried in many ways to secure freedom, but they had not been successful. But here, on the vast untouched continent of North America, they really *were* free! Never before in any civilization were the conditions better for developing in people the idea of freedom.

3. A new sense of equality: lack of social classes

The frontier and the new villages and towns made man feel *equal* also. In European communities there was never a feeling of equality among the people. In every European country the population had always been divided into "classes." At the top, living in stone castles on hills, were the great titled landlords—"the Duke of This" and "the Count of That" . . . "Sir This" and "Lady That." Lower in the scale, and huddled in thatched-hut villages around the castles, were the "lower classes"—the farmers and the craftsmen. Lowest of all were the serfs; near-slaves they were, bound to the land and to the landlord in the castle. It was this European "class" life that the brave men and women who left England and other countries wanted to get away from; and they chose to settle in America. Once here, they decided that they would *not* permit people to have titles; at least such class distinction between citizens would not be tolerated. This was one factor which helped to create among the American people a sense of equality.

But another, and perhaps the chief, factor was the frontier itself. As long as there was free and open land, the spirit of equality remained strong among the people. You can see how that would be. Conquering a wilderness put men and women of all stations in life on the same level. All had to use their muscles to help build a way of living. Money, stocks, bonds, fine laces and silks, jewels, and so forth were scarcely even thought of. It was personal strength, courage, and skill that determined whether a man lived or died.

Under such conditions a man's work, no matter what it was, gave him a position of dignity in the region or community. Laborers were scarce and a worker was respected. The "hired man," like his employer, felt independent! Could the hired man not eat at his employer's table, even marry his daughter? He not only could—he frequently did!

You can see, then, how this peculiarly American sense of equality developed among the people a widespread *spirit of classlessness*. The old German or British idea that a child was born into a class and would probably always stay in it was entirely lacking on the American frontier and, to a large extent, in the villages and towns that developed behind it. "I'm as good as you," felt most men as they looked one another in the eye and measured their strength.

4. Belief in the ladder of opportunity

Of course, we must not forget that some people did get rich, while others stayed poor; that some had greater ability than others. Some—for example, those elected to office in government—were given greater power. On every frontier, differences in wealth and power did develop within a few years after settlement started. In this one sense, therefore, classes—the rich and the poor . . . the strong and the weak . . . the leaders and the followers—did develop.

But the idea of the ladder of opportunity was always present in every community. If a man had ability he could climb to riches or to social prominence. "Strive to get to the top," fathers told their children. "Be prompt and honest! Save your money and invest it wisely! Earn the respect and keep the good will of your neighbors! Look out for yourself, but get along with your fellow men and serve your community! You'll go far if you try! In fact, the ladder of opportunity stands before you, and you can get what you want if you 'have it in you.' You can be mayor . . . you can be governor . . . yes, you can even be President!"

5. The competitive spirit regarded as the driving force

But notice carefully that running through all this discussion is the idea of competition. Throughout American history fathers and mothers have been telling their children that life is a struggle. They have said:

"As you climb the rungs of the ladder of opportunity you will find others pitted against you. You will have competitors; you will have rivals. Others will be seeking the jobs that you want, the offices in school or community government that you would like to hold, the honors that you are striving to get. You'll have to compete with these people. From the beginning you'll have to fight for whatever you get, for others will be after the same things. And remember, the one who will win the fight will be the one who is strongest. The first to finish the race will be the one who runs the swiftest."

So spoke millions of parents to millions of children, and thousands of teachers to thousands upon thousands of pupils. Thus, the competitive spirit has been built up in our people from the very start of our history. The drive for "success" is an unending one.

Many Americans today question the wisdom of building up such a high degree of competitive spirit. And it must be admitted that they have many good arguments. Competition does develop widespread conflicts among people. It gives the strong and shrewd people great advantages over the weak and less clever ones. And it has been found that competition must be curbed to some extent.

Other Americans, on the contrary, assert that the competitive spirit helps to keep people at their jobs, striving for a better standard of living, for better jobs, for success. It keeps them "on their toes," they say. Take it away and you destroy the most important motive for work.

So we see that there is a very difficult problem here which must be studied and solved in the coming years by our people, namely, how far shall we continue to cultivate the competitive spirit in America?

6. Belief in private ownership

Having cut down a forest of trees and stumped it, having built a house in the clearing, having plowed the land and cultivated crops, the pioneer tended to say: "That's mine! I made it, so it's mine! Keep off it! You keep off me and I'll keep off you!" In one of Robert Frost's poems a farmer expresses this feeling exactly: "Keep off each other and keep each other off."

Similarly, in the frontier villages and towns the storekeepers, the lawyers, the doctors, and others built up their businesses by their own efforts. Craftsmen invented new tools and crude machines, and scraped together enough money to build a small shop, a mill, even a factory. Because each of these people had built up his enterprise himself, it was to be expected that he should feel the pride of the "selfmade" man, that he should feel that what he had made and owned was "private." Each one said of his business, as the farmer had of his farm—"That's mine! I made it! I invented it! I developed it! The profit it brings belongs to me!"

Never forget, then, that throughout most of American history every single American—on the frontier farm, in the crossroad hamlet, and in the growing village and town—had a deep sense of, and respect for, private ownership.

7. Hard work! Thrift!

But for most people the ladder of opportunity was not a "power escalator"! A person could not rise without effort; he had to climb, rung by rung, pulling up his own weight by hard work. Both on the frontier and in the villages and towns behind it, people knew what it was to work hard. Hours of labor were long—twelve to fourteen a day; six, even seven, days a week. Fathers, mothers, and children alike rose with the dawn and worked all day. Eighty hours a week was not uncommon—twice as many as people work in most industries now. In fact, today the new Federal hours-wages law requires that no more than 40 hours a week shall be worked in certain industries. But on the frontier industriousness was prized; idleness was regarded as an evil.

Not only was industriousness the style, but "thrift" was preached and practiced by the grownups. "Save your pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves," parents told their children. "Save and invest your money!" . . . "Lay by something for a 'rainy day'!" . . . "Save the extra grain you grow in the 'fat year'; next year may be a 'lean' one!"

8. Producers can't get something for nothing!

In the frontier days people knew they had to work for everything they got, and, as we have said, they had to work hard. To grow crops, one had to plow and plant, cultivate and harvest. To get a new dress or suit, one had to raise a sheep, shear its wool, clean and card the wool, spin yarn and weave it into cloth, cut and sew the garment. So it was with almost all the things people had. A person paid, and in full, for what he got. He paid by good headwork in planning, by hard handwork in producing. Throughout the whole history of the frontier, people were producers; they produced things and ideas, all by hard work—headwork and muscle work.

9. Discipline yourself!

Through every stage of life the idea of "discipline" was drilled into people. Our frontier ancestors came by the idea honestly enough, for that matter. The Puritans who first settled our Eastern-seaboard lands in the early 1600's had been taught by their fathers in England to regard discipline as a supreme virtue. They passed the idea on to their children, generation by generation. Although life in the growing towns became easier, on every new frontier, as people moved westward across the continent, they learned the idea of self-discipline all over again.

"School yourself! To get a living is a struggle!" Indeed it was to the frontiersmen of America. To get up early in the morning and to work hard all day, year in and year out, required a strong will. To farm in the dangerous wilderness with a rifle near by required courage. To live alone, miles from the nearest neighbor, required fortitude. To withstand blizzards of snow and storms of hail, to live through river floods and burning droughts, took courage. To stick to the farm, to see the job through, took persistence—"stick-to-itiveness," they called it. All these together mean discipline. And for nearly 300 years discipline was the watchword on every frontier and in most of the little villages and towns.

10. Integrity of craftsmen

Finally, the early American developed integrity of craftsmanship. What does this mean? As you know, in the frontier homes as well as in the little towns behind the frontier, people had to make most of the things they needed. They had to have houses, furniture, barns, wagons, harnesses, gates, fences, locks, lanterns—an endless number of things. They had to fashion them out of wood, out of metal, out of whatever appropriate materials were at hand. Ready-made things either were not available or, most often, were too expensive to buy. And these things had to be made well, for they had to last a long time.

So it was that fathers and mothers lived by these rules, and taught them to their children: "Do it well. Do it as well as you can. Don't be content with merely a 'good' job; be satisfied with nothing less than the very best you have in you. Work so that you may be proud of whatever you finish. If you are making a house, make as fine a house as you can with the materials that you have. If you are making a table, let it be a *good* table, one that will stand firm, one that will look well, one that will serve the purposes to which it will be put, one that you'll be proud to have made. Be as good a house-builder, as good a furniture-maker, as good a locksmith, as good a harness-maker, as it is within your power to be."

What these fathers and mothers were teaching their children was, in short, "Be a good craftsman." Thus the spirit of integrity of craftsmanship was developed in early America, and it still exists today in some of our small villages and towns.

If you scan the foregoing paragraphs, you will see, in one series, the *individualistic* characteristics of the American—the "I" or "Me" traits; resourcefulness . . . the feeling of being a free man . . . of being equal to others . . . of not belonging to a social class . . . of having ownership . . . of needing to work hard and to be thrifty . . . of being a producer who pays for what he gets, not an exploiter or a speculator . . . of being a self-disciplined person. These "I" or "Me" traits help to show why the American became an individualist, looking out for himself.

But the man on the frontier was not alone in everything he did. Let us see.

11. Some necessity for co-operation

Even on the frontier there were times when these hard-working, independent Americans had to work with others. There were some things they just could not do by themselves. For example, a man had to have help in "raising a barn" or "raising a house." He could put the frames of the walls together alone, perhaps, but to lift them up into place he had to have the help of several men. Also when there was fear of an attack by Indians many neighbors gathered at a single house, the strongest one, to defend themselves. A cloudburst or the sudden flooding of a river also brought the farmers over a large region together, and all set to work to build a levee or whatever else was needed to check the damage being done. Illness or an accident was a magnet which drew neighbors on all sides to help the individual or family in trouble.

These people also depended on one another in spiritual as well as in material ways. "Just to talk to another woman!" the frontiersman's wife so often thought and exclaimed. "If someone would only come!" Sheer loneliness, then, was enough to draw neighbors together at frequent intervals. Even the stranger who stopped at the cabin was welcome to a bed and a meal—if only for "company's sake" and the news that he brought. Also, great social occasions were made of barn-raisings, corn-huskings, quilting parties, and the like. At such times, men, women, and children, neighbors from far and wide, met at a man's house and helped with the task to be done. The day was climaxed by a community dinner and dance.

So while the pioneer wanted generally "to keep off his neighbor and keep his neighbor off"—to have elbowroom—he wanted also to be close to him on many occasions—for protection, for help in work, and for play. Never did he forget that he "had to get along with his neighbor"—especially after farms were built closer together and hamlets and villages and even towns grew up.

Are you beginning to understand now how the "American" came to be the kind of man he is; how, because of the special conditions of living on the frontier, he came to have certain traits? On the one hand, he was "individualistic"—with "I" traits, "It's mine!" traits, "I can manage alone!" traits. And, on the other hand, he became a co-operative man in many ways—developing "We" traits, "Let's do it together!" traits. We bring these ideas together in a kind of outline:

I. The Individualistic, or "I," traits:
- *Resourcefulness.* Looking out for myself.
- *Freedom.* To make of myself what I will.
- *Equality, absence of class lines.* I'm as good as you!
- *The ladder of opportunity and the desire for success.* I can climb to the top if I wish to. I want and shall strive for a better living, a better social position. I want to be approved by my fellows and to be given positions of public responsibility and power.
- *The competitive spirit.* I must fight for whatever I get!
- *Private ownership.* I found it! . . . I made it! . . . It's mine to do with as I please!
- *Hard work and thrift.* The only way I'll get anywhere.
- *Producers of things, not middlemen or speculators.* I, myself, produce or make what I use and consume. And I don't get anything for nothing.
- *Discipline.* Because life is a struggle I must have courage, persistence, fortitude.

II. The Co-operative, or "We," traits:
- *Desire for security in material matters.* Physical danger is threatening, so let us work together for our own protection. Alone we are helpless to deal with nature. The weaker ones must be helped by the stronger ones.
- *Desire for companionship.* Let us gather together for company's sake.
- *Willingness to give up some kinds of freedom.* Yes, I want to be free, but my freedom stops where my neighbor's begins.

II. AS VILLAGES AND TOWNS AND CITIES AROSE DID THE AMERICAN SPIRIT CHANGE?

For a long, long time, perhaps until nearly our own times, the American spirit continued to be about the same. The American changed a little, but really not much. Certainly fathers and mothers continued to preach to their children the American doctrine of success: to stand on their own feet, to work hard and do their jobs well, to pay their debts, to save and invest wisely. They taught them that they were "as good as their neighbors," and that they had equal opportunities to succeed in whatever they set out to accomplish.

Now let us go on with the story of what happened in America. Year after year restless and more adventurous men and women kept moving westward. Their desire for "the better land over yonder" pushed them on and on to new frontiers. They reached the Pacific coast by 1850; by the 1870's and 1880's farms and ranches and mines had been established on all the high plains and mountain plateaus. The last frontier had finally been reached; soon it also disappeared.

As the crest of this great Western movement advanced, huge numbers of homesteaders stayed behind and developed fine farms. Some of their children did too, and their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. But not all remained on the land. The villages and towns that had been springing up everywhere behind the frontier drew greater numbers away from the land. And each year newcomers from the East increased the village populations. Some of these people were doctors and lawyers who opened offices. Some were men who invested money in stores and banks; some built factories and opened mines. A great many others worked for money wages or salaries in the new businesses and industries.

More and more emphasis on "social co-operation"

As these villages and towns grew up the people in them had to learn to live close together. For example, instead of owning several thousand or 640 or even 160 acres of land, most of the people had to be content to live on small 50-foot or 30-foot lots. Even estates of the richest townspeople were never more than a few acres.

This building of houses close together caused serious community problems. People and their property had to be protected against fire. At first neighbors helped neighbors whenever a house caught fire. Later volunteer fire departments were formed; at the sound of a bell or whistle citizens dropped whatever they were doing to "run to the fire" to help put it out. Finally public-supported fire departments had to be provided.

There was the problem of a sufficient supply of clean water. Individual pumps and wells gave way to community reservoirs and costly purification plants. Water was sent through pipes into every house and building in the town. And all this came to be paid for by public taxation.

There was the problem of crime. People needed protection from lawbreakers. In the end it was necessary for every community to have a police and court system. This too was supported by public funds.

There was the problem of protecting the health of the people, who now were living so close together. Not only impure water but impure foods of every kind had to be carefully guarded against so that disease and ill health should not spread on account of them. A vast system of medical inspection was built up. People sick with dangerous contagious diseases were quarantined. Vaccination and other treatments were used to prevent disease.

We review these facts of history briefly to show you that slowly one important change came about in the American outlook. People learned that they could not live entirely to themselves. For their own protection or advantage they had to work together. Fire in the community was a dangerous thing, and could be prevented and stopped only if all the people acted jointly to prevent it and check it. In other words, they had to *co-operate*, to work together toward a common end. The only way they could be sure of clean water and plenty of it was to join hands and finance the development of a pure-water system. That too meant co-operation. Criminals and lawbreakers could not be dealt with unless the people acted together to provide a police system. Again co-operation! An unchecked disease, they knew, would spread from house to house, from neighborhood to neighborhood, until the whole community was in danger of being wiped out. So all the people became partners in the business of health protection. Co-operation over and over again.

Now all these problems of the village, town, and growing city reached into the home of every family in the community. They were the concern of all the people. There is a word to describe these problems that touch the public as a whole. They are called "social" problems. So we can say too, that in trying to solve them by the joint efforts of all, "social" co-operation was being used.

So the Americans came to say "We" more and "I" somewhat less

Thus we find that in many ways the people became less *individualistic and more socially co-operative*. There had to be more "give and take," more willingness to compromise.

Not in all ways, of course. In business and industry and farming each man continued to compete with his neighbor to get as good a living, to make as much money, as he could. And each was still free to own many things—his own business, his own land, his own house and furnishings, his own automobiles, clothes, and the like. He was free to move about on the streets and roads. He was free to get a public-supported education, to use public libraries, museums, and the like. He was free to assemble with other citizens in public auditoriums. He was free to speak or write his own mind about the government and its officials, about problems and people.

But some of his freedom had to be curtailed for his own welfare and the welfare of all other people. The American way says that *the citizen must earn his freedom by accepting obligations.*

As our long, careful study of government showed us, the people passed laws which controlled to a certain extent what people were allowed to do. Motorists had to obey certain regulations. For example, they had to drive on the right side of the road, stop and go according to the red and green traffic signals, travel no faster than the speed limit, and the like. People could not make loud noises, block the streets, leave garbage or rubbish in public places, spread disease, and the like. They could not keep their children out of schools. They could not refuse to pay taxes. They could not put up houses or other buildings anywhere they pleased. The law of the community set down certain "nuisance" and danger restrictions. Libel and slander laws restricted to a degree what people could say and write against their neighbors or others. Thus, one by one, many individual liberties had to be given up or curtailed so that all could live safely.

Moreover, the community as a whole took over the management of many of its affairs. There was a change from private to public ownership. Many things that had formerly been owned privately were taken over by the community. For example, 100 years ago main roads and bridges were built by single owners or private companies, which collected charges, or tolls, from the people who used them. As the years went on, towns, counties, states, and even the national government discovered that it was better for such things to be operated publicly. So they took over the ownership of some of them, built other new ones, and kept them all in good condition —all of which was paid for by public taxes.

The same thing was done, as you have just seen, in the case of education. Schools were made public, were tax-supported. They were run *co-operatively* by all the people. Similarly, with water supplies, with parks and playgrounds, with enormous forest reserves and state parks, with most libraries, and some hospitals. Step by step, most of these were made public, financed by taxes, and run co-operatively in the interest of all.

These changes from the extreme private, or individualistic, attitude to the co-operative one came about very slowly, of course, and always peacefully, without violence. In the case of schools, as you have seen, many citizens were opposed to making them public. But today, certainly 90-odd per cent of the people believe that they can be operated best if they are free and public. The same is true of roads and streets, parks and playgrounds, water supplies, and protection of life and property. All these have become "publicly" owned or operated, and the people generally approve of the idea.

Do you see now how the American spirit came to be *both individualistic and co-operative*? In many ways the individual man and woman were left free to work out their own lives, but in certain others they had to do as the community, the state, and the nation as a whole decided. Thus increasingly the Americans came to say "We" more and "I" somewhat less.

A difficult problem: Are the great cities changing the American character?

What the American character will become in the future cannot be predicted. Much depends upon how conditions of community life change. We know that the growth of great cities during recent years has created some grave problems. You have already read about how large cities have altered the way people live. Family and neighborhood life has changed sharply. Either people do not even know their neighbors or, if they do, they display little interest in them. Cities have become so big and impersonal that few understand the problems or know the officials personally. Public interest in elections and in problems of government has decreased; many citizens do not bother to vote.

Take the question of equality and classes in America. Has the attitude of the American people toward the idea of equality, of having no sharply divided classes, changed? Perhaps the answer is both "yes" and "no." Certainly, to some extent the ladder of opportunity still stands before the people. But the fact cannot be denied that it is harder today than ever before to get a job. Competition is keener. It is hard to be sure that one's merit will be recognized and rewarded. In general it seems to be true that making a place for oneself in industry, business, and the professions is becoming ever more difficult.

Yet, against that view, one must remember that never has the individual American had greater opportunity than now to serve his community and nation in some kind of public work. In the next volume of this series—*America Rebuilds*—we shall take up the discussion of this problem in great detail.

The ways of earning a living in the great cities have changed American life sharply. Practically all city people work for wages or salaries. Most factories, power companies, great stores, and such businesses are owned and operated by large corporations, and each has thousands of employees. The heads of these corporations know few of the workmen on their pay rolls. Men and women tend to become "cogs" in a machine rather than the personal friends of the employer. There still are many small stores, offices, shops, and the like which are run by their owners, who hire their assistants, clerks, mechanics, and other workers; in them a certain degree of personal friendship does bind all together. But increasingly the corporation is absorbing small businesses. At work as well as at home, then, life has become impersonal.

And more recently it has become difficult for people to get work at all. In 1933 more than 15,000,000 workers—one third of the nation's employable workers—were without jobs! Even when the factories, mills, farms, mines, and businesses of all kinds were running busily in 1940, nearly 9,000,000 people were out of work.

Do you think these many changes in ways of living could take place without corresponding changes in the personal characteristics of the individual American—in the way he looks at life? Look back at the list of the characteristics we gave earlier (page 600). Some of them, of course, are the same today. Desire for success, for example, is still ingrained in the people. Many still feel independent, saying "I'm as good as you." But take the remaining items on that list—for example, resourcefulness, looking out for oneself. Do most of the people living in cities surrounded by stores, markets, doctors, hospitals, and the like, have to do everything for themselves as the frontiersmen did? Take private ownership. Do most farmers own their farms? Do city-dwellers own their houses? Do shop and factory workers own the plants they work in? Is there free land to find and develop? Are there still good opportunities to invent a new machine and get it built and sold? How is the American character affected by changed conditions?

Consider the problem of producers. On the frontier all men could say, "We are producers; we make the things we use and consume." Do most people do that today? Indeed not. An enormous, complicated, world-wide scheme of buying and selling things has come in its place. Small farmers may have a truck garden, a few hens, a pig, and a cow or two, but, for the most part, they do not consume the things they raise. They produce things to sell.

Take the changes brought about by industry. In most cases the workers in factories do not even see the finished product on which they have worked. Each does only one step in the process of making it. They are denied the thrill of making a complete article. But, most important of all, the actual number of people needed to produce a manufactured thing has seriously declined, whereas the number who buy and sell things has greatly increased.

What about integrity of craftsmanship or workmanship? There is no doubt that the fine spirit of craftsmanship is disappearing. This is partly due to the increasing dependence upon machines to do man's work. In recent years, as power-machine factories have supplanted the hand craftsman, there has been much less demand for craft skill. Work has become more specialized—each person doing one separate special job over and over again. Also the spirit of "do it well enough to get by," not "do the best job you can," has unfortunately grown among the workers in many industries and businesses of the great cities.

We have merely hinted at the kinds of changes that have come in the American spirit. As our study of American life continues throughout the high school we shall learn much more about the American character. But perhaps the beginning we have made in this study has at least given us a glimpse of what the real "American way" is.

CHAPTER XXV · Looking Ahead—Our Next Study: America Rebuilds

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Throughout most of our study of citizenship and civic affairs we have emphasized one central idea—that the American way of government is the democratic way. It was very important for us to do this; for, with our people facing so many difficult problems which must be solved, *we must know how they can be solved that way.*

In our future studies we are going to turn to some of these problems, discovering why they arose and discussing possible solutions to them. We cannot, of course, study all of them; they are too many and too complicated to be thought through in a few months. There are, for example, many problems involving the conserving of our giant natural and human resources. There are difficult problems involving the changing family and neighborhood life . . . the immigrants in America . . . unemployment . . . honest and efficient community government . . . law enforcement . . . propaganda and censorship . . . the consumer and the task of educating him in scientific buying . . . and many others.

To study thoroughly even the ones we have just listed would require many years of hard work. But in each of the remaining semesters of the high school we shall concentrate on some of them; and, no doubt, as American citizens we shall spend all our lives in an effort to deal with them successfully. So now that we have completed half of our two-book study of *Community and National Life* we must go on.

We shall take up next—in *America Rebuilds*—the study of our country's natural and human resources and the problems we face in conserving and developing them wisely. For many years we have been reading about how the American people built on this continent one of the greatest industrial and agricultural countries of the world. But in all this study we gave most of our attention to the bright side of this building—how we conquered the land from ocean to ocean and built giant cities and thousands of villages and towns; how we cleared the land and planted millions of acres so that our people could have food; how we spread over the whole country a vast system of transportation and communication; how we struggled to become an independent nation; and how, once independent, we created a democratic government to administer our public affairs. Our history has, indeed, been one of the world's greatest stories of building and more building.

But there are also tragic aspects to all this building. In making America what it is today our people were wasteful in many ways. They were far too extravagant with our resources, both natural and human. An aviator flying over America would see clearly what we mean by that. He would look down on "dust bowls" created in part by unwise farming and the butchering of our forests. He would see enormous valleys of eroded land and thousands upon thousands of acres of worn-out soil. He would see the destruction left by flooded farms and cities. He would see miserable houses or unsightly slums in practically all our communities. These and other frightful sights would be seen.

How did this happen to America? Largely because we were in a hurry and so were wasteful builders. Because of haste and the tremendous desire for bigger and better things, more and more profits, many of America's riches were disgracefully abused by her people. And now she is experiencing the results.

But the air traveler would also look down on thrilling scenes of rebuilding America. Exciting developments would be witnessed in every region of the country—gigantic systems of dams to control floods; huge power plants on the rivers to send electricity to millions of farms and towns and cities; huge tracts of land being irrigated, treated with new kinds of fertilizer, and plowed in new and better ways; armies of men at work planting trees on bare mountain sides and bare plains; engineers and skilled workmen pulling down city slums and dilapidated dwellings and erecting fine new apartment buildings and houses, beautiful parks and playgrounds—indeed, whole communities. Yes, the aviator would see these and many other grand enterprises underway.

But what he has seen here is "America rebuilding." The American people are at last trying to correct the errors of the past and, looking forward, are in the process of developing a new and richer civilization.

The next book of this series gives the story of all this reconstruction and so we call it *America Rebuilds.* It tells why America must build again, go at it again, in every part of the country. We see it taking place first in the Tennessee Valley through the story of the life history of one natural region. Then we study it in each of the great regional divisions of our land: New England, the Eastern industrial region, the Great Lakes region, the Southeast region, the Great Plains, the Southwest, the Pacific Northwest, and the Pacific Southwest. In photographs and stories it tells the history of the extravagant waste of our fathers. But with that tragic story it also gives the thrilling picture of "what we are doing about it."

A whole nation, with the makings of a great civilization in resources and people at hand, is breaking new frontiers. These frontiers, to be dealt with throughout the next semester's study, are the following:

Rural America and the story of the rebuilding of our farms.

Our cities—their growth and the problems created because of crowded communities.

Rehousing America: a house for every American family.

The problem of making our people, young and old, secure; secure in health, in standard of living, in happiness.

The serious problems facing the youth of America.

Our industrial life—dealing with men, machines, and jobs . . . the problem of unemployment . . . the development of new materials and their use in new industries.

Government and what it is doing to help the American people rebuild.

The contributions of colleges, institutes, foundations, and the like, to the remaking of our country.

The creative frontiers of America in the arts—in literature, music, painting, sculpture, the dance, architecture, and industrial design.

All these against the background of the lessons of history—man has been a Desert-Maker throughout history, and in America as well as in every other land.

The study ahead, then, is a big one; but it is a thrilling one also. And it is extremely important to every American personally—perhaps most of all to you young people; for it will be up to you and your children to see the task of rebuilding America through—if not to its completion, at least well on its way.

APPENDIX A · Constitution of the United States

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PREAMBLE

WE THE PEOPLE *of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this* CONSTITUTION *for the United States of America.*

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. Congress

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.[1]

Section 2. House of Representatives

Election of Members. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,[2] which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.[3] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the

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[1] The term of each Congress is two years. It used to assemble on the first Monday in December and "expire at noon of the fourth of March next succeeding the beginning of its second regular session, when a new Congress begins." The time of meeting has now been changed by Sec. 2 of Amendment XX.

[2] The apportionment under the census of 1930 is one representative for every 280,674 persons.

[3] The word *persons* refers to slaves. The word *slave* nowhere appears in the Constitution. This sentence has been amended (Amendments XIII and XIV) and is no longer in force.

Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

Vacancies. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority[1] thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers. Impeachment. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker[2] and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. Senate

Number of Senators: Election. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. [Repealed in 1913 by Amendment XVII.]

Classification. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive[1] thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies. [Modified by Amendment XVII.]

Qualifications. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of Senate. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

Officers. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Trials of Impeachment. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

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[1] The Governor.

[2] The Speaker, who presides, is one of the representatives; the other officers—clerk, sergeant-at-arms, postmaster, chaplain, doorkeeper, etc.—are not.

Judgment in Case of Conviction. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. Both Houses

Manner of Electing Members. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.[1]

Meetings of Congress. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day. [Changed by Amendment XX, Section 2.]

Section 5. The Houses Separately

Organization. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Rules. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Journal. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

Pay and Privileges of Members. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

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[1] This was to prevent Congress from fixing the place of meeting of a state legislature.

Prohibitions on Members. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section 7. Method of Passing Laws

Revenue Bills. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

How Bills Become Laws. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Resolutions etc. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8. Powers Granted to Congress

Powers of Congress. The Congress shall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,[1] and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,[2] and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—And

Implied Powers. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.[3]

Section 9. Powers Forbidden to the United States

Absolute Prohibitions on Congress. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.[4]

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[1] Letters granted by the government to private citizens in time of war, authorizing them, under certain conditions, to capture the ships of the enemy.

[2] The District of Columbia.

[3] This is the famous elastic clause of the Constitution.

[4] This refers to the foreign slave trade. "Persons" means "slaves." In 1808 Congress prohibited the importation of slaves. This clause is, of course, no longer in force.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus[1] shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder[2] or ex post facto law[3] shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken. [Extended by Amendment XVI.]

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10. Powers Forbidden to the States

Absolute Prohibitions on the States. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional Prohibitions on the States. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

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[1] An official document requiring an accused person who is in prison awaiting trial to be brought into court to inquire whether he may be legally held.

[2] A special legislative act by which a person may be condemned to death or to outlawry or banishment without the opportunity of defending himself which he would have in a court of law.

[3] A law relating to the punishment of acts committed before the law was passed.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. President and Vice President

Term. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Electors. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors and of Congress. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.] [1]

Time of Choosing Electors. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.[2]

Qualifications of President. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

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[1] This paragraph in brackets has been superseded by Amendment XII.

[2] The electors are chosen on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, preceding the expiration of a presidential term. They vote in their respective state capitals the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December for President and Vice President. The votes are counted and declared in Congress on the sixth day of the following January.

Vacancy. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.[1]

Salary. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. Powers of the President

Military Powers; Reprieves and Pardons. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

Treaties; Appointments. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

Filling of Vacancies. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. Duties of the President

Message; Convening of Congress. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information[2] of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

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[1] This has been provided for by different laws at different times. The law now in force is the Presidential Succession Act of 1886.

[2] The President gives this information through a message to Congress at the opening of each session. Washington and John Adams read their messages in person to Congress. Jef-

Section 4. Impeachment

Removal of Officers. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section 1. United States Courts

Courts Established; Judges. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. Jurisdiction of United States Courts

Federal Courts in General. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;[1]—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

Supreme Court. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

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ferson, however, sent a written message to Congress. This method was followed by all succeeding Presidents until President Wilson returned to the earlier custom. Since his administration both procedures have been followed according to the desire of the President.

[1] This has been modified by Amendment XI.

Trials. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. Treason

Treason Defined. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Punishment. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES TO EACH OTHER

Section 1. Official Acts

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. Privileges of Citizens

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Fugitives from Justice. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Fugitive Slaves. No person[1] held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3. New States and Territories

Admission of States. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more

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[1] "Person" here includes slave. This was the basis of the Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1850. It is now superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment, by which slavery is prohibited.

States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Territory and Property of United States. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. Protection of the States

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

How Proposed; How Ratified. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Public Debt. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Supremacy of Constitution. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Official Oath; Religious Test. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification. The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.[1]

GEORGE WASHINGTON
President, and Deputy from Virginia

NEW HAMPSHIRE

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

MASSACHUSETTS

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

CONNECTICUT

William Samuel Johnson
Roger Sherman

NEW YORK

Alexander Hamilton

NEW JERSEY

William Livingston
David Brearley
William Paterson
Jonathan Dayton

PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robert Morris
George Clymer
Thomas Fitzsimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouverneur Morris

DELAWARE

George Read
Gunning Bedford, Jr.
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jacob Broom

MARYLAND

James McHenry
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer
Daniel Carroll

VIRGINIA

John Blair
James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA

William Blount
Richard Dobbs Spaight
Hugh Williamson

SOUTH CAROLINA

John Rutledge
Charles C. Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler

GEORGIA

William Few
Abraham Baldwin

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*

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[1] There were sixty-five delegates chosen to the convention: ten did not attend; sixteen declined or failed to sign; thirty-nine signed. Rhode Island sent no delegates.

AMENDMENTS

Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, Petition. Article I.[1] Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

Militia. Article II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Soldiers. Article III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Unreasonable Searches. Article IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Criminal Prosecutions. Article V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Suits at Common Law. Article VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Bail, Punishments. Article VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Reserved Rights and Powers. Article IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

[1] These amendments were proposed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures of the several states, pursuant to the fifth article of the Constitution. The first ten were offered in 1789 and adopted before the close of 1791.

Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Suits against States. Article XI.[1] The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Method of Electing President and Vice-President. Article XII.[2] The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Slavery Abolished. Article XIII.[3] *Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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[1] Proposed in 1794; adopted in 1798.

[2] Adopted in 1804.

[3] Adopted in 1865.

Negroes Made Citizens. ARTICLE XIV.[1] *Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Negroes Made Voters. ARTICLE XV.[2] *Section 1.* The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Income Tax. ARTICLE XVI.[3] The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

[1] Adopted in 1868. [2] Adopted in 1870. [3] Ratified in 1913.

Direct Election of Senators. ARTICLE XVII.[1] *Section 1.* The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

National Prohibition. ARTICLE XVIII.[2] *Section 1.* After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Woman Suffrage. ARTICLE XIX.[3] *Section 1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Beginning and End of Terms of Office. ARTICLE XX.[4] *Section 1.* The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the twentieth day of January, and the terms of senators and representatives at noon on the third day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the third day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

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[1] Ratified in 1913.

[2] Ratified in 1919; in force in 1920; repealed by Amendment XXI.

[3] Ratified in 1920.

[4] Ratified in 1933.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect upon the fifteenth day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

The Repeal of Prohibition. ARTICLE XXI.[1] *Section 1.* The eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

[1] Ratified in 1933.

Appendix B · Principal Governments of the World (as of October 1, 1938)[1]

Country	Populat'n (*World Almanac*)	Area (*Square Miles*)	Capital	Form of Government	Date Founded	National Legislature	Titular Head of State	Chief Executive Officer	Party in Power	Chief Opposition Party
Argentina	12,372,965 (est., 1936)	1,153,418	Buenos Aires	Republic	1853	Congress: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Deputies	President: Roberto Ortiz, inaugurated in Feb., 1938	President	National Democratic	Socialist
Australia	6,677,168 (estimate)	2,974,581	Canberra	British Dominion	1900	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Representatives	Governor-General: Lord Alexander Gowrie	Prime Minister: Joseph A. Lyons	United Australia	United Country
Belgium	8,213,449 (estimate)	11,752	Brussels	Constitutional Monarchy	1831	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Representatives	King Leopold III	Premier: Paul Spaak	Coalition (National Union)	Rex (Fascist)
Bolivia	3,077,533 (estimate)	514,155 (excluding Chaco, ownership to be settled)	Sucre: La Paz (actual seat of govt.)	Republic	1936	Federation of (1) employees, (2) employers; Busch regime liquidating Socialist experiments	President: Military coup by Colonel German Busch ousted Colonel Toro in August, 1937	President: German Busch	Army officers' coalition (uncertain)	Radicals Liberals
Brazil	44,002,095 (estimate)	3,285,318	Rio de Janeiro	Corporate State, similar to Portugal	1891, 1930, 1937	New Constitution abolishes Congress, sets up "Corporate Assembly"	President: Dr. Getulio D. Vargas	President: has dictator's power	Government	All parties abolished
Bulgaria	6,190,215 (1934, est.)	39,814	Sofia	Kingdom	1908	Parliament (Sobranye) dissolved, 1934; met in May, 1938; but Constitution not yet fully restored	King Boris III	Premier: George Kiosseivanov	Government	Personal groups demanding full restoration of Constitution
Canada	10,376,786 (1931, census)	3,690,043	Ottawa	British Dominion	1867	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. House of Commons	Governor-General: John Buchan (Baron Tweedsmuir)	Premier: William Lyon Mackenzie King	Liberal	Conservative
Chile	4,287,445 (1930, census)	285,133	Santiago	Republic	1833	Congress: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Deputies	President: Arturo Alessandri Palma	President	Conservatives	Radicals Liberals
China	438,933,373 (estimate)	4,278,000	Nanking	Republic	1912, 1928, 1938	State Council assisted by five yuan (branches). Kuomintang Party Congress, 1938, set up new People's Political Council to represent all parties	Kuomintang elected General Chiang Kai-shek "Tsung Tsai" (leader) of nation, 1938	"Tsung Tsai" is also permanent head of Executive Yuan	Kuomintang is working with all others, including Communists	Only few officials are helping Japan form "puppet" states

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[1] Reprinted from *Scholastic*, The American High School Weekly.

Colombia	9,016,000	447,536	Bogota	Republic	1819	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Representatives	President: Dr. Eduardo Santos; inaugurated, August, 1938	President	Liberal	Conservative
Cuba	3,994,635 (1935, est.)	44,164	Havana	Republic	1901	Congress: 1. Senate; 2. Representatives	President: Federico Bru	President. But Col. Fulgencio Batista controls government	Coalition (Republicans, Liberals)	Democratic Nationalists
Czechoslovakia	14,915,500 (estimate)	54,244	Praha (Prague)	Republic	1918	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Snemovna	President: Eduard Benes	Premier: Dr. Milan Hodza	Coalition	Sudeten German (Nazi)
Denmark	3,705,599 (estimate)	16,576	Copenhagen	Constitutional Monarchy	1849, 1866, 1915	Parliament (Rigsdag): 1. Landsting; 2. Folketing	King Christian X	Premier: A. M. Stauning	Coalition (Social Democratic and Radical)	Conservative
Ecuador	2,600,116 (estimate)	116,000 (excluding area under dispute)	Quito	Republic	1822	Resignation, 1937, of Supreme Chief Paez has delayed writing of new Constitution	Supreme Chief (President) Gen. Alberto Enriquez	Supreme Chief	Government, backed by army	Liberals
Egypt	14,217,864 (estimate)	383,000	Cairo	Constitutional Monarchy (under British protection)	1922, 1936 treaties with Britain confirm self-government	Parliament: 1. Senate; Chamber of Deputies	King Farouk	Premier: Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha	Coalition of Liberal Constitutionalists and Saadists	Wafd party
Estonia	1,126,413 (1934, census)	18,400	Tallinn	Republic	1918, 1934, 1938	Constitution, 1938, abolished Diet, set up National Assembly of two Houses	President: Constantine Pats	President: has wide powers	Government	Radicals
Finland	3,700,000 (estimate)	149,900	Helsinki (Helsingfors)	Republic	1917, 1919	Parliament	President: Kyosti Kallio	Premier: Aimo Cajander	Coalition	Social Democratic
France	41,834,923 (1931, census)	212,659	Paris	Republic	1875	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Deputies	President: Albert Lebrun	Premier: Edouard Daladier; had dictatorial power during summer of 1938	Radical Socialist; support from Center parties	Fascist; Right wing factions; Socialists and Communists have softened opposition during recent crises
Germany	65,300,000	181,723	Berlin	Reich	1918, 1933,	Reichstag (no law-making power)	Fuehrer and President: Adolf Hitler	Chancellor: Adolf Hitler	National Socialist (Dictatorship)	Opposition officially suppressed
(Incl. Austria) . . .	6,732,625	32,369	Vienna	Autocratic Republic absorbed by Germany	1938	German Reichstag	Adolf Hitler	Reich Commissioner: Josef Buerckel		
Great Britain	46,051,679 (estimate)	94,277	London	Constitutional Monarchy	1066, 1215, 1689, etc.	Parliament: 1. House of Lords; 2. House of Commons	King: George VI	Prime Minister: Neville Chamberlain	Conservative	Labor

APPENDIX B · Principal Governments of the World (as of October 1, 1938) (*Continued*)

Country	Populat'n (*World Almanac*)	Area (*Square Miles*)	Capital	Form of Govern-ment	Date Founded	National Legislature	Titular Head of State	Chief Executive Officer	Party in Power	Chief Opposition Party
Greece	6,483,000 (1931, est.)	50,257	Athens	Kingdom	Re-established Oct., 1935	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber (Dissolved by Premier Metaxas, 1936)	King: George II	Premier and Dictator: General John Metaxas	Government (Fascist leanings)	Opposition banned; Metaxas declared Premier for life
Hungary	8,840,527	35,875	Budapest	Constitutional Monarchy	1920	Parliament: 1. Upper Chamber; 2. Lower Chamber	Regent: Admiral Nicholas Horthy; King in all but name	Premier: Bela Imredy	National Union	Congress
India	352,837,778 (estimate)	1,808,679	New Delhi and Simla	British Crown Colony (Preparing for Dominion Status under 1936 Act)	1876, 1936	Parliament: 1. Council of State; 2. House of Assembly (organized by 1936 act)	Emperor: George VI	Viceroy: Marquess of Linlithgow	Government	Congress Party
Irish Free State . . .	3,014,000 (estimate)	26,601	Dublin	Republic	1923, 1938	Constitution established independent nation, 1938; set up House and Senate	President: Dr. Douglas Hyde	Premier: Eamon de Valera	Fianna Fail	Cumann na nGaedheal (Cosgrave)
Italy	42,274,000 (estimate)	119,710	Rome	Kingdom	1861, 1922	Parliament: Abolished, 1936, National Council of Corporations formed	King: Victor Emmanuel III	Premier (Il Duce): Benito Mussolini	Fascist (Dictatorship)	Opposition officially suppressed
Japan	97,697,511 (In Empire)	260,644	Tokyo	Empire	1889	Parliament: 1. House of Peers; 2. Diet	Emperor: Hirohito	Premier: Prince Fumimaro Konoye	Government dominated by military leaders	Social Mass; and liberals oppose fascist controls of militarists
Latvia	1,900,045 (1930, census)	24,440	Riga	Republic	1917	Parliament (suspended); Constitutional reforms pending	President: Karlis Ulmanis	President (Dictator)	Government	All parties suspended, 1934
Lithuania	2,476,154 (1935, est.)	21,489	Kaunas (Kovno)	Republic	1918	Parliament (Dissolved, 1927; new elections held, 1936)	President: Antanas Smetona	Premier: the Rev. Vladas Mironas	Nationalist Union	Political opposition is curbed
Mexico	16,552,722 (estimate)	767,198	Mexico City	Federal Republic	1917	Congress: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Deputies	President: Lazaro Cardenas	President	National Revolutionary	Personal groups; Gen. Cedillo's revolt crushed, May, 1938
Netherlands	8,183,392 (estimate)	12,603	Amsterdam	Constitutional Monarchy	1814	Parliament: 1. First Chamber; 2. Second Chamber	Queen: Wilhelmina	Premier: Hendrik Colijn	Government	Catholic
New Zealand	1,537,363 (1935, est.)	104,015	Wellington	British Dominion	1907	Parliament: 1. Legislative Council; 2. House of Representatives	Governor-General: Viscount Galway	Prime Minister: Michael J. Savage	Labor	National Political Federation

Norway	2,814,194	124,556	Oslo	Constitutional Monarchy	1906	Parliament (Storting): 1. Lagting; 2. Odelsting	King: Haakon VII	Premier: Johan Nygaardsvold	Labor	Conservative
Panama	467,450	32,880	Panama	Republic	1903	Parliament	President: Juan D. Arosemena	President	Liberal	Conservative
Paraguay	901,768 (1934, est.)	61,647 (excluding Chaco)	Ascunsion	Totalitarian State	March, 1936	Congress suspended in 1937; Government promises new elections for 1938	President: Prof. Felix Pavia	President	Government	Regular parties not active since 1937
Persia (Iran)	10,000,000 (estimate)	628,000	Teheran	Constitutional Monarchy	1906	National Assembly (Medjliss) — one house	Shah: Reza Khan Pahlevi	Premier: Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi	National Progressive	None
Peru	6,147,000 (1927, est.)	482,133 (excluding 100,000 in dispute)	Lima	Republic	1824, 1860	Congress granted President dictatorial powers and then was dissolved in 1936	President: Gen. Oscar R. Benavides	President of the Cabinet: Gen. Manuel E. Rodriguez	Government	"Apra Party," (students, middle classes) important in other countries
Poland	32,927,773 (estimate)	149,958	Warsaw (Warszawa)	Republic	1931	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Diet	President: Ignacy Moscicki	Premier: (dictator) General Smigly-Rydz	Government (followers of late Dictator Josef Pilsudski)	National Democratic
Portugal	6,825,883 (1930, census)	35,490	Lisbon	Republic	1910	Parliament: Reorganized, 1934, along Fascist corporative state lines—1. Corporative Chamber; 2. National Assembly	President: General Antonio Carmona	Premier: (dictator) Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar	Government (military civilian directorate)	Radicals, liberals suppressed
Rumania	18,025,037 (estimate)	122,282	Bucharest	Constitutional Monarchy	1878, 1923	New Constitution, 1938, set up new Parliament composed of three guilds (similar to Italian government)	King Carol; has dictatorial powers	Premier: Miron Cristea	Government	All parties abolished
Russia (U.S.S.R.) . . .	165,700,000 (estimate)	8,241,921	Moscow	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	1917	Supreme Soviet of two Houses; elected by popular vote first time in 1936	President Union Central Exec. Com.: M. I. Kalinin	President, Council of Commissars: V. M. Molotov	Communist (dictatorship under J. Stalin)	Opposition officially suppressed
South Africa	8,250,000 (estimate)	472,347	Pretoria and Cape Town	British Dominion	1900	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. House of Assembly	Governor-General Sir Patrick Duncan	Premier: Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog	Coalition (United Party)	Malanites
Spain	23,719,177 (estimate)	190,050	Madrid	Republic	1881	Parliament — Cortes — (one house)	President: Manuel Azaña	Premier: Juan Negrin	Popular Front (radicals, liberals, workers, peasants, supporting government)	Regime of Fascist General Franco controls over half of nation
Sweden	6,211,506	173,157	Stockholm	Constitutional Monarchy	1809	Riksdag: 1. First Chamber; 2. Second Chamber	King: Gustav V	Premier: Per Albin Hansson	Social-Democratic with Farmer support	Conservative

Appendix B · Principal Governments of the World (as of October 1, 1938) (*Continued*)

Country	Populat'n (*World Almanac*)	Area (*Square Miles*)	Capital	Form of Government	Date Founded	National Legislature	Titular Head of State	Chief Executive Officer	Party in Power	Chief Opposition Party
Switzerland	4,095,095 (1932, est.)	15,940	Berne	Federal Republic	1848	Parliament: 1. Council of States; 2. National Council	President: Johannes Baumann	Chancellor: George Bovet	Coalition	Radical Democratic
Turkey	16,188,767 (1935, census)	294,416	Ankara (Angora)	Republic	1923	Grand National Assembly (one house)	President: Kemal Ataturk	Premier: Jelal Bayar	Peoples' Party (dictatorship)	Independents
United States	137,008,435 (incl. possessions) (1930, census)	3,738,395 (incl. possessions)	Washington	Federal Republic	1787	Congress: 1. Senate; 2. House of Representatives	President: Franklin D. Roosevelt	President	Democratic	Republican
Uruguay	1,941,398 (1932, est.)	72,153	Montevideo	Republic	1823	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Chamber of Deputies. Both houses compose the National Assembly, which meets to consider certain questions	President: Gen. Alfredo Baldomir	President	Liberal wing of Colorado Terrista	Colorado Batallista
Venezuela	3,026,878 (1926, census)	339,976	Caracas	Republic	1880	Parliament: 1. Upper Chamber; 2. Lower Chamber	President: Gen. Eleazar Lopez Contreras	President	Government	Personal groups
Yugoslavia	13,930,918 (1931, census)	96,134	Belgrade (Beograd)	Constitutional Monarchy	1921, 1931	Parliament: 1. Senate; 2. Skupshtina	King: Peter II, governs under regency till reaches majority	Premier: Milan Stoyadinovitch	Yugoslav	Croat Peasant

Appendix C · The Democratic Platform, 1936

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[Adopted by the Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia, June 25.]

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that the test of a representative government is its ability to promote the safety and happiness of the people.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that 12 years of Republican leadership left our Nation sorely stricken in body, mind and spirit; and that 3 years of Democratic leadership have put it back on the road to restored health and prosperity.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that 12 years of Republican surrender to the dictatorship of a privileged few have been supplanted by a Democratic leadership which has returned the people themselves to the places of authority, and has revived in them new faith and restored the hope which they had almost lost.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that this three-year recovery in all the basic values of life and the re-establishment of the American ways of living has been brought about by humanizing the policies of the Federal Government as they affect the personal, financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are:

(1) Protection of the family and the home.

(2) Establishment of a democracy of opportunity for all the people.

(3) Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

These obligations, neglected through 12 years of the old leadership, have once more been recognized by American government. Under the new leadership they will never be neglected.

For the protection of the family and the home

(1) *Crime.* We have begun and shall continue the successful drive to rid our land of kidnapers and bandits. We shall continue to use the powers of government to end the activities of the malefactors of great wealth who defraud and exploit the people.

(2) *Savings.* We have safeguarded the thrift of our citizens by restraining those who would gamble with other people's savings, by requiring truth in the sale of securities; by putting the brakes upon the use of credit for speculation; by outlawing the manipulation of prices in stock and commodity markets; by curbing the overweening power and unholy practices of utility holding companies; by insuring 50,000,000 bank accounts.

(3) *Social Security.* We have built foundations for the security of those who are faced with the hazards of unemployment and old age; for the orphaned, the crippled and the blind. On a foundation of the Social Security Act we are determined to erect a structure of economic security for all our people, making sure that this benefit shall keep step with the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.

(4) *Consumer.* We will act to secure to the consumer fair value, honest sales and a decreased spread between the price he pays and the price the producer receives.

(5) *Rural Electrification.* This Administration has fostered power rate yardsticks in the Tennessee Valley and in several other parts of the Nation. As a result electricity has been made available to the people at a lower rate. We will continue to promote plans for rural electrification and for cheap power by means of the yardstick method.

(6) *Housing.* We maintain that our people are entitled to decent, adequate housing at a price which they can afford. In the last three years the Federal Government, having saved more than 2,000,000 homes from foreclosure, has taken the first steps in our history to provide decent housing for people of meager incomes. We believe every encouragement should be given to the building of new homes by private enterprise; and that the Government should steadily extend its housing program toward the goal of adequate housing for those forced through economic necessities to live in unhealthy and slum conditions.

(7) *Veterans.* We shall continue just treatment to our war veterans and their dependents.

For the establishment of a democracy of opportunity

Agriculture. We have taken the farmers off the road to ruin.

We have kept our pledge to agriculture to use all available means to raise farm income toward its pre-war purchasing power. The farmer is no longer suffering from 15-cent corn, 3-cent hogs, 2½-cent beef at the farm, 5-cent wool, 30-cent wheat, 5-cent cotton and 3-cent sugar.

By Federal legislation we have reduced the farmer's indebtedness and doubled his net income. In cooperation with the States and through the farmer's own committees, we are restoring the fertility of his land and checking the erosion of his soil. We are bringing electricity and good roads to his home.

We will continue to improve the soil conservation and domestic allotment program with payments to farmers.

We will continue a fair-minded administration of agricultural laws, quick to recognize and meet new problems and conditions. We recognize the gravity of the evils of farm tenancy, and we pledge the full cooperation of the Government in the refinancing of farm indebtedness at the lowest possible rates of interest and over a long term of years.

We favor the production of all the market will absorb, both at home and abroad, plus a reserve supply sufficient to insure fair prices to consumers; we favor judicious commodity loans on seasonal surpluses and we favor assistance within Federal authority to enable farmers to adjust and balance production with demand, at a fair profit to the farmers.

We favor encouragement of sound, practical farm cooperatives.

By the purchase and retirement of 10,000,000 acres of submarginal land, and assistance to those attempting to eke out an existence upon it, we have made a good beginning toward proper land use and rural rehabilitation.

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Labor. We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republicans' dinner pail full of promises. We have increased the worker's pay and shortened his hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweated labor of his wife and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to collective bargaining and self-organization free from the interference of employers; we have provided Federal machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes.

We will continue to protect the worker and we will guard his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of all commodities, including coal and water power and other natural-resource products.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Business. We have taken the American businessman out of the red. We have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cut-throat competition.

The American businessman has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Youth. We have aided youth to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; opened the door to opportunity which 12 years of Republican neglect had closed.

Our youth have been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep them on that road.

Monopolies. Monopolies and the concentration of economic power, the creation of Republican rule and privilege, continue to be the master of the producer, the exploiter of the consumer, and the enemy of the independent operator. This is a problem challenging the unceasing effort of untrammeled public officials in every branch of the Government. We pledge vigorously and fearlessly to enforce the criminal and civil provisions of the existing anti-trust laws, and to the extent that their effectiveness has been weakened by new corporate devices or judicial construction, we propose by law to restore their efficacy in stamping out monopolistic practices and the concentration of economic power.

Aid to those overtaken by disaster

Drought and Floods. We have aided and will continue to aid those who have been visited by widespread drought and floods, and have adopted a nation-wide flood-control policy.

Unemployment. We believe that unemployment is a national problem, and that it is an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way. Due to our stimulation of private business, more than five million people have been re-employed; and we shall continue to maintain that the first objective of a program of economic security is maximum employment in private industry at adequate wages. Where business fails to supply such employment, we believe that work at prevailing wages should be provided in cooperation with State and local governments on useful public projects, to the end that the national wealth may be increased, the skill and energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained, and the unemployed be assured the opportunity to earn the necessities of life.

The Constitution. The Republican platform proposes to meet many pressing national problems solely by action of the separate States. We know that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor and working conditions in industry, monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled exclusively by 48 separate State Legislatures, 48 separate State administrations and 48 separate State courts. Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow State boundaries call for both State and Federal treatment.

We have sought and will continue to seek to meet these problems through legislation within the Constitution.

If these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure to the legislatures of the several States and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws which the State and Federal Legislatures, within their respective spheres, shall find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety and safeguard economic security. Thus we propose to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Civil Service. For the protection of government itself and promotion of its efficiency we pledge the immediate extension of the merit system through the classified civil service—which was first established and fostered under Democratic auspices—to all non-policy-making positions in the Federal service.

We shall subject to the Civil Service Law all continuing positions which had been exempt from its operation.

Civil Liberties. We shall continue to guard the freedom of speech, press, radio, religion, and assembly which our Constitution guarantees; with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

Government Finance. The Administration has stopped deflation, restored values and enabled business to go ahead with confidence.

When national income shrinks, Government income is imperiled. In reviving national income, we have fortified Government finance. We have raised the public credit to a position of unsurpassed security. The interest rate on Government bonds has been reduced to the lowest point in 28 years. The same Government bonds which in 1932 sold under 83 are now selling over 104.

We approve the objective of a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the former wide fluctuations in value which injured in turn producers, debtors, and property owners on the one hand, and wage earners and creditors on the other, a currency which will permit full utilization of the country's resources. We assert that today we have the soundest currency in the world.

We are determined to reduce the expenses of Government. We are being aided therein by the recession in unemployment. As the requirements of relief decline and national income advances, an increasing percentage of Federal expenditures can and will be met from current revenues, secured from taxes levied in accordance with ability to pay. Our retrenchment, tax and recovery programs thus reflect our firm determination to achieve a balanced budget and the reduction of the national debt at the earliest possible moment.

Foreign Policy. In our relationship with other nations, this Government will continue to extend the policy of the good neighbor. We reaffirm our opposition to war as an instrument of national policy, and declare that disputes between nations should be settled by peaceful means. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared resolutely to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; to guard against being drawn, by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere.

We shall continue to foster the increase in our foreign trade which has been achieved by this Administration; to seek by mutual agreement the lowering of those tariff barriers, quotas and embargoes which have been raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; but continue as in the past to give adequate protection to our farmers and manufacturers against unfair competition or the dumping on our shores of commodities and goods produced abroad by cheap labor or subsidized by foreign governments.

The Issue

The issue in this election is plain. The American people are called upon to choose between a Republican administration that has and would again regiment them in the service of privileged groups, and a Democratic administration, dedicated to the establishment of equal economic opportunity for all our people.

Dedicated to a government of liberal American principles, we are determined to oppose equally the despotism of communism and the menace of concealed fascism.

We hold this final truth to be self-evident—that the interests, the security and the happiness of the people of the United States of America can be perpetuated only under democratic government as conceived by the founders of our nation.

APPENDIX D · The Republican Party Platform, 1936

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[Adopted by the Republican National Convention at Cleveland, June 11, 1936.]

America is in peril. The welfare of American men and women and the future of our youth are at stake. We dedicate ourselves to the preservation of their political liberty, their individual opportunity and their character as free citizens, which today for the first time are threatened by government itself.

For three long years the New Deal administration has dishonored American traditions and flagrantly betrayed the pledges upon which the Democratic party sought and received public support.

The powers of Congress have been usurped by the President.

The integrity and authority of the Supreme Court have been flouted.

The rights and liberties of American citizens have been violated.

Regulated monopoly has displaced free enterprise.

The New Deal administration constantly seeks to usurp the rights reserved to the State and to the people.

It has insisted on passage of laws contrary to the Constitution.

It has intimidated witnesses and interfered with the right of petition.

It has dishonored our country by repudiating its most sacred obligations.

It has been guilty of frightful waste and extravagance, using public funds for partisan political purposes.

It has promoted investigations to harass and intimidate American citizens, at the same time denying investigations into its own improper expenditures.

It has created a vast multitude of new offices, filled them with its favorites, set up a centralized bureaucracy and sent out swarms of inspectors to harass our people.

It has bred fear and hesitation in commerce and industry, thus discouraging new enterprises, preventing employment and prolonging the depression.

It secretly has made tariff agreements with our foreign competitors, flooding our markets with foreign commodities.

It has coerced and intimidated voters by withholding relief to those opposing its tyrannical policies.

It has destroyed the morale of many of our people and made them dependent upon government.

Appeals to passion and class prejudice have replaced reason and tolerance.

To a free people, these actions are insufferable. This campaign cannot be waged on the traditional differences between the Republican and Democratic parties.

The responsibility of this election transcends all previous political divisions. We invite all Americans, irrespective of party, to join us in defense of American institutions.

Constitutional Government and Free Enterprise. We pledge ourselves:

1. To maintain the American system of constitutional and local self-government, and to resist all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, the final protector of rights of our citizens against the arbitrary encroachments of the legislative and executive branches of government. There can be no individual liberty without an independent judiciary.

2. To preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition, and equality of opportunity, and to seek its constant betterment in the interests of all.

Re-employment. The only permanent solution of the unemployment problem is the absorption of the unemployed by industry and agriculture. To that end we advocate:

Removal of restrictions on production.

Abandonment of all New Deal policies that raise production costs, increase the cost of living and thereby restrict buying, reduce volume and prevent re-employment.

Encouragement instead of hindrance to legitimate business.

Withdrawal of government from competition with private payrolls.

Elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations.

Adoption of such other policies as will furnish a chance for individual enterprises, industrial expansion and the restoration of jobs.

Relief. The necessities of life must be provided for the needy and hope must be restored pending recovery. The administration of relief is a major failure of the New Deal. It has been faithless to those who most deserve our sympathy. To end confusion, partisanship, waste and incompetence we pledge:

1. The return of responsibility for relief administration to non-political local agencies familiar with community problems.

2. Federal grants-in-aid to the States and Territories while the need exists upon compliance with these conditions: (a) A fair proportion of the total relief burden to be provided from the revenues of States and local governments; (b) all engaged in relief administration to be selected on the basis of merit and fitness; (c) adequate provision to be made for the encouragement of those persons who are trying to become self-supporting.

3. Undertaking of Federal public works only on their merits and separate from the administration of relief.

4. A prompt determination of the facts concerning relief and unemployment.

Security. Real security will be possible only when our productive capacity is sufficient to furnish a decent standard of living for all American families and to provide a surplus for future needs and contingencies. For the attainment of that ultimate objective we look to the energy, self-reliance and character of our people, and to our system of free enterprise.

Society has an obligation to promote the security of the people by affording some measure of protection against involuntary unemployment and dependency in old age. The New Deal policies, while purporting to provide social security, have, in fact, endangered it.

We propose a system of old age security, based upon the following principles:

1. We approve a pay-as-you-go policy, which requires of each generation the support of the aged and the determination of what is just and adequate.

2. Every American citizen over 65 should receive the supplementary payment necessary to provide a minimum income sufficient to protect him or her from want.

3. Each State and Territory, upon complying with simple and general minimum standards, should receive from the Federal Government a graduated contribution in proportion to its own, up to a fixed maximum.

4. To make this program consistent with sound fiscal policy the Federal revenues for this purpose must be provided from the proceeds of a direct tax widely distributed. All will be benefited and all should contribute.

We propose to encourage adoption by the States and Territories of honest and practical measures for meeting the problems of unemployment insurance.

The unemployment insurance and old age annuity sections of the present Social Security Act are unworkable and deny benefits to about two-thirds of our adult population, including professional men and women and all those engaged in agriculture and domestic service and the self-employed, while imposing heavy tax burdens upon all. The so-called reserve fund estimated at $47,000,000,000 for old age insurance is no reserve at all, because the fund will contain nothing but the government's promise to pay, while the taxes collected in the guise of premiums will be wasted by the government in reckless and extravagant political schemes.

Labor. The welfare of labor rests upon increased production and the prevention of exploitation. We pledge ourselves to:

Protect the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing without interference from any source.

Prevent governmental job holders from exercising autocratic powers over labor.

Support the adoption of State laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages and working conditions. We believe that this can be done within the Constitution as it now stands.

Agriculture. The farm problem is an economic and social, not a partisan, problem, and we propose to treat it accordingly. Following the wreck of the restrictive and coercive AAA, the New Deal administration has taken to itself the principles of the Republican policy of soil conservation and land retirement. This action opens the way for a non-political and permanent solution. Such a solution cannot be had under a New Deal administration which misuses the program to serve partisan ends, to promote scarcity and to limit by coercive methods the farmer's control over his own farm.

One paramount object is to protect and foster the family type of farm, traditional in American life, and to promote policies which will bring about an adjustment of agriculture, to meet the needs of domestic and foreign markets. As an emergency measure, during the agricultural depression, Federal benefit payments or grants-in-aid when administered within the means of the Federal Government are consistent with a balanced budget.

We propose:

1. To facilitate economical production and increased consumption on a basis of abundance instead of scarcity.

2. A national land-use program, including the acquisition of abandoned and nonproductive farm land by voluntary sale or lease and subject to the approval of the Legislative and Executive branches of the States concerned and the devotion of such land to appropriate public use, such as watershed protection and flood prevention, reforestation, recreation and conservation of wild life.

3. That an agricultural policy be pursued for the protection and restoration of the land resources, designed to bring about such a balance between soil-building and soil-depleting crops as will permanently insure productivity, with reasonable benefits to cooperating farmers on family-type farms, but so regulated as to eliminate the New Deal's destructive policy toward the dairy and livestock industries.

4. To extend experimental aid to farmers developing new crops suited to our soil and climate.

5. To promote the industrial use of farm products by applied science.

6. To protect the American farmer against the importation of all livestock, dairy and agricultural products, substitutes therefor, and derivatives therefrom, which will depress American farm prices.

7. To provide effective quarantine against imported livestock, dairy and other farm products from countries which do not impose health and sanitary regulations fully equal to those required of our own producers.

8. To provide for ample farm credit at rates as low as those enjoyed by other industries, including commodity and livestock loans, and preference in land loans to the farmer acquiring or refinancing a farm as a home.

9. To provide for decentralized, non-partisan control of the Farm Credit Administration and the election by National Farm Loan Associations of at least one-half of the board of directors of the Federal Land Banks, and thereby remove these institutions from politics.

10. To provide in the case of agriculture products of which there are exportable surpluses, the payment of reasonable benefits upon the domestically consumed portion of such crops in order to make the tariff effective. These payments are to be limited to the production level of the family-type farm.

11. To encourage and further develop cooperative marketing.

12. To furnish government assistance in disposing of surpluses in foreign trade by bargaining for foreign markets selectively by countries both as to exports and imports. We strenuously oppose so-called reciprocal treaties which trade off the American farmer.

13. To give every reasonable assistance to producers in areas suffering from temporary disaster, so that they may regain and maintain a self-supporting status.

Tariff. Nearly 60 per cent of all imports into the United States are now free of duty. The other 40 per cent of imports compete directly with the product of our industry. We would keep on the free list all products not grown or produced in the United States in commercial quantities.

As to all commodities that commercially compete with our farms, our forests, our mines, our fisheries, our oil wells, our labor and our industries, sufficient protection should be maintained at all times to defend the American farmer and the American wage-earner from the destructive competition emanating from the subsidies of foreign governments and the imports from low-wage and depreciated-currency countries.

We will repeal the present Reciprocal Trade Agreement Law. It is futile and dangerous. Its effect on agriculture and industry has been destructive. Its continuation would work to the detriment of the wage-earner and the farmer.

We will restore the principle of the flexible tariff in order to meet changing economic conditions here and abroad and broaden by careful definition the powers of the Tariff Commission in order to extend this policy along non-partisan lines.

We will adjust tariffs with a view to promoting international trade, the stabilization of currencies and the attainment of a proper balance between agriculture and industry.

We condemn the secret negotiation of reciprocal trade treaties without public hearing or legislative approval.

Monopolies. A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. It menaces and if continued will utterly destroy constitutional government and liberty of the citizen.

We favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws, as well as the civil laws, against monopolies and trusts and their officials, and we demand the enactment of such additional legislation as is necessary to make it impossible for private monopoly to exist in the United States.

We will employ the full powers of the government to the end that monopoly shall be eliminated and that free enterprise shall be fully restored and maintained.

Regulation of Business. We recognize the existence of a field within which governmental regulation is desirable and salutary. The authority to regulate should be vested in an independent tribunal acting under clear and specific laws establishing definite standards.

Their determinations on law and facts should be subject to review by the courts. We favor Federal regulation, within the Constitution, of the marketing of securities to protect investors. We favor also Federal regulation of the interstate activities of public utilities.

Civil Service. Under the New Deal, official authority has been given to inexperienced and incompetent persons. The civil service has been sacrificed to create a national political machine. As a result the Federal Government has never presented such a picture of confusion and inefficiency.

We pledge ourselves to the merit system, virtually destroyed by New Deal spoilsmen. It should be restored, improved and extended.

We will provide such conditions as offer an attractive permanent career in government service to young men and women of ability, irrespective of party affiliations.

Government Finance. The New Deal administration has been characterized by shameful waste and general financial irresponsibility. It has piled deficit upon deficit. It threatens national bankruptcy and the destruction through inflation of insurance policies and savings bank deposits.

We pledge ourselves to:

Stop the folly of uncontrolled spending.

Balance the budget—not by increasing taxes but by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately.

Revise the Federal tax system and coordinate it with State and local tax systems.

Use the taxing power for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes.

Money and Banking. We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazard.

The first requisite to a sound and stable currency is a balanced budget.

We oppose further devaluation of the dollar.

We will restore to the Congress the authority lodged with it by the Constitution to coin money and regulate the value thereof by repealing all the laws delegating this authority to the Executive.

We will cooperate with other countries toward stabilization of currencies as soon as we can do so with due regard for our national interests and as soon as other nations have sufficient stability to justify such action.

Foreign Affairs. We pledge ourselves to promote and maintain peace by all honorable means not leading to foreign alliances or political commitments.

Obedient to the traditional foreign policy of America and to the repeatedly expressed will of the American people, we pledge that America shall not become a member of the League of Nations nor of the World Court, nor shall America take on any entangling alliances in foreign affairs.

We shall promote, as the best means of securing and maintaining peace by the pacific settlement of disputes, the great cause of international arbitration through the establishment of free, independent tribunals, which shall determine such disputes in accordance with law, equity and justice.

National Defense. We favor an army and navy, including air forces, adequate for our national defense.

We will cooperate with nations in the limitation of armaments and control of traffic in arms.

Bill of Rights. We pledge ourselves to preserve, protect and defend, against all intimidation and threat, freedom of religion, speech, press and radio; and the right of assembly and petition and immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures.

We offer the abiding security of a government of laws as against the autocratic perils of a government of men.

Furthermore. 1. We favor the construction by the Federal Government of headwater storage basins to prevent floods, subject to the approval of the legislative and executive branches of the government of the States whose lands are concerned.

2. We favor equal opportunity for our colored citizens. We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies and the civil service.

3. To our Indian population we pledge every effort on the part of the national government to ameliorate living conditions for them.

4. We pledge continuation of the Republican policy of adequate compensation and care for veterans disabled in the service of our country and for their widows, orphans and dependents.

5. We shall use every effort to collect the war debt due us from foreign countries, amounting to $12,000,000,000; one-third of our national debt. No effort has been made by the present administration even to reopen negotiation.

6. We are opposed to legislation which discriminates against women in Federal and State employment.

Conclusion. We assume the obligations and duties imposed upon government by modern conditions. We affirm our "inalterable" conviction that, in the future as in the past, the fate of the nation will depend, not so much on the wisdom and power of government, as on the character and virtue, self-reliance, industry and thrift of the people and on their willingness to meet the responsibilities essential to the preservation of a free society.

Finally, as our party affirmed in its first platform in 1856: "Believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among our citizens we oppose all legislation tending to impair them," and "we invite the affiliation and cooperation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared."

APPENDIX E · Comparative Analysis of Party Platforms of 1936[1]

Issues	Democratic	Republican	Union	Socialist	Communist
Budget and Taxation	Determine to balance the budget and reduce national debt as business gets better and tax revenues increase. Favors taxation "levied in accordance with ability to pay."	"Balance the budget — not by increasing taxes but by cutting expenses drastically and immediately." "Revise Federal tax system and coordinate it with state and local tax systems."	Congress shall limit large yearly incomes by taxing power; but shall protect private property from "unnecessary taxation."	Would increase income, inheritance, and excess profits taxes drastically.	Favors budget balanced by taxation upon the rich; opposed to sales tax in any form.
Banking and Currency	Approves "sound currency so stabilized as to prevent former wide fluctuations in value."	Sound currency to be preserved at all costs. Would not further devalue the dollar. Governor Landon pledges a return to the gold standard in the future.	A central bank with strict government control over money and credit. No issuance of currency by privately owned banks.	No statement.	Opposes inflation and favors nationalization (government ownership) of the banking system.
Unemployment and Relief	Where business fails to supply jobs, Government should furnish work at prevailing wages in cooperation with state and local governments on useful public projects.	"Only permanent solution . . . is absorption of the unemployed by industry." Demands withdrawal of Government from competition with private payrolls. Wants relief administration turned over to the state and local agencies, with Federal aid.	Federal works "for conservation of public lands"; jobs to be paid at prevailing wages.	Favors immediate appropriation of $6,000,000,000 to continue work relief for the unemployed and the continuation of the WPA at union wages. Believes unemployment can only be eliminated under socialism.	Calls for "adequate relief standards" combined with extensive Federal public-works program.
Monopoly	Vigorous enforcement of anti-trust laws against monopolies and the concentration of economic power.	Calls for strict enforcement of anti-trust laws; private monopoly must not exist.	Says our "unjust economic system" has allowed the few to prosper at the expense of the many.	Silent.	Wants "power of Wall Street" broken.
Public Ownership	Will continue "yardstick" plants to provide cheap power and promote rural electrification.	Wants American system of free enterprise, private competition, and equality of opportunity preserved. Recognizes limited field for regulation, subject to courts.	Sil	Advocates "social ownership and democratic control of the mines, railroads, power, and other key industries."	Industry must be operated for the benefit of all who work. Government should open idle factories, mills, mines and operate them for all.
Agriculture	Will continue soil conservation program with payments to farmers; "all available means to raise farm income"; aid to farmers in paying off their debts; "judicious loans on seasonal surpluses."	"To protect and foster the family type of farm." A national land-use program to promote soil conservation. Opposes restricted production. Favors liberal credit policy for farmers.	Congress shall guarantee production at a profit for farmers. Farm debt-burden to be lifted by the Government (Frazier-Lemke bill).	Demands abolition of tenant farming and the conversion of plantations and corporation farms into cooperative farms. Wants insurance against crop failure, immediate relief of debts.	Demands Government stop evictions of farmers who cannot pay their debts; lower interest rates. Opposes crop restriction and asks regulation of farm prices to guarantee cost.

[1] From "America Votes" (Published by *Scholastic*).

APPENDIX E · Comparative Analysis of Party Platforms of 1936 (*Continued*)

Issues	Democratic	Republican	Union	Socialist	Communist
Tariff	To continue reciprocal trade agreements program as an aid to world trade, but will provide adequate protection against cheap foreign goods.	Will repeal reciprocal trade agreements program but will adjust tariffs flexibly by commission to promote world trade, and defend our markets against foreign goods.	Favors high tariff to make this country "self-contained and self-sustained," and protect against foreign goods and moneys.	Silent.	Silent.
Foreign Affairs	Silent on League of Nations and World Court. Promises to continue "good neighbor" policy and Kellogg Pact.	America shall not become a member of the League of Nations or the World Court or become involved in entangling alliances. Advocates settlement of disputes through international arbitration.	"No foreign entanglements."	Calls on workers and farmers to abolish a "system that makes wars possible." Silent on the World Court and the League.	No intervention by America in the affairs of Latin American countries and the Philippines; favors cooperating with League of Nations in sanctions against Japan, Germany, Italy.
Neutrality	Will preserve "true neutrality in disputes of others"; guard against being drawn into any war by international banking or private trading.	No statement.	Our forces "must not be used under any consideration in foreign fields or waters."	Favors stronger neutrality laws in order to avoid immediate wars.	Wants American peace policy based on complete prohibition of the sale of goods to nations engaged in a foreign war in violation of Kellogg Pact.
National Defense and Munitions	Advocates army and navy strong enough to resist aggression; will "work for peace and to take the profits out of war."	Wants army and navy adequate for national defense; favors cooperation with other nations to limit armaments and control arms traffic.	Strong defenses against attack. "Conscription of wealth as well as conscription of men."	Opposed to any war we may engage in and demands elimination of military training from the schools. For drastic reduction of armaments.	Demands billions now being spent for armaments to be used to relieve suffering people. Opposes military training in CCC and schools. Demands nationalization of munitions industry.
Constitution and Supreme Court	If necessary will seek "clarifying" amendment to enable Federal and state governments to solve national social and labor problems.	Will resist all efforts to curb power of Supreme Court. Landon telegram promises amendment, if necessary, to give states power to solve social problems.	Silent.	Demands amendment ending power of Supreme Court to declare social legislation unconstitutional, and granting power to acquire industries.	Constitutional amendment to end "dictatorial and usurped powers of Supreme Court."

Social Security	Says foundation of security against unemployment and old age has been laid by Social Security Act passed by last Congress.	Would change Social Security Act and substitute a pay-as-you-go policy providing old-age pensions sufficient to protect the aged from want. Favors state unemployment insurance aided by Federal funds raised by a "direct tax widely distributed."	For "reasonable and decent security for the aged." Candidate Lemke favors Townsend old age pension plan.	Supports Frazier-Lundeen bill which would provide liberal payments to unemployed and pensions to all over 60, raised by income and inheritance taxes; also favors Federal system of health insurance.	Favors Frazier-Lundeen bill; maternity and health insurance.
Labor	Points to Wagner Act as guaranteeing labor rights of collective bargaining without interference by employers. Will continue protection of both wage-earner and consumer; "to put an end to" child labor.	To protect labor's rights to organize "through representatives of its own choosing without interference from any source." Would abolish child labor and establish standards for women's work by state laws.	"A living annual wage for all laborers capable of working and willing to work." Silent on child labor.	Wants Federal legislation to protect workers' rights; prohibition of company unions; 30-hour week without reduction in pay. Favors Child Labor Amendment.	Federal legislation giving labor full rights of collective bargaining. Demands 30-hour week without reduction of pay; child labor abolished by amendment.
Youth	Pledges itself to aid youth to stay in school and give them "constructive occupation."	No statement.	Congress to establish conditions so that "youth may earn a decent living" while preparing themselves for trades or professions.	Favors passage of American Youth Act which would appropriate $3,000,000,000 to aid unemployed youth. Favors more Federal aid for education.	Favors provisions of American Youth Act. Favors maintenance and enlargement of National Youth Administration.
Civil Service	"Immediate extension of the merit system . . . to all non-policy-making positions in the Federal service."	"We pledge ourselves to the merit system, virtually destroyed by New Deal spoilsmen."	Silent.	No statement.	Silent.
Civil Liberties	Will "guard the freedom of speech, press, radio, religion and assembly our Constitution guarantees."	Will preserve our Constitutional liberties against autocratic government.	Silent.	Opposes all laws restricting freedom of speech, press, assembly and the peaceful activities of labor. Demands equality for the Negro and enforcement of drastic anti-lynching laws.	Favors unrestricted freedom of speech, press, assembly, and right to organize and strike. Demands end of deportations of foreign-born workers; release of political prisoners.

Appendix F · The Choice Before Us: Comparative Planks in the Party Platforms, 1932[1]

	Republican	**Democratic**	**Socialist**
The Depression	The supremely important problem that challenges our citizens and government alike is to break the back of the depression. . . . The people themselves, by their own courage, their own patient and resolute effort in the readjustments of their own affairs, can and will work out the cure. . . . The President outlined a constructive and definite program, entailing no danger to the budget, which in the main has been carried out. . . . The Reconstruction Finance Corporation came into being and brought protection to millions of depositors, policyholders and others.	The chief causes of this condition were the disastrous policies pursued by our government since the World War, of economic isolation fostering the merger of competitive businesses into monopolies and encouraging the indefensible expansion and contraction of credit for private profit at the expense of the public. . . . The only hope for improving present conditions lies in a drastic change in economic and governmental policies.	Today, in every city of the United States, jobless men and women by the thousands are fighting the grim battle against want and starvation, while factories stand idle and food rots on the ground. . . . Unemployment and poverty are inevitable products of the present system. . . . From the poverty, insecurity, unemployment, the wastes and the wars of our present capitalistic order, only the united efforts of workers and farmers, organized in unions and cooperatives and, above all, in a political party of their own, can save the nation.
Unemployment Relief	The Administration has regarded the relief problem as one of state and local responsibility. The work of local agencies, public and private, has been coordinated and enlarged on a nationwide scale. . . . The President has urged the Congress to create an emergency relief fund to be loaned temporarily to any State on a showing of actual need and temporary failure of its financial resources. Loan to political subdivisions, public bodies, or private corporations for the purpose of starting construction of income-producing or self-liquidating projects which will at once increase employment.	Extension of Federal credit to the States to provide unemployment relief wherever the diminishing resources of the states make it impossible for them to provide for the needy. . . . Unemployment and old-age insurance, under State laws. Expansion of the Federal program of necessary and useful construction affected with a public interest, such as flood control and waterways. . . . advance planning of public works.	A federal appropriation of $5,000,000,000 for immediate relief for those in need, to supplement state and local appropriations. . . . A comprehensive and efficient system of free public employment agencies. . . . A compulsory system of unemployment compensation with adequate benefits, based on contributions by the government and by employers. . . . Old-age pensions for men and women sixty years of age and over. A federal appropriation of $5,000,000,000 for public works and roads, reforestation, slum clearance and decent homes for the workers, by federal government, states and cities.
Economy	We urge prompt and drastic reduction of public expenditure and resistance to every appropriation not demonstrably necessary to the performance of the essential functions of government, national or local.	Immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus and eliminating extravagance, to accomplish a saving of not less than 25 per cent in the cost of Federal Government.	(No statement)

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[1] Reprinted from *Scholastic*, The American High School Weekly.

Money and Banking	The Republican Party established and will continue to uphold the gold standard and will oppose any measure which will undermine the government's credit or impair the integrity of our national currency. . . . There is need of revising the banking laws . . . more stringent supervision and broader powers . . . participation by the United States in an international conference to consider monetary questions.	Maintenance of the national credit by a Federal budget annually balanced on the basis of accurate executive estimates. . . . A sound currency to be preserved at all hazards, and an international monetary conference called on the invitation of our government to consider the rehabilitation of silver and related questions. . . . Quicker methods of realizing on assets for the relief of depositors of suspended banks, and a more rigid supervision of national banks for the protection of depositors.	Socialization of our credit and currency system and the establishment of a unified banking system, beginning with the complete governmental acquisition of the Federal Reserve Banks and the extension of the services of the Postal Savings Banks.
Taxation	The tax burden upon real estate is wholly out of proportion to that upon other forms of property and income. . . . The time has come for a reconsideration of our tax systems, Federal, State and local, with a view to reducing duplication and relieving unjust burdens.	A system of taxation levied on the principle of ability to pay.	Steeply increased inheritance taxes and income taxes on the higher incomes and estates of both corporations and individuals. . . . A constitutional amendment authorizing the taxation of all government securities.
Tariff	The Republican party has always been the stanch supporter of the American system of a protective tariff . . . long supported the policy of a flexible tariff, giving power to the President, after investigation by an impartial commission and in accordance with prescribed principles, to modify the rates named by the Congress.	A competitive tariff for revenue, with a fact-finding tariff commission free from executive interference, reciprocal tariff agreements with other nations, and an international economic conference designed to restore international trade and facilitate exchange. . . . We condemn the Hawley-Smoot tariff law, the prohibitive rates of which have resulted in retaliatory action by more than forty countries.	The creation of international economic organizations on which labor is adequately represented, to deal with problems of raw material, investments, money, credit, tariffs and living standards from the viewpoint of the welfare of the masses throughout the world.
Agriculture	The 1930 tariff act increased the rates on agricultural products by 30 per cent, upon industrial products only 12 per cent. . . . The Federal Farm Board has many achievements of merit to its credit. . . . The Republican party pledges itself to the principle of assistance to cooperative marketing associations, owned and controlled by the farmers themselves, through the provisions of the agricultural marketing act, which will be promptly amended or modified as experience shows to be necessary.	For the restoration of agriculture, the nation's basic industry, better financing of farm mortgages through reorganized farm bank agencies at low rates of interest, on an amortization plan, giving preference to credits for the redemption of farms and homes sold under foreclosure; extension and development of the farm cooperative movement and effective control of crop surpluses so that our farmers may have the full benefit of the domestic market.	The creation of a federal marketing agency for the purchase and marketing of agricultural products. . . . The acquisition by bona fide co-operative societies and by governmental agencies of grain elevators, stockyards, packing houses and warehouses and the conduct of these services on a non-profit basis. . . . The creation of national, regional, and state land utilization boards to prepare the way for agricultural planning on a national and, ultimately on a world scale.
War Debts	The party will continue to maintain its attitude of protecting our national economic interests and policies wherever threatened.	We oppose cancellation of the debts owing to the United States by foreign nations.	The cancellation of war debts due from the Allied governments, provided that such cancellation does not release money for armaments, but promotes disarmament.
Public Utilities	Supervision, regulation and control of interstate public utilities in the interest of the public is an established policy of the Republican party . . . legislation to authorize the Federal Power Commission to regulate the charges for electric current when transmitted across State lines.	Strict and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust laws to prevent monopoly and unfair trade practices . . . conservation, development and use of the nation's water power in the public interest . . . regulation to the full extent of Federal power of (*a*) Holding companies which sell securities in interstate commerce; (*b*) Rates of utility companies operating across State lines.	Public ownership and democratic control of mines' forests, oil and power resources; public utilities dealing with light and power, transportation and communication and of all other basic industries. . . . The operation of these publicly owned industries by boards of administration on which the wage-worker, the consumer and the technician are adequately represented.

APPENDIX F · The Choice Before Us: Comparative Planks in the Party Platforms, 1932 (*Con't*)

	Republican	Democratic	Socialist
Labor	We believe in the principle of high wages. We favor the principle of the shorter working week and shorter work day. . . . Collective bargaining by responsible representatives of employers and employees of their own choice, without the interference of anyone, is approved. . . . laws prohibiting alien contract labor, peonage labor, and the shanghaing of sailors; the eight-hour labor law on government contracts and employment.	The spread of employment by a substantial application of the principle of the shorter week including the application of that principle in government service.	The abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, the outlawing of yellow dog contracts and the passing of laws enforcing the rights of workers to organize into unions.
Immigration	The restriction of immigration is a Republican policy. Our party formulated and enacted into law the quota system, which for the first time has made possible an adequate control of foreign immigration.	(No statement)	Modification of the immigration laws to permit the reuniting of families and to offer a refuge to those fleeing from political or religious persecution.
Veterans	We believe that every veteran incapacitated in any degree by reason of illness or injury attributable to service in defense of his country should be cared for and compensated.	The fullest measure of justice and generosity for all war veterans who have suffered disability or disease caused by or resulting from actual service in time of war, and for their dependents.	Soldiers, sailors, and workers unemployed by reason of disarmament to be absorbed in a program of public works, to be financed in part by the savings due to disarmament.
Civil Liberties	Freedom of speech, press and assemblage are fundamental principles which should be preserved and protected. . . . Our party stands pledged to maintain equal opportunity and rights for Negro citizens.	(No statement)	Federal legislation to enforce the First Amendment to the Constitution so as to guarantee freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and to penalize officials who interfere with the civil rights of citizens. . . . The enforcement of constitutional guarantees of economic, political and legal equality for the Negro. . . . The enactment and enforcement of drastic anti-lynching laws.
Constitution	The Republican party is and always has been the party of the Constitution. Nullification by non-observance by individuals or State action threatens the stability of government.	(No statement)	Proportional representation; Direct election of the president and vice-president: The initiative and referendum: An amendment to the Constitution to make constitutional amendments less cumbersome: Abolition of the power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress.
Prohibition	No public official or member of the party should be pledged or forced to choose between his party affiliations and his honest convictions upon this question. . . . We therefore believe that the people should have an opportunity to pass upon a proposed amendment the provision of which, while retaining	We favor the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. To effect such repeal, we demand that the Congress immediately propose a constitutional amendment to truly representative conventions in the States called to act solely on that proposal. We urge the enactment of such measures by the several	Repeal the Eighteenth Amendment and take over the liquor industry under government ownership and control, with the right of local option for each state to maintain prohibition within its borders.

	in the Federal Government power to preserve the gains already made in dealing with the evils inherent in the liquor traffic, shall allow States to deal with the problem as their citizens may determine, but subject always to the power of the Federal Government to protect those states where prohibition may exist and safeguard our citizens everywhere from the return of the saloon and attendant abuses. Such an amendment should be promptly submitted to the States by Congress, to be acted upon by State conventions called for that sole purpose in accordance with the provisions of Article V of the Constitution.	States as will actually promote temperance, effectively prevent the return of the saloon and bring the liquor traffic into the open under complete supervision and control by the States. We demand that the Federal Government effectively exercise its power to enable the States to protect themselves against importation of intoxicating liquors in violation of their laws. Pending repeal, we favor immediate modification of the Volstead Act to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer and other beverages of such alcoholic content as is permissible under the Constitution and to provide therefrom a proper and needed revenue.	
Disarmament	President Hoover has made steady efforts and marked progress in the direction of proportional reduction of arms by agreement with other nations. . . . Maintenance of our navy on the basis of parity with any nation is a fundamental policy to which the Republican party is committed.	International agreement for the reduction of armaments.	While the Socialist party is opposed to all war, it believes that there can be no permanent peace until Socialism is established internationally. In the meanwhile, we will support . . . the reduction of armaments, leading to the goal of total disarmament by international agreement, if possible, but, if that is not possible, by setting an example ourselves. . . . The abolition of conscription, of military training camps and of the R.O.T.C. . . . Prohibition of the sales of munitions to foreign powers.
International Cooperation	Throughout the Sino-Japanese controversy our government has acted in harmony with the governments represented in the League of Nations, always making it clear that American policy would be determined at home, but always lending a hand in the common interest of peace and order. . . . We favor enactment by Congress of a measure that will authorize our government to call or participate in an international conference in case of any threat or non-fulfillment of Article 2 of the Treaty of Paris. . . . America should join its influence and gain a voice in the World Court.	Peace with all the world and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; no interference in the internal affairs of other nations; the sanctity of treaties, and the maintenance of good faith and of good will in financial obligations; adherence to the World Court with the pending reservations; the Pact of Paris, abolishing war as an instrument of national policy, to be made effective by provisions for consultation and conference in case of threatened violation of treaties.	The recognition of the Soviet Union and the encouragement of trade and industrial relations with that country. . . . The entrance of the United States into the World Court. . . . The entrance of the United States into the League of Nations under conditions which will make it an effective instrument for world peace and renewed cooperation with the working class parties abroad.
Latin America	The policy of the administration has proved to our neighbors of Latin America that we have no imperialistic ambitions, but that we wish only to promote the welfare and common interest of the nations in the Western Hemisphere.	Cooperation with nations of the Western Hemisphere to maintain the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine.	The abandonment of every degree of military intervention by the United States in the affairs of other countries. The immediate withdrawal of military forces from Haiti and Nicaragua.
Dependencies	We favor the inclusion of Puerto Rico in all legislative and administrative measures enacted by Congress or otherwise for the economic benefit of their fellow-citizens of the mainland.	Independence for the Philippines; ultimate statehood for Puerto Rico.	The complete independence of the Philippines and the negotiation of treaties with other nations safeguarding the sovereignty of these islands.

Appendix G · The Platform of American Youth[1]

★

The Independent Party believes in equal rights to all and special privileges to none. It is concerned chiefly with human rights. The masses burdened by discriminating laws and unjust administration are demanding relief.

CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT

Reorganization. We advocate the reorganization of the departments of government. There should be a re-classification of all work performed. Duplication of effort should be eliminated, and the work apportioned for the maximum of efficiency with the minimum of effort and expenditure.

Electoral College. We would abolish the Electoral College system. The Constitution should be amended to provide for popular election of the President in order to recognize an existing fact and to avoid unnecessary expense.

National Conventions. As badly as we hate to see the passing of the "greatest show on earth," we nevertheless, in the interest of common sense, believe that national conventions should pass into the list of "has beens." The millions of dollars spent on conventions and campaigns could be turned to more intelligent use. Believing this, we pledge our efforts to secure for the people a greater share in the selection of candidates for President, through the direct primary system. The three most outstanding leaders of each party should be selected and an account of their achievements and fitness should be set forth in a pamphlet, each candidate being allotted equal space; and a copy of this pamphlet should be mailed direct to each voter.

President's Term. We believe that the President should be elected for a period of seven years without the right to succeed himself, as in France. Being elected for the one term only, he would be able to give his undivided attention to the affairs of the nation without having to spend his time mending political fences.

NATIONAL PLANNING

Periodic depressions cause untold misery and suffering. We therefore advocate an elastic system of organization for national planning:

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[1] This platform was the first-prize winner in a political platform contest which was conducted during the 1932 election year by *Scholastic*, and was prepared by the students of the High Point, North Carolina, High School.

(1) We recommend that a National Economic Council be instituted, under the authorization of Congress, to coordinate the fundamental industries of the country.

(2) A board of Strategy and Planning to be formed to survey the resources and productive facilities of the country and forecast the need for consumers' and capital goods, allocating production not only so as to secure the maximum of output within the limits of constantly increasing demand, but also so as to raise the standard of living by increasing wages and reducing prices.

(3) A separate Agricultural Syndicate to make a survey of fertile regions, reforest sections now devoted to futile cultivation, and plan new roads and power lines. Large scale corporate farming to be introduced where the old methods of farming are not profitable. A more equal share of profits for the producer with the middleman should be worked out, to be controlled by government agencies.

UNEMPLOYMENT

We advocate a definitely planned program to remedy the serious evils of unemployment: (1) The establishment of reserve funds known as employment insurance to be administered by business enterprises in accordance with rules prescribed by the government. (2) A nationally organized labor market with a nation-wide employment service. (3) A program of vocational guidance and vocational re-education for workers displaced from their trades by the introduction of new machinery. (4) A scientific plan whereby, during periods of unemployment, appropriations shall be made available for the construction of necessary public works.

PROHIBITION

The United States has tried its "noble experiment"—the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. It has failed. We believe that this failure is due to the fact that Prohibition is not the will of the majority of the people, and that if we wish our nation to be law-abiding, we should not make lawbreakers of the majority.

We believe in the encouragement of temperance; we do not stand for the rightly berated open saloon; but we do advocate the handling of this problem by local units—the states—for the purpose of greater democracy and the avoidance of a wholesale attempt to "legislate morals."

TARIFF

Our tariff legislation will be based on the following policies: (1) The maintenance of legitimate business, and a high standard of wages for American labor. (2) Reduction of extortionate tariff rates bestowed in payment of political debts. (3) Abolition of log-rolling and restoration of a factfinding tariff commission, free from executive domination. (4) Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly, and at the same time produce a fair revenue.

FOREIGN POLICY

Armaments. Realizing our position of economic leadership among nations, we believe that the United States should assume a moral leadership by taking the lead in bringing about a reduction of armaments by international agreement.

League of Nations. The United States, if a member of the League of Nations, should have a permanent place on the Council, thus having insured control over her own affairs. Because we believe the success of the League depends largely upon our support, and because too long we have incurred the animosity of foreign nations by wanting all privileges and no responsibilities, we advocate American adherence to the League of Nations, with proper safeguards, as a protest against nationalistic intolerances.

World Court. The United States should enter the World Court without reservations other than those adhered to by all other members.

The Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is an antiquated policy which has placed America in the position of the "Big Bully" of the Western Hemisphere. We advocate its abolition, as an instrument which causes more ill will in Latin America than it does good.

Dependencies. The Philippines should be given immediately the same sort of independence which was extended to Cuba at the time of the withdrawal of American troops from that island. The reservations set forth in the Platt Amendment should apply to Philippine independence until such time as the islands are safe from foreign aggression. So far as Cuba is concerned, the Platt Amendment should be repealed. She is not threatened by any other foreign power, nor is there any indication that she will ever be molested.

Foreign Investments. We do not approve of a whole nation going to war to protect foreign investments of a few citizens. Therefore, we take the stand that citizens invest in foreign countries at their own risk.

War Debts. We believe that all payments on war debts should be suspended for a period of ten years. This will enable foreign countries who are our debtors to buy more from us, and hence create a larger demand for our goods. At the end of the ten-year period, an international conference should be held to settle the war debts.

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